

THE
SECOND VOLUME
OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY:
CONTAINING THE
Acts and Monuments
OF
MARTYRS:
WITH
A General Discourse of the later Persecutions, horrible Troubles
and Tumults, stirred up by
ROMISH PRELATES
IN THE
CHURCH.
WITH
Divers other Things incident to this Realm of *ENGLAND*
and *SCOTLAND*.

Recognized and Enlarged by the Author,
M^r. J O H N F O X.

L O N D O N,
Printed for the Company of STATIONERS, MDCLXXXIV.

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THE SEVENTH BOOK,

Beginning with the Reign of King HENRY the Eighth.



Anno
1509.

Notes formerly collected and repeated of things done in the time of K. Henry the seventh.

A Stouching the civil state and administration of the Commonwealth, and likewise of the state of the Church under the Reign of King Henry the Seventh; how he entred first into possession of the Crown: how the two Houses of York and Lancaster were in him conjoined through marriage with Elizabeth the eldest Daughter to King Edward the fourth, by the prudent counsel of John Morton then Bishop of Ely, after Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal: how long the said King reigned, and what Persecution was in his time for lack of search and knowledge of God's Word, both in the Dioceses of Lincoln under Bishop Smith, (who was executor of the House of Braxen-Nose in Oxford) as also in the Dioceses of Coventry, and other places more: and further, what punishment and alteration God commonly sendeth upon Cities and Realms publick, for neglecting the safety of his Flock, sufficiently in the former Book hath been already specified; whereto many things more amply might have been added,

incident in the Reign of this Prince, which we have for brevity pretermitted. For he that studieth to comprehend in story all things which the common course and use of life may offer to the Writer, may sooner find matter to occupy himself, than to profit others. Otherwile I might have inserted mention of the seditious Tumult of *Perkin Warbeck*, with his Retinue, Anno 1494. also of *Blackheath-Field* by the Blacksmith, Anno 1496. I might also have recited the glorious commendation of *Georgius Lilius* in his Latine Chronicle, testifying of King Henry the seventh, how he sent three Iohann Orators to Pope Julius the second, to yield his obedience to the See of Rome, An. 1506. And likewise how Pope Alexander the ninth, Pius the third, and Julius the second, sent to the said King Henry the seventh three sundry famous Embassadors, with three Swords, and three Caps of Maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief Defender of the Faith. The commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of *Georgius Lilius*, and *Fabian*, that I leave to them. This I suppose, that when King Henry sent to Pope Julius three Orators with obedience, it be had

Perkin Warbeck which I should have left to be King Edward's fact. Blackheath Field.

sent

K. Hen. 8. sent him three thousand Harc ubuffers to furnish his Field against the French King fighting at *Ravenna*, he had pleased Pope *Julius* much better. If *Georgius Lilius* had been disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had been more worthy the noting, how *Lodowick 12.* the French King, calling his Parliament, moved this question against Pope *Julius*. Whether a Pope might invade any Pounce by waslike force without cause? and whether the Prince might withdraw his obellence from that Pope or not? And it was concluded in the said Parliament with the King, against the Pope. Also it was concluded the same time (which was in the Reign of this King *Henry* the seventh) that the *Pragmatical Sanction* should be received in full force and effect through all the Realm of *France*.

And forasmuch as we are fallen into the mention of *Georgius Lilius*, this in him is to be found not unworthy noting. How after the burning of *Thomas Norice* above mentioned, at the City of *Norwich*, the same year followed such a Fire in *Norwich*, that the whole City well near was therewith consumed. *Ex Georg. Lilio*. Like as also after the burning of the foresaid good aged Father in *Smithfield* the same year (which was 1500) we read in the Chronicle of *Fabian*, a great Plague to fall upon the City of *London*, to the great destruction of the Inhabitants thereof. Wherein again is to be noted (as is aforesaid) that according to the state of the Church the disposition of the Commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with adversity afflicted, or else in prosperity to flourish. But after these Notes of King *Henry* the seventh now to the Story of *K. Henry* the eighth.

This King *Henry* the seventh finishing his course in the year above-said, which was 1509, had by *Elizabeth* his Wife above-named, four Men-children, and of Women-children as many. Of whom three only survived, to wit, Prince *Henry*, Lady *Margaret*, and Lady *Mary*: Of whom King *Henry* the eighth succeeded after his Father; Lady *Margaret* was married to *James* the fourth, King of *Scots*; Lady *Mary* was affied to *Charles* King of *Castile*.

Not long before the death of King *Henry*, Prince *Arthur* his eldest Son had espoused Lady *Katharine* Daughter to *Ferdinandus*, being of the age of fifteen years, and the about the age of seventeen; and shortly after his marriage, within five months departed at *Ludlow*, and was buried at *Worcester*. After whose decease, the succession of the Crown fell next to King *Henry* the eighth, who being of the age of eighteen years, entered his Reign the year of our Lord 1509, and shortly after married with the foresaid *Katharine*, his late brother Prince *Arthur*'s Wife to the end that her Dowry being great, should not be transported out of the Land. In the which his Marriage, being more politick than Scripture-like, he was dispensed with by Pope *Julius*, at the request of *Ferdinandus* her Father. The Reign of this King continued with great nobleness and fame the space of thirty eight years. During whole time and reign was great alteration of things, as well to the Civil state of the Realm, as especially to the state Ecclesiastical, and matters to the Church appertaining. For by him was extiled and abolished out of the Realm the usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, Idolatry and Superstition somewhat repressed, Images and Pilgrimages defaced, Abbies and Monasteries pulled down, Sects of Religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgar Tongue, and the state of the Church and Religion redressed. Concerning all which things, in the procees of this Volume here following, we will endeavour (Christ willing) particularly and in order to discourse; after that first we shall comprehend a few matters, which within the beginning of his Reign are to be noted and collected. Where, leaving off to write of *Empton* and *Dudley*, who in the time of King *Henry* the seventh, being great doers in executing the penal Laws over the People at that time, and purchasing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten were fit only after the entering of this King beheaded, the one a Knight, the other an Esquire: leaving also to intermeddle with his Wars, Triumphs, and other temporal Affairs, we mean in this Volume principally to bellow our travel in declaration of matters concerning most chiefly the state of the Church and of Religion, as well in this Church of *England*, as also of the whole Church of *Rome*.

Wherein first cometh to our hands a turbulent Tragedy, and a fierce Contention which long before had troubled the Church, and now this present year 1509 was renewed afresh between two certain Orders of Begging-Friars, to wit,

the Dominick Friars and the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin *Mary* the Mother of *Christ*.

The Franciscans were they which did hold of *St. Francis*, and followed the rule of his Testament, commonly called *Gray-Friars* or *Minorites*. Their opinion was this, That the Virgin *Mary*, prevented by the grace of the Holy-Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to original Sin. The Dominick Friars were they which holding of *Dominick*, were commonly called *Black-Friars*, or *Preaching-Friars*. Their opinion was this, That the Virgin *Mary* was conceived as all other children of *Adam* be: so that this Privilege only belongeth to *Christ*, to be conceived without original Sin: notwithstanding, the said blessed Virgin was sanctified in her Mother's womb, and purged from her original Sin, so as was *John Baptist*, *Jeremy*, or any other privileged Person. This frivolous question kindling and engendering between these two Sects of Friars, burst out into such a flame of parts and fides talking, that it occupied the Heads and Wits, Schools and Universities almost through the whole Church; some holding one part with *Scotus*, some the other part with *Thomas Aquinas*. The Minorites holding with *Scotus* their Master, disputed and concluded, That she was conceived without all spot or note of original Sin; and thereupon caused the Feast and Service of the Conception of *St. Mary* the Virgin to be celebrate and solemnized in the Church. Contrary, the Dominick Friars taking side with *Aquinas*, preached, That it was Heresy to affirm that the blessed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original Sin; and that they which did celebrate the Feast of her Conception, or said any Masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally.

In the mean time, as this Fanstasy waxed hot in the Church, the one side preaching against the other, came Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, Anno 1476, who joining side with the Minorites or Franciscans, first sent forth his Decree by authority Apostolick, willing, ordaining, and commanding all Men to solemnize this new-found Feast of the Conception in holy Church for evermore: offering to all Men and Women, which devoutly requesting the Church, would hear Mass and Service from the first Even-song of the said Feast, to the Octaves of the same, as many days of Pardon, as Pope *Urban* the fourth, and Pope *Martin* the fifth did grant for hearing the Service of *Corpus Christi* day, &c. And this Decree given and dated at *Rome*, Anno 1476.

Moreover, the same Pope, to the intent that the devotion of the People might be the more, encouraged to the celebration of this Conception, added a clause more to the *Ave Maria*, granting great indulgence and release of Sins to all such as would invoke the blessed Virgin with the same addition, saying thus: *Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui, Iesus Christus; & benedicta sit Anna mater tua, de qua sine macula, tua procreavit caro virginia. Amen.* That is, 'Hail *Mary*' full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, *Jesus Christ*: 'and blessed is *Anna* thy Mother, of whom thy Virgin's flesh hath proceeded without blot of original Sin. Amen.

Wherein thou mayest note (gentle Reader) for thy learning three things: First, how the Pope turneth that unproperly into a Prayer; which properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the Pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the Pope exempteth *Mary* the blessed Virgin not only from the seed of *Abraham* and *Adam*, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there be in her no original sin, then the beareth not the image of *Adam*, neither doth she defend of that feed, of whose feed evil proceedeth upon all men and women to condemnation, as *St. Paul* doth teach, *Rom. 5*. Wherefore if the defend of that feed, then the infection of original evil must necessarily proceed unto her. If the defend not thereof, then cometh the not of the seed of *Abraham*, nor of the seed of *David*, &c. Again, seeing that death is the effect and stipend of sin, by the doctrine of *St. Paul*, *Rom. 6*. then had her flesh injury by the Law, as *Christ* himself had, to suffer the malediction and punishment of death, and so should never have died, if original sin had no place in her, &c. But to return unto our Story: This constitution of the Pope being set forth for the conception of the blessed Virgin, which was the year of our Lord 1476, it was not long after but the said Pope *Sixtus*, perceiving that the Dominick Friars with their complices

Franciscan Friars.

Dominick Friars.

A troublesome diffention in the Church for the conception of the Virgin *Mary*.

Whether the Virgin *Mary* was conceived without original sin.

A new law Fea ft of the conception of the Virgin *Mary*.

A new Ave Maria of the Popes making.

The Pope addeth to the words of the Scripture.

These Abfurdities to be noted in this Decree of the Pope.

Rom. 5.

Rom. 6.

complices would not conform themselves hereunto, directed forth, by the authority Apotolical, a Bull in effect as followeth:

Sane cum sancta Romana Ecclesia de intererata sempiterna Virginis, &c. In English:

Whereas the holy Church of Rome hath ordained a special and proper Service for the publick solemnization of the Feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary; certain Orders of the Black-Friars in their publick Sermons to the People in divers places, have not ceased hitherto to preach, and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirm the said glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original sin, be Hereticks; and they which celebrate the Service of the said her Conception, or do hear the Sermons of them which do so affirm, do sin grievously: Also not contented herewith, do write and set forth Books moreover, maintaining their assertions to the great offence and ruine of godly minds. We therefore to prevent and withstanding such presumptuous and perverse assertions which have risen, and more hereafter may arise, by such opinions and preachings aforesaid, in the minds of the faithful; by the authority Apotolical, do condemn and reprove the same; and by the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain, That the Preachers of God's Word, and all other persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, which shall presume to dare affirm or preach to the People these aforesaid opinions and assertions to be true, or shall read, hold, or maintain any such Books for true, having before intelligence hereof, shall incur thereby the sentence of Excommunication, from which they shall not be absolved otherwise than by the Bishop of Rome, except only in the time of death.

This Bull, being dated the year of our Lord 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Gray-Friars Franciscans, which defended the pure conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominick Friars, with their confederates, holding the contrary side. By the vigour of which Bull, the Gray Order had got such a conquest of the Black Guard of the Dominicks, that the said Dominicks were compelled at length for a perpetual memorial of the Triumph, both to give to the glorious Virgin every night an Anthem in praise of her conception, and also to subscribe unto their doctrine; in which doctrine these with divers other points be contained.

1. That blessed Mary the Virgin suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original Sin, but only because she would conform her self to the imitation of Christ.

2. That the said Virgin, as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin, as neither was Christ her Son; so she had no need of remission of Sins, but instead thereof had the divine preservation of God's help, keeping her from all sin, which grace only she needed, and also had it.

3. Item, That where the Body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died; this is to be understood to come not for any penalty due for Sin, but either for imitation and conformity unto Christ, or else for the natural constitution her body, being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents: who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace, and strength of other fruits and meats in Paradise: Which meats because Mary had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore she died, and not for any necessity of original sin. *Clitoveus lib. 2. cap. 2.*

4. The universal proposition of St. Paul, which saith, That the Scripture hath concluded all Men under Sin, is to be understood thus, as speaking of all them which be not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.

5. If Justification be taken for reconciliation of him that was righteous before, and now is made righteous: then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not for justified by Christ, but just from her beginning by preservation.

6. If a Saviour be taken for him which saveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation; so is not Christ the Saviour of Mary, but is her Saviour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

7. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor ought so to do, for expiation of her sins, but for her conservation from case of sinning.

8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission

of her sins, but only for the remission of other mens sins the K.Hen. 8. prayed many times, and counted their sins for hers.

9. If the blessed Virgin had deceased before the passion of her Son, God would have repaid her soul not in the place among the Patriarchs, or amongst the Just, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise where Adam and Eve were before they transgressed.

These were the dotting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other Papists, commonly then holden in the Schools, written in their Books, preached in their Sermons, taught in their Churches, and set forth in Pictures. So that the People was taught nothing else almost in the Pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with special terms do call, *The way of mercy, The mother of grace, The lover of piety, The comforter of mankind, The continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful, and an advocate to the King her Son which never ceaseth, &c.* Verba Papa Sexti in dicat. And altho the greatest number of the School-Doctors were of the contrary faction, as Peter Lombardus, Thomas Aquinas, Bernardus, Bonaventura, and others: yet these new Papists shifted off their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions, as thus: Petrus Lombardus, they said, is not received nor holden in the Schools as touching this article, but is rejected. *Clitoveus lib. 2. cap. 15.*

Bernardus, in Epist. ad Lugdunens. altho he seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed Virgin to be void of original sin, saying, that he could not be holy when he was not, and lived not: to this they answer, That albeit he was not yet in essence, yet he was holy in her conception, and before conception, in the divine presence of God, which had chosen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the Mother of the Lord.

Again; Where Bernard doth argue, that she was not without original sin conceived, because she was not conceived by the Holy-Ghost: to this they answer, That the Holy-Ghost may work two ways in conception: either without company of Man, and so was Christ only conceived; or else with company and help of man, and thus was the blessed Virgin conceived. *Clit. lib. 2. cap. 14.*

Bonaventura (say they) was an holy Father, but he spake then after the custom and manner of his time, when as the solemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the publick consent and authority of the Church: now seeing the authority of the Church of Rome hath established the same, it ought not to be contrariet, nor can, without dangerous disobedience. In all mens actions diligent respect of time must be had. That which bindeth not at one time, afterward the same by law being ratified, may bind at another. *Ibid.*

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselves, as we now in these our days likewise in defence of the Truth, may well answer against the Pope, and all his Popish Friars, turning their own weapons against themselves: Multitude, say they, ought not to move us: Victory consisteth not in number and heaps, but in fortitude and hearts of Souldiers; yea, rather fortitude and stomach cometh from heaven, and not of man. Judas Machabeus with a little bandial overthrew the great army of Antiochus. Strong Sampson with a poor Asses bone slew a thousand Philistines. David had no more but a silly sling, and a few stones, and with these strook down terrible Goliath the Giant, &c. *Lib. eod. cap. 13.*

With these and such other like reasons the Gray Franciscans voided their Adversaries, defending the conception of the Virgin Mary to be unblemished, and pure from all contagion of original Sin. Contrariwise, the Black-Guard of the Dominick Friars for their parts were not all mute, but laid husily from them again, having great authorities, and the Scripture on their side. But yet the other having the See Apotolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine got the victory triumphantly over the other, to the high exaltation of their Order. For Pope Sixtus (as I said) by the authority Apotolical, after he had decreed the conception-day of the Virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also with his terrible Bull had condemned for Hereticks all them which withstood the same; the Dominick Friars, with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences: the one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth

* The Gray-Friars had made a picture of the Virgin and Anna kneeling, by which kind Anna was conceived with Mary.

Ex Rob. 1. y. cio Minorita

Idolary to the Blessed Virgin.

Objections possibly raised.

Popish Belief and Doctrine grow by time.

Verily consisteth not in number of voices, nor Victory in multitude of Souldiers.

The Pope's side stronger than the Scriptures.

The tenor of the Popes Bull for the conception of the Virgin to be without original sin.

Ex Tod. citation of the Pope's Bull for the conception of the Virgin to be without original sin.

Fifty Arguments in the Popes Doctrine.

How the Virgin Mary was subject to death after the Priests opinions.

Goal Stru.

K. Hen. 8. durst not speak, yet the heart would work; and tho their tongues were tied, yet their good-will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

Anno 1509. Whereupon it happened the same year of our Lord 1509, after this dissention between the Dominick Friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominicks, thinking by subtil flight to work in the Peoples heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching, devised a certain Image of the Virgin so artificially wrought, that the Friars by privy gins made it to stir, and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked; inasmuch that the People therewith were brought in a marvellous perfusion, till at length the fraud being eplied, the Friars were taken, condemned, and burnt at Bern the year above-mentioned, 1509. *Ex Pencer. Schaft. Munsters, Carione, & alit.* In the Centuries of John Bale I find their names to be, *Joannes Vetter, Franciscus Vlisens, Stephanus Balizschoff, and Henricus Steinegger.*

In the Story of John Stunfius, this Story aforesaid doth partly appear: but in the Registers and Records of the City of Bern, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully exprest and set forth, both in Metre and Prose, and is thus declared.

In the City of Bern there were certain Dominick Friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doers and chieftains of that Order, who had inveigled a certain simple poor Friar, who had newly planted himself in the Cloister: whom the foresaid Friars had to infatuated with fundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. Mary, St. Barbara and St. Katharine, and with their incantments, and imprinting moreover in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he believed plainly, that the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and had offered him a red Host consecrated, with the blood also of Christ miraculously; which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the Senators of Bern, with instructions, declaring unto them from the mouth of the Virgin, That she was conceived in sin; and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be credited, nor suffered in the City, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, That they should resort to a certain Image there of the Virgin Mary, (which Image the Friars by engines had made to sweat) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same. &c.

This feigned device was no sooner forged by the Friars, but it was believed of the Peoples; so that a great while theaged-coloured Host was undoubtedly taken for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops thereof sent abroad to divers noble Personages and States for a great Relique, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceived People in great numbers came flocking to the Image, and to the red Host, and coloured Blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominick Friars so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the far to their own beads from the Order of the Franciscans, that all the Alms came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their estimation to decay, and their kit him to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited domes, (for as the Proverb saith, *It is ill halting before a Cripple*) effcoons espied their crafty juggling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the four chief Captains above-named were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the Provincial of that Order was one.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and Popish Tragedy, wherein evidently it may appear to the Reader, how neither these turbulent Friars could agree among themselves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous Friars pass with their trifling Phantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men: in the mean time this is to be lamented, to behold the miserable times of the Church, in which the Devil kept the minds of Christ's people so attentive and occupied in such fiery toys, that nothing else almost was taught or heard in the Church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary: But of our justification by faith, of grace, and of the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the Law, of the horror of Sin, of difference between the Law and the Gospel, of the true liberty of Conscience, &c. no mention or very little was heard. Wherefore in this so blind a time of darkness it was much

needful and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should look upon his Church, and send down his gracious Reformation, which also he did: For shortly upon the same, through the gracious excitation of God, came *Martin Luther*, of whom the order of his story now requireth we should, and will intreat, (Christ willing) after the story of *Richard Hunne*, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the story to follow.

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of Pope Anno 1510. Julius, and of his warlike affairs, for which he was condemned, and not unjustly, in the Council of Thorne in France, Anno 1510, and yet all this could not affuage the furious affection of this Pope, but the same year he invaded the City of *Matina* and *Mirandula* in Italy, and took them by force of war. Which Pope Julius not long after, in the year of our Lord 1512, refusing peace offered by *Maximilian* the Emperor, was encountered by *Lewis* the French King about *Ravenna*, upon Easter-day, where he was vanquished, and had of his Army slain to the number of sixteen thousand, *Ex Chron. Carion.* And the year next following, Anno 1513, this Apostolical Warriour, which had reigned his keys unto the River of *Tybris* before, made an end together both of his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom succeeded next in the See of Rome, Pope Leo the tenth: about the compass of which time great mutations and stir began to work, as well in States Temporal, as especially in the State of the Church.

Pope Leo 10. in Rome, Anno 1513.
Charles 5. Emperor of Germany, Anno 1519.
Francis King of France, Anno 1515.
Henry 8. King of England, Anno 1509.
James 5. King of Scotland, Anno 1514.

The state and succession of Princes.
39
32
38

In the time of which Pope, Emperor, and Kings of England and of France, great alterations, troubles, and turns of Religion were wrought in the Church, by the mighty operation of God's hand, in Italy, France, Germany, England, and all Europe; such as have not been seen (alho much groaned for) many hundred years before: as in further discourse of this History (Christ willing) shall more manifestly appear.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will first speak of *Richard Hunne*, and certain other godly-minded Persons here in England, afflicted for the Word of Christ's Gospel in great multitudes, as they be found and taken out of the Registers of *Fitzjames* Bishop of London, by the faithful help and industry of *R. Carkis*, Citizen of London.

The History of divers good Men and Women, persecuted for Religion in the City and Diocess of the Bishop of London; briefly extracted out of the Registers of Richard Fitzjames.

AMONGST and beside the great number of the faithful Martyrs and Professors of Christ, that constantly in the strength of the Holy-Ghost gave their lives for the testimony of his Truth, I find recorded in the Register of London, between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1517, the names of divers other persons, both Men and Women, who in the fulness of that dark and misty time of Ignorance had also some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his Truth and Gospel, and were diversly troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same: notwithstanding by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the Catholic Seat, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature, (not then fully strengthened in God) it was again in them for the time suppressed and kept under, as appeareth by their several abjurations made before *Richard Fitzjames*, then Bishop of London, (in his time a most cruel Persecutor of Christ's Church) or else before his Vicar-general deputed for the same. And forasmuch as many of the Adversaries of God's Truth have of late days diddantly and braggingly cried out, and made demands in their public Assemblies, and yet do, asking, Where this our Church and Religion was within three hity or sixty years? I have thought it not altogether vain, somewhat to stop such lying crackers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening some of the

Ex Register Fitzjames.

The profession of the Protestants no new Doctrine.

Friars neither can agree with themselves, nor yet do disagree but in vain trifles.

The sufferings of the Protestants of the time considered.

the chief and principal matters for which they were so unmercifully afflicted and molested: thereby to give to understand, as well the continuance and consent of the true Church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our Faith, tho' not in like perfection of knowledge and constancy in all: as also by the way something to touch what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant Prelates shamed not in that time of blindness to object against the poor and simple people, accounting them as heinous and great offences, yea, such as deserved death both of body and soul. But lest I should seem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

Anno 1510.	<i>Joan Baker.</i>	<i>Lewis John.</i>	
	<i>William Pottier.</i>	<i>Joan John.</i>	Anno
	<i>John Forge.</i>	<i>John Web, alias</i>	1512.
	<i>Thomas Goodred.</i>	<i>Baker.</i>	
	<i>Thomas Walker, alias</i>	<i>John Houshold.</i>	1517.
	<i>Talbot.</i>	<i>Robert Rascal.</i>	
	<i>Thomas Forge.</i>	<i>Elizabeth Stanford.</i>	1518.
	<i>Alice Forge.</i>	<i>George Browne.</i>	
	<i>John Forge, their Son.</i>	<i>John Wiker.</i>	
	<i>William Couper.</i>	<i>John Soutake.</i>	
	<i>John Calverton.</i>	<i>Richard Butler.</i>	
	<i>John Woodroff.</i>	<i>John Samme.</i>	
Anno 1511.	<i>Richard Woolman.</i>	<i>William King.</i>	1521.
	<i>Roger Hilliar.</i>	<i>Robert Durdant.</i>	
	<i>Alice Couper.</i>	<i>Henry Woolman.</i>	
	<i>Thomas Ausly.</i>	<i>Edmund Spilman.</i>	
	<i>Joan Ausly.</i>	<i>John Higges, alias</i>	1523.
	<i>Thomas Grant.</i>	<i>Noke, alias Johnson.</i>	
	<i>John Garter.</i>	<i>Henry Chambers.</i>	1526.
	<i>Christopher Ravins.</i>	<i>John Higgins.</i>	
	<i>Dyonise Ravins.</i>	<i>Thomas Egleston.</i>	1527.
	<i>Thomas Vincent.</i>		

Here followeth the particular Examination of all these here above named.

To these were divers and sundry particular Articles (besides the common and general for customably used in such cases) privately objected, even such as they were then accused of either by their Curate, or other their Neighbours. And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their several Proceedings, I mind therefore briefly only to touch so many of their Articles, as may be sufficient to induce the Christian Reader to judge the sooner of the rest, being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow: except that sometime they were charged most scandalously with horrible and blasphemous Lies against the Majesty and Truth of God; which as they utterly denied, so do I now for this present keep secret in silence, as well for brevities sake, as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameful practices of that lying Generation. But to our purpose.

Ex Regis.
R Fitzjames.

Joan Baker.

Against worshipping of the Crucifix or Cross.

Testimony for the Lady Yvonne, Martyr.

William Pottier.
False slander of the Advocates.

Answer.

The chiefest Objection against *Joan Baker* was, That she would not only her self not reverence the Crucifix, but had also persuaded a Friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the Crucifix, but in God which is in Heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead Images, which be but stocks and stones; and therefore she was sorry that ever she had gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other Idols. Also, that she did hold opinion that the Pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady *Tong* (who was not long before that time burned) died a true Martyr of God; and therefore the wildest of God, that she her self might do no worse than the said Lady *Tong* had done.

Unto *William Pottier*, besides divers other false and slanderous Articles, (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christ's Passion) it was also alleged, That he should affirm there were six Gods: the first three was the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost; the fourth was a Priest's Concubine being kept in his chamber; the fifth was the Devil; and the sixth, that thing that a Man setteth his mind most upon.

The first part of this Article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly, the blessed Trinity to be only one God

in one unity of Deity. As to the other three he answered, That *K. Hen. 8.* a Priest delighting in his Concubine, made her as his God: Likewise a wicked Person, persisting in his sin without repentance, made the Devil his God. And lastly, he granted, that he once hearing of certain Men, which by the singing and chattering of Birds would seek to know what things were to come either to themselves or others, said, that these Men esteemed their Birds as Gods; and otherwise he spake not.

Amongst the manifold and several Articles objected against *Thomas Goodred*, *Thomas Walker*, *Thomas Forge*, *Alice Forge* his Wife, *John Forge* their Son, *John Calverton*, *John Woodroff*, *Richard Woolman*, and *Roger Hilliar*, (as that they should speak against Pilgrimages, praying unto Saints, and such like) this principally was propounded, That they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar; and further, had concealed and consented unto their Teachers and Instructors in that Doctrine, and had not, according to the Laws of the Church, accused and presented them unto the Bishop or his Ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against *Richard Woolman*, for that he termed the Church of *Pauls* a House of Thieves, affirming, that the Priests and other Ecclesiastical Persons there were not liberal givers unto the poor (as they ought) but rather takers away from them what they could get.

Likewise as *Thomas Ausly*, *Joan Ausly* his Wife, *Thomas Grant*, *John Garter*, *Christopher Ravins*, *Dyonise Ravins* his Sister, *Thomas Vincent*, *Lewis John*, *Joan John* his Wife, and *John Web*, were of one fellowship and profession of Faith with divers of the last before recited; so were they almost all apprehended about one time, and chiefly burthened with one opinion of the Sacrament. Which declareth evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of some to behold the manifest truth, even in those times whereof the Papists make now greatest vaunt, and brag of longest continuance. Furthermore, many of them were charged to have spoken against Pilgrimages, and to have read and used certain English Books repugning the Faith of the Romish Church, as the four Evangelists, *Wickliff*, *Wicket*, a Book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of *St. John*, the Epistles of *Paul* and *James*, with other like, which those holy ones could never abide: and good cause why; for as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that Kingdom, with the true knowledge of Christ and his Gospel.

It was further particularly objected against *Joan John*, the Wife of *Lewis John*, That (besides the premises) she learned and maintained, that God commanded no Holy-days to be kept, but only the Sabbath-day, and therefore she would keep none but it; nor any Falling-days, affirming, that to fast from sin was the true Fast. Moreover, that she had despised the Pope, his pardons and pilgrimages; inasmuch that when any poor body asked an alms of her in the worship of the Lady of *Walsingham*, she would straight answer in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Lady of *Walsingham* help thee: and if she gave any thing unto him, she would then say, Take this in the worship of our Lady in Heaven, and let the other go. Which declareth, that for lack of better instruction and knowledge, she yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true Saints of God departed, the otherwise she did abhor the idolatrous worshipping of the dead Images. By which example, as also by many others (for shortness sake at this present omitted) I have put occasion to condemn the wilful subtilty of those, that in this bright shining light of God's truth, would yet under colour of godly remembrance, still maintain the having of Images in the Church, craftily excusing their idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, by affirming, that they never worshipped the dead Images, but the things that the Images did represent. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compel these poor simple people thus openly in their recantations to abjure and revoke their speaking against the gross adoration of the outward Images only, and not against the thing represented, which many of them (as appeareth partly by this example) in their ignorant simplicity confessed might be worshipped? Howbeit, God be thanked, (who ever in his mercy continue it) their colourable and hypocritical excuses cannot now take such place in the hearts of the Elect

The Goodred, P. Walker, i. o. Forge, &c.

Against idolatry and corporal presence.

The Ausly, Joan Ausly, &c.

Against transubstantiation and corporal presence.

Against Holy-days.

Against Pilgrimages and adoration of Images.

K.Hen.8. of God as they have done heretofore, especially seeing the Word of God doth so manifestly forbid as well the worshipping of them, as also the making or having of them for order of Religion.

William Couper and his Wife.

IT was alleged against *William Couper*, and *Alice Couper* his Wife, that they had spoken against Pilgrimages, and worshipping of Images: but chiefly the Woman, who having her child on a time hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earnestly persued by some of her ignorant Neighbours to go on pilgrimage to *St. Laurence*, for help of her child, said, That neither *St. Laurence*, nor any other Saint could help her child, and therefore none ought to go on Pilgrimage to any Image made with Man's hand, but only to Almighty God; for Pilgrimages were nothing worth, saving to make the Priests rich. *Vide supra inferius.*

John Houshold, &c.

Unto *John Houshold*, *Robert Raschal*, and *Elizabeth Stamford*, as well the Article against the Sacrament of the Altar was objected, as also that they had spoken against praying to Saints, and had despised the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and others of his Clergy. But especially *John Houshold* was charged to have called them Antichrists and Whoremongers, and the Pope himself a strong Strumpet, and a common Baud unto the World, who with his Pardons had drowned in blindness all Christian Realms, and that for money.

George Browne.

Also among divers other ordinary Articles propounded against *George Browne*, these were counted very hainous and heretical: First, that he had said, that he knew no cause why the Crofs should be worshipped, seeing that the same was an hurt and pain unto our Saviour Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure; alledging for example, that if he had had a Friend hanged or drowned, he would ever after have loved that Gallows or Water, by the which his Friend died, rather worse for that than better. Another Objection was, That he had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said, (for so are their words) That the Church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched somewhat the quick, and therefore no marvel tho they counted it erroneous and malicious; for take away their Gain, and fawered their Religion. They also charged him to have refused holy Water to be caft about his chamber, and likewise to have spoken against Priests, with other vain matters.

John Wikes.

The greatest matter wherewith they burthened *John Wikes* was, That he had often and of long time kept company with divers persons suspected of Heresy, (as they termed them) and had received them into his House, and there did suffer and hear them sundry times read erroneous and heretical Books, contrary to the Faith of the Romish Church; and did also himself consent unto their Doctrine, and had many times secretly conveyed them from the taking of such as were appointed to apprehend them.

To Southlake, Richard Butler, &c.

Like as the greatest number of those before mentioned, so were also *John Southlake*, *Richard Butler*, *John Sam. William King*, *Robert Durdant*, and *Henry Woolman*, especially charged with speaking words against the real presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and also against Images, and the rest of the seven Sacraments. Howbeit they burthened the last five persons with the reading of certain English Heretical Books, accounting most blasphemously the Gospel of Jesus Christ, written by the four Evangelists, to be of that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth Article objected by *Thomas Bennet* Doctor of Law, Chancellor and Vicar-general unto *Richard Fitzjames* then Bishop of *London*, against the said *Richard Butler*, the very words of which Article, for a more declaration of truth, I have thought good here to infer, which are these: *Alls we object to you, that divers times, and especially upon a certain Night, about the space of three years last past, in Robert Durdant's House of Yver-Court near unto Stanes, you erroneously and damably read in a great Book of Heresy of the said Robert Durdant's, all that same Night, certain Chapters of the Evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of Heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, and divers other suspected Persons of Heresy, then being present, and*

Reading of English Books.

Of last mention hereafter in the Table following.

bearing your said erroneous Lectures and Opinions. To the same effect and purpose tended the tenor of some of the Articles propounded against the other four. Whereby (as also by others like before specified) we may easily judge what reverence they, which yet will be counted the true and only Church of Christ, did bear to the Word and Gospel of Christ, who shamed not to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of Heresy. But why should we marvel thereat, seeing the Holy-Ghost in sundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter days there should come such proud and cursed speakers, which shall speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their Consciences marked with an hot Iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us also pray him, that of his free mercies in his Son Christ Jesus, he would (if it be to his glory) either turn and mollify all such hearts, or else (for the peace and quietness of his Church) he would in his righteous judgment take them from us.

About this time *Richard Fitzjames* ended his life, after whole death *Cuthbert Tunfall* (afterward Bishop of *Durham*) succeeded in the See and Bishoprick of *London*; who soon upon his first entry into the room, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his Predecessor, caused *Edmund Spelman*, Priest, *Henry Chambers*, *John Higgins*, and *Thomas Egglestone* to be apprehended, and so to be examined upon sundry like Articles as before are expressed; and in the end, either for fear of his cruelty, and the rigor of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises, (such was their weakness) he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true professed Faith touching the holy Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, which was, That Christ's corporal Body was not in the Sacrament, but in Heaven; and that the Sacrament was a figure of his Body, and not the Body itself.

The death of Rich. Fitzjames, Bishop of London. Cuthbert Tunfall, Bishop of London.

The real presence denied.

Moreover, about the same time there were certain Articles objected against *John Higges*, alias *Nike*, alias *Johnson*, by the said Bishop's Vicar-general, amongst which were these: First, That he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal Man to have two Wives at once, as for a Priest to have two Benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a Book of the four Evangelists in English, and did often read therein: and that he favoured the Doctrines and Opinions of *Martin Luther*, openly pronouncing, that *Luther* had more learning in his little finger, than all the Doctors in *England* in their whole bodies; and that all the Priests in the Church were blind, and had led the People the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied Purgatory, and had said, that while he was alive he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that Prayers and Alms-deeds could little help him.

Against a Priest to have two Benefices.

Testimony touching Martin Luther.

These and such like matters were they wherewith these poor and simple Men and Women were chiefly charged, and as hainous Heretics excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant: and some of them in utter shame and reproach (besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the Crofs in Procession, or else at a Sermon) were enjoined for a penance (as they termed it) as well to appear once every year before their Ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves, or other part of their outward garment, and that during all their lives, or so often and long as it pleased their Ordinary to appoint. By which long, rigorous and open punishing of them, they meant (as it should seem) utterly to terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledge of Jesus Christ and his Gospel. But the Lord be evermore praised, what effect their wicked purposes therein have taken, these our most light-forn days of God's glorious Gospel do most joyfully declare.

The manner of Popish Penance.

There were also troubled, besides these, certain others more simple and ignorant, who, having but a very small smack or taste of the Truth, did yet at the first (as it may seem) gladly consent unto the same; but being apprehended, they quickly again yielded, and therefore had only assigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the Crofs, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Amongst which I find two especially: the one a Woman, called *Ellen Hoyer*, to whom it was objected, That she had neither confessed her self unto the Priest, nor yet received the Sacrament of the Altar by the space of four years,

The troubles of Ellen Hoyer and Rob. Berkeley.

years, and notwithstanding had yearly eaten flesh at Easter, and after, as well as others that had received the same, contrary to the usual manner and conversation of all other Christian People.

The other was a Man named *Robert Berkway*, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God, which he utterly denied) was charged to have spoken heinous words against the Popes holy and blessed Martyr, *Thomas Becket*, calling him Micher and Thief, for that he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus have I, as briefly as I could, summarily collected the principal Articles objected against these weak, infirm, and earthly Vessels; not minding hereby to excuse or condemn them in these their fearful falls and dangerous defections, but leaving them unto the unmeasurable rich mercies of the Lord. I thought only to make manifest the unsatisfiable bloody Cruelty of the Popes Kingdom against the Gospel and true Church of Christ, nothing mitigating their envious rage, no, not against the very simple Idiots, and that sometimes in most frivolous and irreligious cases. But now leaving to say any further herein, I will (by God's grace) go forward with other somewhat more serious matters.

The Death and Martyrdom of William Sweeting, and John Brewster.

Wm. Sweeting, John Brewster, Martyrs.

IN searching and perusing of the Register, for the collection of the Names and Articles before recited, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who after they had once flattered themselves as frail and unconstant as the reft, (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred Word) became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as ever they were before, and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of which number were *William Sweeting*, and *John Brewster*, who were both burned together in *Smithfield* the eighteenth day of *October*, in the year of our Lord 1511. The chiefest case of Religion alleged against them in their Articles, was their faith concerning the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, which because it differed from the absurd, gross, and Capernaical opinion of the new Schoolmen, was counted as most heinous Heresy. There were other things besides objected against them, as the reading of certain forbidden Books, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of Heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at their first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their Ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed withal for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight, and yet the matter well and thoroughly considered, it seemeth by their confessions, they were both therewith by necessity enforced.

Against transubstantiation and corporal presence in the Sacrament.

The cruel rigour of the Catholic Clergy against the professors of the Gospel.

For the one, named *Sweeting*, being for fear of the Bishop's cruelty constrained to wander the Countries to get his poor living, came at length unto *Calcester*, where by the Parson of the Parish of *Mary Magdalen*, he was provoked to be the Holy-Water Clerk, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him. The other (which was *Brewster*) left off his at the commandment of the Controller of the Earl of *Oxford's* House, who hiring the poor Man to labour in the Earl's household-business, would not suffer him working there to wear that counterfeit cognizance any longer. So that (as I said) necessity of living seemeth to compell both of them at the first to break that injunction: and therefore if Charity had born as great sway in the hearts of the Popes Clergy, as did Cruelty, this trifle would not have been so heinously taken, as to be brought against them for an Article, and cause of condemnation to death. But where tyranny once taketh place, as well all godly love, as all humane reason and duties are quite forgotten. Well, to be short, what for the causes before recited, as also for that they had once already abjured, and yet (as they term it) fell again into relapse, they were both (as you have heard) in the end burned together in *Smithfield*; altho the same parties (as the Register recordeth) did again before their death fearfully forsake their former revived constancy, and submitting themselves unto the discipline of the Romish

Schoolmen would not be taken of the charitable Catholics.

Church, craved absolution from their excommunication. *K. Hen. 8.* Howbeit, because many of the Registers notes and records in such cases may rightly be doubted of, and so called into question, I refer the certain knowledge thereof unto the Lord, (who is the trier of all truths) and the external judgment unto the godly and discreet Reader: Not forgetting yet by the way (if that the report should be true) upon so just an occasion, to charge that Catholic Clergy, and their wicked Laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before: for if they nothing flay their bloody malice towards such as so willingly submit themselves unto their cruelties; what favour may the faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask of them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition (or rather precept) of our Saviour Christ, (whose true and only Church they so stoutly brag to be) who in the seventeenth chapter of *St. Luke* saith, *Thou thy brother sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn to thee, saying, It repenteth me; thou shalt forgive him.* But what go I about to allure them unto the following of the Rule and Counsel of him, unto whose Word and Gospel they seem most open and utter enemies? Wherefore not purposing to flay any longer thereupon, but leaving them unto the righteous revengement of the Lord, let us now hereunto adjoin the story of one *John Browne*, a good Martyr of the Lord, burnt at *Alford* about this fourth year of *King Henry* the eighth, whose story hereunder followeth.

No mercy in the Popes Court.

John Browne, Father to Richard Browne, which Richard was in Prison in Canterbury, and should have been burned, with two more besides himself, the next day after the death of Queen Mary, but by the proclaiming of Queen Elizabeth they escaped.

THE occasion of the first trouble of this *John Browne*, was by a Priest sitting in *Gravesend-Barge*. *John Browne*, being the same time in the Barge, came and fate hard by him; whereupon, after certain communication, the Priest asked him; Dost thou know, said he, who I am? thou fittest too near me, thou fittest on my clothes: No, Sir, said he, I know not what you are. I tell thee I am a Priest. What, Sir, are you a Parson, or Vicar, or a Lady's Chaplain? No, quoth he again, I am a Soul-Priest, I sing for a Soul, saith he. Do you so, Sir, quoth the other, that is well-done; I pray you Sir, quoth he, where find you the Soul when you go to Mass? I cannot tell thee, said the Priest. I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the Mass is done? I cannot tell thee, said the Priest. Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to Mass, nor where you leave it when the Mass is done, how can you then save the Soul? said he. Go thy ways, said the Priest, thou art an Heretic, and I will be even with thee. So at the landing, the Priest taking with him *Walter More*, and *William More*, two Gentlemen Brethren, rode straightways to the Archbishop *Warham*; whereupon the said *John Browne* within three days after, his Wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a Mef of Portage to the Board to his Guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to *Canterbury*, neither his Wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whether he went, nor whither he should; and there continuing from Low-Sunday, till the Friday before Whitunday, his Wife not knowing all this while where he was; he was let in the stocks overnight, and on the morrow went to death, and was burnt at *Alford*, Anno 1517. The same night, as he was in the stocks at *Alford* where he and his Wife dwelt, his Wife then hearing of him, came and fate by him all the night before he should be burned: to whom he declaring the whole story how he was handled, flattered and told, how that he could not let his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones; and told her, how by the two Bishops *Warham* and *Fisher*, his feet were heat upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, to make me, said he, to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thee, said he, therefore, good *Elizabeth*, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children veruouly in the fear of God. And so the next day on Whitunday Even, this godly Martyr was burned. Standing at the Stake, this Prayer he made, holding up his hands:

John Browne burned at Alford about the fifth year of King Henry 8.

Chilton of Weymouth being arrested, and one Beare of Wilkesborough, with two of the Bishops servants, let him upon the horse, and so carried him away.

K. Hen. 8.

O Lord, I yield me to thy Grace,
Grant me mercy for my Trespases;
Let never the Fiend my Soul chase.
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
Let never my Soul come in Hell-beat.

Into thy hands I commend my Spirit; thou hast redeemed
me, O Lord of Truth.

And so he ended.

Ex testimoio Alicie Browne, ejus filie, ejus mariti no-
men dicebatur Strat. in parochia S. Pulcri.

At the Fire the said Chilton, Bailiff Arrant, bad cast in his
children also, for they would spring (said he) of his ashes.

This blessed Martyr, John Browne, had born a faggot seven
years before, in the days of King Henry the seventh.

As it is the property of Satan ever to malign the propo-
ritous estate of the Saints of God, and true professors of
Christ; so cease he not continually to stir up his wicked
members to the effectual accomplishing of that which his
envious nature so greedily delireth; if not always openly
by colour of tyrannical Laws, yet at leastwise by some sub-
til practice of secret Murther. Which thing doth most
plainly appear, not only in a great number of the blessed
Martyrs of Christ's Church mentioned in this Book, but also
and especially in the discourse of this lamentable History that
now I have in hand, concerning the secret and cruel murther-
ing of Richard Hunne, whose Story here consequently
enfueth, deceived and collected partly out of the Registers
of London, partly out of a Bill exhibited and denounced
in the Parliament-house.

The Story of Richard Hunne.

Rich-
ard
Hunne
Martyr.

Here was in the year of our Lord 1514, one Richard
Hunne, Merchant-Tailor, dwelling within the City
of London, and Freeman of the same, who was esteemed
during his life, and worthily reputed, and taken not only
for a Man of true dealing and good substance, but also for
a good Catholic Man. This Richard Hunne had a child
at nurse in Middlesex, in the Parish of St. Mary Masfilon,

Anno
1514.

which died; by the occasion whereof one Thomas Dry-
field Clerk, being Parson of the said Parish, sued the said
Richard Hunne in the Spiritual Court for a bearing-Sheet,
which the said Thomas Dryfield claimed unjustly to have
of the said Hunne, for a Mortuary for Stephen Hunne, Son of
the said Richard Hunne, which Stephen being at nurse in
the said Parish, died, being of the age of five weeks, and
not above Hunne answered him again, That forasmuch
as the Child had no propriety in the Sheet, he therefore
neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it.
Whereupon the Priest, moved with a covetous desire, and
loth to lose his pretended Right, assented him to appear in
the Spiritual Court, there to answer the matter. Where-
upon the said Richard Hunne being troubled in the Spiritu-
al Court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the
Law of this Land, and pursued a Writ of *Premunire* against
the said Thomas Dryfield, and other his Aiders, Counsel-
lors, Proctors, and Adherents, as by the process thereof
is yet to be seen. Which when the rest of the Priestly Or-
der heard of, greatly disdainning that any Layman should so
boldly enterprize such a matter against any of them, and
fearing also, that if they should now suffer this Priest to be
condemned at the suit of Hunne, there would be thereby
ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the Laity to
do the like with the rest of the Clergy in such like cases;
they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be
revenge of him for that he had already done, sought all
means they possibly could how to intrap and bring him
within the danger of their own cruel Laws. And there-
upon making secret and diligent Inquisition, and seeking
all comers they could against him, at length they found a
means how to accuse him of Heresy unto Richard Fitz-
james then Bishop of London, and so did, who (desirous
to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his Chap-
lains) caused him thereupon to be apprehended and com-
mitted unto prison within the Lollards Tower at Pauls, so
that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him.

The Defen-
ful to be seen
of the Pope's
holly Catho-
lics to be
noted.

Rich Hunne
came tried
in Lollards
Tower.

This Richard Hunne being clapt in the Lollards Tower,
shortly after, at the earnest instigation of Dr. Horsley, the Bi-
shop's Chancellor, (a Man more ready to prefer the Cler-
gies cruel tyranny, than the truth of Christ's Gospel) was
brought before the Bishop at his Manor of Fulham, the 2d
day of December, in the year before mentioned, where
within his Chappel he examined him upon these Articles
following, collected against him by the said Horsley and his
Complices:

First, that he had read, taught, preached, published, and
obstinately defended, against the Laws of Almighty God, that
Tithes, or paying of Tithes, was never ordained to be due,
saving only by the Covetousness of Priests.

The Articles
objected a-
gainst Rich-
Hunne.

2. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published,
and obstinately defended, that Bishops and Priests be the Scribes
and Pharisees that did crucify Christ, and damned him to
death.

3. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, &c. That
Bishops and Priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers,
neither fulfillers of the Law of God, but catching, ravening,
and all things taking, and nothing ministring, neither giving.

4. Item, Where and when one Joan Baker was detected
and abjured of many great Heretics, (as it appeareth by her
Abjuration) the said Richard Hunne said, published, taught,
preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, That he
would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him five hundred
Markes.

5. Item, Afterwards (where and when the said Joan
Baker, after her Abjuration, was enjoined open Penance ac-
cording to her demerits) the said Richard Hunne said, pub-
lished, taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, The
Bishop of London and his Officers have done open wrong to
the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for Heresy; for her
sayings and opinions be according to the Laws of God:
wherefore the Bishop and his Officers are more worthy to be
punished for Heresy than she is.

6. Item, That the said Richard Hunne hath in his keeping
divers English Books prohibited and damned by the Law; as
the Apocalypse in English, Epistles and Gospels in English,
Wickliffs damnable Works, and other Books containing infi-
nite Errors, in the which he hath been a long time accustomed
to read, teach, and study daily.

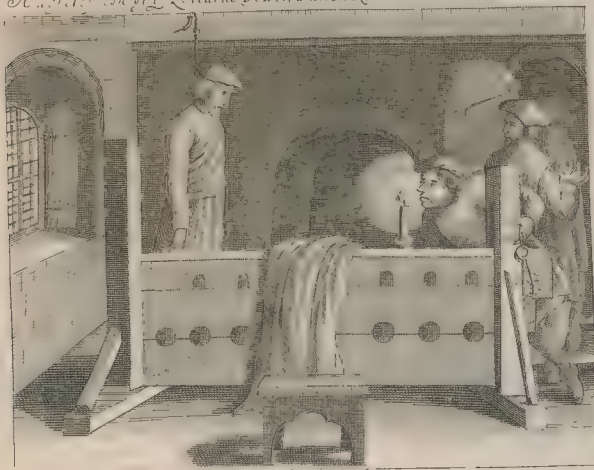
Particular Answer unto these several Objections in the
Register I find none, saving that next under them there is
written in his name, with a contrary hand, these words
following: As touching these Articles, I have not spoken
them as they be here laid; howbeit unadvisedly I have spoken
Words somewhat founding to the same, for the which I am
sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me to my Lord's
charitable and favourable Correction. Which they affirm to
be written with Hunne's own hand: but how likely to
truth that is, let the discreet wisdom of the Reader indi-
ferently judge by the whole sequel of this Process. And fur-
ther, if it were his own act, what occasion then had they
so cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already
so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself to the
charitable and favourable correction of the Bishop, (for the
which, even by their own Law, in cases of most heinous
Heresy, he ought to be again received and pardoned) ex-
cept perhaps they will account horrible Murther to be but
the Bishop's favourable correction. Against it seems they had
very few credible witnesses to prove certainly that this was
his Answer and Hand-writing; for the Register, or some
other for him, appointed to record the same, hath certified
it as of hear-say from others, and not of his own proper
light and knowledge, as the words noted in the margin of
the Book, adjoining to the fore said Answer, plainly do de-
clare, which are these; Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria
Ricardi Hunne, ut dicitur. Now if he had any sure ground
to stablish this Certificate, I doubt not but he would instead
of *ut dicitur*, have registered the names of the Assitants at
the time of his examination, (which he confesseth to be
many) as generally they do in all their Acts, especially in
cases of Heresy, as they term it. But how scrupulous
those good fellows that spared not so shamefully to murder
him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead,
let, as I said, the indifferent judgment of the godly wife
discern.

This Answer
furnisheth
of forging
and crafty pack-
ing.

Arguments
and Reasons
proving this
Answer not
to be of
Rich Hunne.

This Examination ended, the Bishop sent him back
again

A Description of the Lollards Tower, where Richard Hunne was murdered.



Richard Hunne sent back again to Lollards Tower.

Richard Hunne privily murdered in the Lollards Tower.

Crafty rackling of the murdering Papists.

The secret conveyance of the murdering of Richard Hunne.

Horsley the Chancellor craftily practised.

The death of Hunne secretly by the Londoners.

again the same day unto the *Lollards Tower*; and then, by the appointment of *Dr. Horsley*, his Chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of *Charles Joseph* the Sumner, unto *John Spalding* the Bell-ringer, a Man by whose simpleness in wit (tho otherwise wicked) the subtil Chancellor thought to bring his devillish pretended Homicide the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did, by his Ministers suborned, within two nights next then following accomplished, as is plainly proved hereafter, by the diligent Enquiry, and final Verdict of the Coroner of *London* and his Inquest, made by order of the Laws in that behalf limited. But when this usual practice of the Papists was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts nor worldly-wiles for the crafty colouring of this mischief: and therefore the next morning after they had in the night committed this Murder, *Spalding* (I doubt not but by the counsel of his Master Chancellor) gat himself out of the way into the City, and leaving the Keys of the Prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the Sumners boy which customably did use to carry *Hunne* his meat and other necessities that he needed; thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might by his relation be thought free from any suspicion of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they willed. For the Boy the same morning (being the fourth day of *December*) having the keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of the Bishop's Sumners, went about ten of the Clock into the Prison, to serve the Prisoner as he was wont to do; and when they came up, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (astonished at this sight) gave knowledge thereof immediately unto the Chancellor, being then in the Church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose for such News, who forthwith got unto him certain of his Colleagues, and went with them into the Prison, to see that which his own wicked Conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, altho then he made a fair face to the contrary, blazing abroad among the People by their Officers and Servants, that *Hunne* had desperately hanged himself. Howbeit the People having good experience as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the Man, as also of the devillish malice of his Adversaries the Priests, judged rather, that by their procurement he was secretly murdered. Whereof arose great contention; for the Bishop of *London* on the one side, taking his Clergies part, affirmed stoutly that

that *Hunne* had hanged himself: The Citizens again on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret Murder, caused the Coroner of *London*, according to Law, to chuse an Inquest, and to take good view of the dead Body, and so to try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the Bishop and his Chaplains were then driven to extremity of shifts: and therefore minding by some subtil shew of Justice to stop the mouths of the People, they determined, that in the mean while as the Inquest was occupied about their charge, the Bishop should for his part proceed *Ex Officio*, in case of Heresy against the dead Person; supposing, most like, that if the Party were once condemned of Heresy, the Inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former suspicion of privy Murder. This determination of theirs they did immediately put in practice, in order as followeth:

First, besides the Articles before mentioned, which they affirm were objected against him in his life-time, *Dr. Head* did now also after his death collect certain others out of the Prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the Bishop's hands, which he diligently perused, not to learn any good thing therein, but to get thereout such matter as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose, as appeareth by the tenor of the Articles, which are these:

1. First, the said Book damneth all holy Canons, calling them Ceremonies and Statutes of sinful Men and cunning, and calleth the Pope *Sathanas* and *Antichrist*.
2. Item, it damneth the Pope's Pardons, saying they be but Leafings.
3. Item, The said Book faith, That Kings and Lords called Christian in name, and Heathen in conditions, denie the Sanctuary of God, bringing Clerks full of Covetousness, Heresy and Malice, to stop God's Law, that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.
4. Item, The said Book faith, that Lords and Prelates pursue fully and cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the Law of God, and cherish them that preach sinful Mens Traditions and Statutes, by which he meaneth the holy Canons of Christ's Church.
5. Item, That poor Men and Idiots have the truth of the holy Scriptures, more than a thousand Prelates, and religious Men, and Clerks of the School.
6. Item, That Christian Kings and Lords set Idols in God's House, and excite the People to Idolatry.
7. Item, That Princes, Lords, and Prelates so doing, be worse

The Ceremony fitted on the death of Hunne.

Hereby led to Hunne after his death.

Dr. Head promoter of the death.

Dr. Head's Book.

New Articles commenced against Hunne after his death.

K. Hen. 8. worse than Herod that persecuted Christ, and worse than Jews and Heathen Men that crucified Christ.

8. Item, That every Man, swearing by our Lady, or any other Saint or Creature, giveth more honour to the Saints than to the Holy Trinity, and so he saith they be Idolaters.

9. Item, He saith that Saints ought not to be honoured.

10. Item, He damnth Adoration, Prayer, Kneeling, and offering to Images, which he calleth Stocks and Stones.

11. Item, He saith, that the very Body of the Lord is not contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, but that Men receiving it shall thereby keep in mind that Christ's Flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

12. Item, He damnth the University of Oxford, with all degrees and faculties in it, as Art, Civil, Canon, and Divinity: saying, that they let the true way to come to the knowledge of the Laws of God and holy Scripture.

13. Item, He defendeth the translation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the English Tongue, which is prohibited by the Laws of our Mother Holy Church.

An holy Mother Church which cannot abide the Word of God to be translated.

These Articles thus collected, as also the others before specified, they caused, for a more shew of their pretended Justice and Innocency, to be openly read the next Sunday following, by the Preacher at Pauls-Croft, with this protestation made before.

The Bishops Publication at Pauls-Croft, against Richard Hunne.

Matters and Friends, for certain causes and considerations, I have in commandment to rehearse, shew, and publish here unto you, the Articles of Herefy upon which Richard Hunne was detected and examined: And also other great Articles and damnable Points and Opinions of Herefy contained in some of his Books, be come to light and knowledge here ready to be shewn.

And therewith he read the Articles openly unto the People, concluding with these words:

And Matters, if there be any Man desirous to see the specialty of these Articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this Book or not, for satisfying of his mind let him come to my Lord of London, and he shall see it with good will.

Moreover, here I counsel and admonish, that if there be any Persons that of their impudency have been familiar and acquainted with the said Richard Hunne in these Articles, or have heard him read upon this Book, or any other founding to Herefy, or have any like Books themselves, let them come unto my Lord of London betwixt this and Candlemas next, and acknowledge their fault, and they shall be charitably intreated and dealt withal, so that both their Goods and Honesty shall be saved: and if they will not come of their own offer, but abide the Process of the Law, then at their own peril be it, if the rigor of the Law be executed against them.

After which open publication and admonition, the Bishop at sundry times examined divers of his Priests, and other Lay-Persons, upon the contents of both these Articles. Among which Examined there was a Man-servant and a Maid of the said Hunne's, who altho they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehension, no, not in such points as the Bishop chiefly objected against him. But yet the Priests (through whose procurement this mischief was first begun) spared no whit stoutly and maliciously to accuse him, some in the contents of the first Articles, and some in the second. Wherefore having now, as they thought, sufficient matter against him, they purposed speedily to proceed to his condemnation. And because they would seem to do all things formally, and by prescript Order, they first drew out certain short and summary Rules, by which the Bishop should be directed in this solemn Session, which are these:

For Report of the Priests, London.

1. First, let the Bishop sit in his Tribunal-Seat in our Ladies Chapel.

2. Secondly, let him recite the cause of his coming, and take Notaries to him to enact what shall be there done.

Mark the manner of this proceeding.

3. Thirdly, let him declare, how upon Sunday last at Pauls-Croft, he caused to be published a general Monition or Denunciation, that all Fautors and Maintainers of Richard Hunne should come in as by this day, and submit themselves: And let him signify withal, how certain have come in, and have appeared already.

4. Fourthly, let him protest and say, that if there remain any yet behind, which have not appeared according to the former Monition and Denunciation, yet if they will

come and appear, and submit themselves, they shall be heard and received with grace and favour.

5. Fifthly, let the Bishop, or some other at his appointment, recite the Articles objected against Richard Hunne in the time of his Life, and then the other Articles likewise, which were out of his great Book of the Bible extracted.

6. Sixthly, Let the Answers and Confessions of the said Richard Hunne summarily be recited, with the Attestations made to the same Articles. Also let his Books be exhibited, and then Thomas Brooke his Servant be called for.

7. Seventhly, let it be openly cried at the Quire-Door, That if there be any which will defend the Articles, Opinions, Books, or the Memory of the said Richard Hunne, let them come and appear, and they shall be heard as the Law in that behalf shall require.

8. Eighthly, let it be openly cried as in manner before, for such as be receivers, favourers, defenders or believers of the said Richard Hunne, that all such do appear and submit themselves to the Bishop, or else he intendeth to proceed to the Excommunication of them in general, according to the exigence of the Law in that behalf.

9. Ninthly, let the Bishop speak to the standers-by, and to them of the Clergy which fit with him upon the Bench, demanding of them, what their Judgment and Opinion is touching the Premises? and whether they think it convenient and agreeable for him to proceed to the Sentence against the said Richard Hunne in this part to be awarded?

10. Tenthly, After their consent and counsel given, let the Bishop read out the Sentence.

11. Finally, after the Sentence read, let the Bishop appoint the publication and denunciation of the foresaid Sentence to be read at Pauls-Croft, or elsewhere, as to him shall seem expedient, with a Citation likewise generally against all them that be receivers, favourers, and believers of the said Hunne, to give to understand why he ought not further to proceed against them, &c.

Now according to the tenour of these Prescripts and Rules, the Bishop of London, accompanied with the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, sat in Judgment the sixteenth day of December then next following, within the place by the same appointed: adjoining also unto them as Witnesses of their proceedings, six publick Notaries, his own Register, and about twenty five Doctors, Abbots, Priors, and Priests of name, with a great Rabble of other common anointed Catholics. Where after a solemn Proclamation made, that if there were any that would defend the Opinions and Books of Richard Hunne, they should presently appear and be heard according to Law, he commanded all the Articles and Objections against Hunne openly to be read before the Assembly: and then perceiving that none durst appear in his defence, by the advice of his Assistants, he pronounced the Sentence definitive against the dead Carcase, condemning it of Herefy, and therewith committed the same unto the Secular Power, to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous Decree was as fondly accomplished in Smithfield the twentieth day of the same month of December, (being full sixteen days after they had thus barbarously murdered him) to the great grief and disdain of all the People. And because the Bishop in his Sentence definitive useth a more formal and ample Order of Words than accustomedly is used in others, and also pretendeth full hypocritically in the beginning, as it were by way of Induction, divers causes that moved him to proceed against the dead Carcase: I thought good therefore here to insert the same, as a final conclusion of their crafty-coloured Tragedy, the tenour whereof is this:

A solemn Process of Sir James Bishop of London against Rich. Hunne being dead.

The Corps of Richard Hunne burned after his death.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Cum nuper (pendente sacra Synodo, & generali Prelatorum & Cleri Provincia Cantuariensis Convocatione, in Ecclesia nostra Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London, per Prelatos & Clerum Provincia Cantuariensis, actualiter ibidem exercita) contigisset, quod quidam Richardus Hunne de Parochia Sancte Margarete in Brigstreet Lond. de & super crimine heretice pravitatis notatus & diffamatus existisset: Reverendissimus in Christo Pater & Dominus, Dominus Willielmus misericordie divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Anglie Primas, & Apostolica sedis Legatus, ipsius venerabilis Carui & Convocationis Causat & Presens, ex vehementibus & violentis (quos contra eundem Richardum Hunne super heretice pravitatis tunc habebat)

The Sentence definitive against Rich. Hunne after his death.

bat) presumptionibus contra eundem Richardum, debitam facere inquisitionem cupiens, ne (si ratione heresi huiusmodi membrum fuisset à corpore Christi mystico præcisum) ipsum ad caput & corpus (id est, Christum, sanctæque matris Ecclesie unitatem) per salutaria monita & condignam penitentiam revocaret & reduceret: ne idem Richardus inter simplices & devotos Christi fidelium & Catholicorum animas contrando, & zizanias hereticæ seminando, fidelium mentes macularet & inficeret, & sinistris ac perversis assertoribus & opinionibus, à veritatibus semita & vera fide Christiana aberrare faceret: ad effectum citandi eum ad comparandum coram dicto reverendissimo Patre & Domino Archiepiscopo, suisque Coepiscopis & Suffraganeis, ceterisque illius Concionis sive sacre Synodi Prelatis, super præmissis respondendum perquiri fecit & mandavit. Verum idem Richardus apprehendi non potuit. Unde dictus reverendissimus Pater suum tam pium, tam sanctum & laudabile propositum ad effectum perducere non potuit. Quod enim nos Richardus permissio divina Londinensis Episcopus, dicti Richardi Ordinarium, (cui etiam tanquam de heresi suspectus, idem Richardus à multis retroactis temporibus delatus & detectus excitor) intelleximus, non volentes nec audientes prædicta facientis silentio & conniventibus oculis pertransire & prætermittre, ne ob nostram negligentiam, & corpore sanguis, ejus in disticto examine, suis Dei iudicio, de manibus nostris requiratur, volentes citariari & informari an ea que de ipso & contra eum nobis delata & dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua fulcuntur, & an in luce vel in tenebris ambulet, ne fortasse vis morbida exillens, innocens animas gravis dominici pestifera heresi corrumpere & inficere, ad informandum animam nostram, ipsum coram nobis vocandum, & super præmissis diligenter interrogandum & examinandum, omniacque faciendum, quæ secundum canonicas sanctiones erant faciendi, ejus animam pio & paterno zelante affectu, defendimus & preperimus: contra quem obijci judicialiter & propositis publicis in iudicio articulis, de & super quibus nobis (ut prefatur) delatus, detectus, & notatus fuerat. Quos per venerabilem virum magistrum Johannem Downam dicte publicæ jam lector, pro hic lectis & insertis habemus & haberi volumus: habuitque & recipit ad eosdem articulos responsionibus & confessionibus suis. Deinde testes fide dignos de & super eisdem articulis & aliis contra dictum Richardum in debita juris forma recipimus, admittimus, & diligenter examinari fecimus: propositisque nuper per nos verbo Dei ad crucem Divi Pauli, ejus detestabiles hereses & errores, in articulis & libris suis, quibus usus est, comprehensas, in ejus & ipsorum detestationem & damnationem publicantes, atque publice recitantes, populo in magna multitudine ibidem tunc congregato, notificavimus & intimavimus: Quod ipse dicto contra eundem Richardum, tanquam contra hereticum, ad ipsiusque condemnationem & excommunicationem in specie, ad aliisque in hac parte requisita, necnon ad excommunicationem receptorum, defensorum, fautorum, & credentium ipsius in genere, juxta canonicas sanctiones, sanctorum patrum decreta, & omnem juris vigorem & dispositionem, Deo duce, procedere intendebamus: monitionemque sive denunciationem quandam generalem dedimus & fecimus tunc ibidem, videlicet, quod si qui fuerint ejus receptores, defensores, fautores, & credentes, quod citra hunc diem ad nos & sanctæ matris Ecclesie gremium redirent, & se submitterent: quod si facerent, de misericordia Omnipotentis Dei confisi, polliciti sumus quod ipsos, de erroribus & reatibus suis huiusmodi penitentes, cum gratia, benignitate, misericordia, & favore, ad animarum suarum solatium & salutem reciperemus, quodque honestatem eorum pro posse servaremus in hac parte. Alioquin si sic sponte venire non curarent, sed juris ordinem processum expectarent, scirent nos hoc admissum adversus eos fœderis exequutores, in quantum jura permitterent. Adveniente itaque jam die isto, ad præmissa & infra scripta faciendi, sic ut prefatur, per nos præfixæ, nos Richardus Episcopus antedictus, in negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitatis prædictæ legitime procedentes, volentesque huiusmodi negotium sine debito terminare, solenne concilium tam in sacra theologia facultate, quam jura canonico & civili doctorum, & hunc venerabilem ceterum cleri & populi coram nobis fecimus congregari & visi, auditis, intellectis, rimatis, ac diligenter & matura deliberatione discussis meritis & circumstantiis negotii memorati, aliisque & altitatis in eodem productis & deductis prædictorum digestis & maturo concilio, cum multis apparatis contradictor seu defensor, qui dicti Richardi opinioniones, articulos, & memoriam defendere vellet, solum

Dicum oculis nostris proponentes ad sententiam nostram contra K. Hen. 8. eum, ejus opiniones & libros, receptoresque, fautores, defensores, & credentes, se nobis juxta tenorem & formam monitionis & denunciationis nostrarum prædictarum minime submitterent, nec ad gremium sanctæ matris Ecclesie redire curantes, licet quidam salvationis sui filii citra monitionem & denunciationem nostras prædictas ad nos venerant, & se submiserunt, quos tam gratia & favore recipimus in hac parte ferendam, sic duximus procedendum & procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia per acta altitatis, inquisita, deducta, confessata, & probata, necnon per vehementes & urgentes presumptiones, & judicia perspicua compertimus luculenter, & invenimus dictum Richardum Hunne crimine hereticæ pravitatis multipliciter irretitum, atque hereticum fuisse & esse, nonnullasque opinionibus & assertionibus detestabiles & hereses damnatas, dum in humanis agebat, & vitales experire auras, affirmasse, proposuisse, & recitasse, librisque suspectis, & de jure damnatis, & nonnullas hereses postestas in se continentibus usum fuisse, recipisse, admittisse & examinatis testibus per Commissarios ad hoc deputatos de & super impenitentia finali, pertinacia, & obitu dicti Richardi Hunne: Idcirco nos Richardus Episcopus antedictus, servatis servanda, prout in tali negotio posuit ordo juris, dicti Richardi Hunne impenitentia ac finali * obijciat & pertinacia, per evidentia signa testibus legitimis, vehementissimis & violentis presumptionibus comprobatis, prout jam coram nobis legitime exitis facta fides, editio apud Crucem Divi Pauli, die dominico ultimo pretirio, ad audiendum & per nos ferendum Sententiam, ad hunc diem per nos publicè facta & proposita: propterea de hujus venerabilis catervis (videlicet, Reverendorum Patrum, Dominorum Thomæ Dumenensis, & Wilhelmi Lincolnienfis, ac Johannis Calipolienfis, Episcoporum, necnon in sacra Theologia, Doctorem, & legum Doctorem, & Cleri, atque proborum & venerabilium virorum, Domini Majoris, Aldermanorum, & Vicecomitem Civitatis Londinensis, & Populi hic congregatorum, & nobis in hac parte assidentium & assistentium) consensu, assensu, & consilio, eandem Richardum Hunne diversarum heresum libris, dum vivit, usum fuisse, ac noturum & pertinacem impenitentem hereticum fuisse, ac in heresi decessisse, atque conscientia criminis & meritis future sententie, antea perinacis & impenitentis, corde indurato obijci & decessisse, premisurumque præterea de jure excommunicatum fuisse & esse, atque in excommunicatione huiusmodi decessisse, ipsiusque receptores, fautores, defensores, & credentes, etiam in genere de jure excommunicatos, atque sententia majoris excommunicationis innodatos & involutos fuisse & esse pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus: ipsum Richardum Hunne & libros suos hereticos de jure damnatos, sicutque ac librorum ipsorum memoriam in detestationem & damnationem sceleris & criminis huiusmodi condemnamus: dictumque Richardum Hunne ob præmissa Ecclesiastica carere debere sepultura sententiam, etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, & è foro Ecclesiastico tanquam membrum putridum projicimus, corpusque suum & ossa brachio & potestati singulari reliquimus & committimus, juxta & secundum canonicas & legitimas sanctiones, consuetudinesque laudabiles in regno Angliæ ab antiquo nitas & observatas, in opprobrium sempiternum & detestationem criminis nefandissimi prædicti, ad eternamque hujus rei memoriam, ceterarumque Christi fidelium metum atque terrorem, per hanc nostram sententiam, sive finale decretum, quam sive quod fecimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead Body, and their fair and colourable threat of Justice, yet the Inquest no whit stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and means of his death. In former that when they had been divers times called both before the King's Privy-Council, (his Majesty himself being sometime present) and also before the chief Judges and Justices of this Realm, and that the matter being by them thoroughly examined, and perceived to be much bolstered and born withal by the Clergy, was again wholly remitted unto their determination and ending: they found by good proof, and sufficient evidence, that Doctor Horsey the Chancellor, Charles Joseph the Sumner, and John Spalding the Bell-ringer, had privily and maliciously committed this Murder, and therefore indicted them all three as wilful Murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest will of the Bishop of London unto Cardinal Wolsey, (as appeareth

* What final obijciat was in him, when you say before that by his own hand-writing he sheweth himself to be Bishop's favourable correction.

Dr. Horsey Chancellor, Charles Joseph the Sumner, and John Spalding the Bell-ringer, had privily and maliciously committed this Murder, and therefore indicted them all three as wilful Murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest will of the Bishop of London unto Cardinal Wolsey, (as appeareth

Jan. 8. by his Letters hereafter mentioned) means was found, that at the next Sessions of Goal-delivery the King's Attorney pronounced the Indictment against *Dr. Horsey* to be false and untrue, and him not to be guilty of the Murder. Who, being then thereby delivered in Body, having yet in himself a guilty Conscience, got him unto *Exeter*, and durst never after for shame come again unto *London*. But now that the truth of all this may seem more manifest and plain unto all Mens eyes, here shall follow, word by word, the whole Enquiry and Verdict of the Inquest, exhibited by them unto the Coroner of *London*, and so given up and signed with his own hand.

The Verdict of the Inquest.

*The Verdict
of the In-
quest.*

THe fifth and the sixth day of *December*, in the sixth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the eighth, *William Barnwell*, Coroner of *London*, the day and year above said, within the Ward of *Castle-Baynard* of *London*, assembled a Quest, whose names afterward do appear, and hath sworn them truly to enquire of the death of one *Richard Hunne*, which lately was found dead in the *Lollards-Tower* within *Paul's Church* of *London*: Whereupon all we of the Inquest together went up into the said Tower, where we found the body of the said *Hunne* hanging upon a Staple of Iron, in a Girdle of Silk, with fair countenance, his head fair kembered, and his bonnet right sitting upon his head, with his eyne and mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any drivelling or spurning in any place of his body: Whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take down the body of the said *Hunne*, and as soon as we began to heave the body it was loose: whereby by good advisement we perceived that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double-cast, and the links of an iron chain, which did hang on the same staple, were laid upon the same girdle whereby he did hang: Also the knot of the girdle that went about his neck, stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrils two small streams of blood to the quantity of four drops; save only these four drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, dublet, collar, and shirt of the said *Hunne* was clean from any blood. Also we found that the skin both of his neck and Throat, beneath the girdle of silk, was fretted and failed away, with that thing which the Murderers had broken his Neck withal. Also the hands of the said *Hunne* were wrung in the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound. Moreover, we find that within the said prison was no mean whereby a Man might hang himself, but only a Stool, which Stool stood upon a Bolster of a Bed, so tickle, that any Man or Beast might not touch it so little, but it was ready to fall: whereby we perceived, that it was not possible that *Hunne* might hang himself, the Stool so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we find in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcel of blood. Also we find upon the left side of *Hunne's* Jacket, from the breast downward, two great streams of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his Jacket we find a great cluster of blood, and the Jacket folded down thereupon; which thing the said *Hunne* could never fold nor do after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth plainly to us all, that the neck of *Hunne* was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all we find, by God and all our Consciences, that *Richard Hunne* was murdered. Also we acquit the said *Richard Hunne* of his own death.

Also there was an end of a Wax-candle, which, as *John Bell-ringer* saith, he left in the Prison burning, with *Hunne* that same Sunday at night: that *Hunne* was murdered; which Wax-candle we found sticking upon the Stocks, fair put out, about seven or eight foot from the place where *Hunne* was hanged, which candle after our opinion was never put out by him, for many likelihoods which we have perceived. Also at the going up of *Master Chancellor* into the *Lollards Tower*, we have good proof that there lay on the Stocks a Gown, either of

Murrey, or *Crimson* in grain, furred with *Shauks*, whose Gown it was we could never prove, neither who bare it away. All we find, that *Master William Horsey*, Chancellor to my Lord of *London*, hath had at his commandment both the rule and guiding of the said Prisoner. Moreover, all we find, that the said *Master Horsey*, Chancellor, hath put *Charles Joseph* out of his Office, as the said *Charles* hath confessed, because he would not deal and use the said Prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the Chancellor would have had him to do. Notwithstanding the deliverance of the Keys to the Chancellor by *Charles* on the Saturday at night before *Hunne's* death, and *Charles* riding out of the Town, on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a Convention made betwixt *Charles* and the Chancellor to colour the Murder. For the same Sunday that *Charles* rode forth, he came again to the Town at night, and killed *Richard Hunne*, as in the depositions of *Julian Little*, *Thomas Chicheley*, *Thomas Simonds*, and *Peter Turner*, doth appear.

After colouring of the Murder betwixt *Charles* and the Chancellor conspired, the Chancellor called to him one *John Spalding*, Bell-ringer of *Pauls*, and delivered to the same Bell-ringer the Keys of the *Lollards-Tower*, giving to the said Bell-ringer a great charge, saying, I charge thee to keep *Hunne* more straitly than he hath been kept, and let him have but one meal a day: moreover, I charge thee let no body come to him without my licence, neither to bring him Shirt, Cap, Kerchief, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before *Hunne* was carried to *Fulham*, the Chancellor commanded to be put upon *Hunne's* Neck a great Collar of Iron, with a great Chain, which is too heavy for any Man or Beast to wear, and long to endure.

Moreover, it is well proved, that before *Hunne's* death the said Chancellor came up into the said *Lollards-Tower*, and kneeled down before *Hunne*, holding up his hands to him, praying him of Forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must do to him. And on Sunday following the Chancellor commanded the Penitentiary of *Pauls* to go up to him, and say a Gospel, and make for him holy Water, and holy Bread, and give it to him, which he did: and also the Chancellor commanded that *Hunne* should have his dinner. And the same dinner-time *Charles's* Boy was shut in Prison with *Hunne*, which was never so before; and after dinner, when the Bell-ringer set out the Boy, the Bell-ringer said to the same Boy, Come no more hither with meat for him till tomorrow, for my Master Chancellor hath commanded that he should have but one meal a day: and the same night following *Richard Hunne* was murdered, which Murder could not have been done without consent and licence of the Chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of *John Spalding* Bell-ringer: for there could no Man come into the Prison but by the keys, being in *John Bell-ringer's* keeping. Also, as by my Lord of *London's* Book doth appear, *John Bell-ringer* is a poor innocent Man. Wherefore all we do perceive, that this Murder could not be done but by the commandment of the Chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of *John Bell-ringer*.

Charles Joseph, within the Tower of *London*, of his own free will and unconstrained, said, That *Master Chancellor* devised and wrote with his own hand all such Heresies as were laid to *Hunne's* charge; record *John God*, *John True*, *John Pasmore*, *Richard Gibson*, with many other. Also *Charles Joseph* saith, That when *Richard Hunne* was slain, *John Bell-ringer* bare up the stains into the *Lollards Tower* a Wax-candle, having the keys of the doors hanging on his arm; and *Charles* went next to him, and *Master Chancellor* came up last: and when all we came up, we found *Hunne* lying on his Bed; and then *Master Chancellor* said, Lay hands on the Thief; and so all we murdered him: and then *Charles* put the girdle about *Hunne's* neck; and then *John Bell-ringer* and *I Charles* did heave up *Hunne*, and *Master Chancellor* pulled the girdle over the staple, and so *Hunne* was hanged.

*Proof of
Hunne's
Death.*

*The witness
of Charles
Joseph, Sum-
mer.*

The Deposition of Julian Littell late Servant of Charles Joseph, by her free will, unconstrained, the sixth Tear of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth, within the Chappel of our Lady of Bethlehem, shewed to the Inquest.

The Witness of Julian Littell, as gainst Ch. Joseph.

I lift, Julian faith, that the Wednesday at night, after the death of Richard Hunne, Charles Joseph her Master came home to his Supper: Then Julian said to him, Master, it was told me that ye were in Prison. Charles answered, It is merry to turn the Penny: and after Supper Charles trusted up a parcel of his Goods, and with help of Julian, bare them into Mr. Porter's Houle to keep: and that done, Charles said to Julian; Julian, if thou wilt be sworn to keep my counsell, I will then thee my mind. Julian answered, Yea, if it be neither Felony nor Treason. Then Charles took a Book out of his Parle, and Julian sware to him thereupon. Then said Charles to Julian, I have destroyed Richard Hunne. Alas Master, said Julian, how? he was called an honest Man. Charles answered, I put a wyre in his Nose. Alas said Julian, now be ye cast away and undone. Then said Charles, Julian, I trust in thee that thou wilt keep my counsell: And Julian answered, Yea, but for God's sake Master thinke for your self. Then Charles said, I had lever than 100 pound it were not done; but what is done, cannot be undone. Moreover Charles said then to Julian, Upon Sunday when I rode to my Cousin Barington's house, I tarried there and made good cheer all day till it was night: and yet before it was midnight I was in London, and had killed Hun: and upon the next day I rode thither again, and was there at dinner, and sent for Neighbours, and made good cheer. Then Julian asked Charles, Where set you your Horse that night you came to Town, and wherefore came you not home? Charles answered, I came not home for fear of bewraying. And then Julian asked Charles, Who was with you at the killing of Hun? Charles answered, I will not tell thee. And Julian faith that upon the Thursday following Charles tarried all day in his house with great fear: and upon Friday following, early in the morning before day, Charles went forth, as he said, to Pauls; and at his coming in again he was in a great fear, saying halflie, Get me my Horse: and with great fear and haste made him ready to ride; and bad Mr. Porter's Lad lead his Horse into the Field by the backside: and then Charles put into his sleeve his Male, or Malor, with other Plate borrowed of Mr. Porter, both Gold and Silver, but how much I am not sure: and Charles went into the Field after his Horse, and Julian brought his Budget after him. Also upon Friday in Christmase week following, Charles came home late in the night, and brought with him three Bakers and a Smith of Stratford, and the same night they carried out of Charles's his Houle, all his Goods by the Field side, to the Bell in Shoreditch, and early in the morning conveyed it with Carts to Stratford.

Moreover Julian faith, that the Saturday at night before the death of Hun, Charles came home, and brought with him a Gurtard, saying, it was for Hun; and Charles's Boy told to Julian, that there was also ordained a piece of fresh Salmon, which John Bellinger had.

Also Charles said to the said Julian, Were not this ungracious Trouble, I could bring my Lord of London to the doors of Hereticks in London, both of Men and Women, that be worth a thousand pounds; but I am afraid that the ungracious Midwife shall bewray us all.

Also Charles said unto Mrs. Porter likewise & more largely, speaking of the best in London: Whereunto Mrs. Porter answered, The best in London is my Lord Mayor. Then Charles said, I will not fault him quite, for that he taketh this Matter to hart.

Whereas Charles Joseph faith he lay at Neckyl with a Harlot, a Man's Wife, in Barington's Houle, the same Night that Richard Hun was murdered, and there abode until the morrow at eleven of the clock: and thereupon brought before the King's Council, for his purgation, the forsaide Baud Barington's Wife, and also the forsaide Harlot: this purgation we have proved all untrue, as right largely may appear, as well by the Deposition of Julian Littell, as of Thomas Chicheley Tailor, Thomas Simonds Stationer, of Robert Johnson and his Wife, of John Spalding Belinger: Also of Peter Turner Son-in-law of the forsaide Charles Joseph, who said before, to an honest Woman, a Wax-chandler's Wife, that

The Witness of Peter Turner.

before this day seventh night Hun should have a mischievous death, &c. Also of John Ederby Baker, to whom John Spalding himself declared these words, that there was ordained for Hun so grievous penance, that when Men hear of it, they shall have great marvel thereof, &c. Besides the Deposition moreover of Allen Creswell Waxchandler, and Richard Horsenail Bailiff of the Sanctuary Town, called Godshure in Essex. Which Testimonies and Depositions hereafter follow.

The Deposition of Allen Creswell Waxchandler.

He said Allen faith, That John Granger servant with my Lord of London, in my Lord of London's Kitchen, at such time as the said Allen was fearing Hun's Coffin, that Granger I say, told him, that he was present with John Belinger the same Sunday at night that Richard Hun was found dead in the morrow, when the Keeper let him in the Stocks; inasmuch that the said Hun desired to borrow the Keeper's Knife: and the Keeper asked him what he would do with his Knife; and he answered, I had lever kill my self than to be thus entreated. This Deposition the said Allen will prove as far forth as any Christian Man may; saying, that Granger shewed to him these words of his own free will and mind, without any question or enquiry to him made by the said Allen. Moreover the said Allen faith, that all the evening Granger was in great fear.

The Deposition of Richard Horsenail, Bailiff of the Sanctuary-Town called Godshure in Essex.

He said Richard faith, That the Friday before Christmase day last past, one Charles Joseph, Sumner to my Lord of London, became a Sanctuary-Man, and the aforesaid Friday he registred his Name; the said Charles saying it was for the safeguard of his Body, for there be certain Men in London so extream against him for the death of Richard Hun, that he dare not abide in London. Howbeit the said Charles faith, he knowledgeth himself guiltles of Hun's death; for he delivered the Keys to the Chancellor by Hun's life. Also the said Bailiff faith, that Charles paid the Duty of the said Registring, both to him and Sir John Studley Vicar.

The Copy of Richard Fitzjames's Letter, then Bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey.

I beseech your good Lordship to stand so good Lord unto my poor Chancellor now in Ward, and indited by an untrue Quest, for the Death of Richard Hun, upon the only Accusation of Charles Joseph made by pain and avarice; that by your intercession it may please the King's Grace to have the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferent Persons of his discrete Council, in the presence of the Parties, ere there be any more done in the Cause; and that upon the innocency of my said Chancellor declared, it may further please the King's Grace to award a Plackard unto his Attorney to confess the said Indictment to be untrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my Chancellor be tried by any twelve Men in London, they be so maliciously set, in favour of hereticke pravitatis, that they will cast and condemn any Clergy, who be more innocent as Abel. Quare si potes beate Pater, adjuva inimizates nostras, & tibi in perpetuum devincturimus. Over this, in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may have the King's gracious Fav' to, whom I never offended willingly; and that by your good means I might speak with his Grace and you: and I with all mine shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

Your most humble Orator R. L.

Lastly, now it remaineth to infer the Sentence of the Quettmen, which followeth in like sort to be seen and expended, after I have first declared the words of the Bishop spoken in the Parliament-house.

The words that the Bishop of London spak before the Lords in the Parliament-house.

Memorandum, That the Bishop of London said in the Parliament-house, that there was a Bill brought to the Parliament, to make the Jury that was charged upon the

K. Hen. 8. The witness of John Spalding himself.

The Letter of the Bishop of London to Cardinal Wolsey.

K. Hen. 8. the death of *Hun*, true Men : and said and took upon his Conscience, that they were false perjured Caitiffs : and said further to all the Lords there being, For the love of God look upon this Matter ; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine house for Hereticks : And said, that the said *Richard Hun* hanged himself, and that it was his own deed, and no Mans else. And furthermore said, that there came a Man to his House, whose Wife was appeached of Heresy, to speak with him ; and he said that he had no mind to speak with the same Man ; which Man spake and reported to the Servants of the same Bishop, that if his Wife would not hold still her Opinions, he would cut her Throat with his own hands : with other words.

The Sentence of the Inquest, subscribed by the Crowner.

The Inquisition intended and taken at the City of London, in the Parish of St. Gregory, in the Ward of Baynard Castle in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the Reign of King Hen. 8. before Thomas Barnewel Crowner of our Sovereign Lord the King within the City of London aforesaid. Also before James Tarford and John Munday, Sheriffs of the said City, upon the fight of the Body of *Richard Hun*, late of London Tailor, which was found hanged in the Lollards Tower ; and by the oath and proof of lawful Men of the same Ward, and of other three Wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the City aforesaid, to enquire how, and in what manner wife the said *Richard Hun* came unto his death : and upon the Oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Buxted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmer, Edmund Hudson, John Arnsfell, Richard Cooper, John Tim : The which said upon their Oaths, that where the said *Richard Hun*, by the commandment of *Richard Bishop* of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a Prison of the said Bishops called Lollards Tower, lying in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, in the Parish of St. Gregory, in the Ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid ; *William Horsley* of London Clerk, otherwise called *William Horsley*, Chancellor to *Richard Bishop* of London ; and one *Charles Joseph* late of London Sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Bellringer, feloniously as Felons to our Lord the King, with force and arms against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, and dignity of his Crown, the fourth day of December, the sixth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the Parish of Saint Gregory aforesaid, upon the said *Richard Hun*, made a fray, and the same *Richard Hun* feloniously strangled and smothered, and also the Neck they did break of the said *Richard Hun*, and there feloniously slew him and murdered him ; and also the Body of the said *Richard Hun*, afterward the same fourth day, year, place, parish, and ward aforesaid, with the proper Girdle of the same *Richard Hun*, of silk, black of colour, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the Prison aforesaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, and the Dignity of his Crown : and so the said Jury hath sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, that the said *Wil. Horsley* Clerk, *Charles Joseph*, and *John Spalding*, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said *Richard Hun* in manner and form above-said, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

Subscribed in this manner :

Thomas Barnewel, Crowner of the City of London.

After that the twenty four had given up their Verdict, sealed and signed with the Crowner's Seal, the Cause was then brought into the Parliament-house, where the truth was laid so plain before all Mens faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to Prison, and should no doubt have suffered what they deserved, had not the Cardinal by his authority practised for his Catholicick Children, at the suit of the Bishop of London. Whereupon the Chancellor, by the King's Pardon, and secret shifting, rather than by God's Pardon

and his deserving, escaped, and went, as is said, to Exeter, &c. Nevertheless the justice took no place where favour did save, yet because the innocent Cause of *Hun* should take no wrong, the Parliament became suiters unto the King's Majesty, that whereas the Goods of the said *Hun* were confiscated into the King's hands, it would please his Grace to make restitution of all the said Goods unto the Children of the said *Hun*. Upon which motion, the King of his gracious disposition, did not only give all the fore-said Goods unto the fore-said Children under his broad Seal yet to be seen, but also did send out his Warrants (which hereafter shall follow) to those that were the cruel Murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to deliver all the said Goods, and make restitution for the death of the said *Richard Hun* : all which Goods came to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds Sterling, besides his Plate and other Jewels.

The Tenor of the King's Letter in the behalf of *Richard Hun*.

Trusty and Welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas by the complaint to us made, as well as also in our high Court of Parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot of our City of London Draper, and Margaret his Wife, late the Daughter of *Richard Hun* : And whereas you were indicted by our Laws, of and for the death of the said *Richard Hun*, and the said Murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our Records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of December, in the sixth year of our Reign ; the same we abhor : Nevertheless we of our special grace, certain science, and meer motion, pardoned you upon certain considerations us moving : for the intent that the Goods of the said *Richard Hun*, and the administration of them, were committed to the said Roger Whapplot. We then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you to the Infants, the Children of the said *Richard Hun* ; as well for his death, as for his goods, embazelled, wasted, consumed, by your tyranny and cruel act so committed, the same being of no little value : and as hitherto ye have made no recompence, according to our Laws, as might stand with Equity, Justice, right and good Conscience, and for this cause due satisfaction ought to be made by our Laws : Wherefore we will and exhort, and otherwise charge and command you, by the Tenor of these our special Letters, that ye justify and recompense the said Roger Whapplot, and the said Margaret his Wife, according to our Laws in this case, as it may stand with right and good conscience, else otherwise at your further peril ; so that they shall have no cause to return unto us, for their further remedy elswhere in this behalf, as ye in the same tender to avoid our high displeasure : otherwise that ye upon the sight hereof, set all excesses apart, and repair unto our presence, at which your hither coming you shall be further advertised of our mind.

From our Mannor, &c.

Defence of *Richard Hun* against Sir Thomas More and Allen Cope.

I Doubt not but by these Premises, thou hast (Christian Reader) sufficiently to understand the whole discourse and story of *Richard Hun*, from top to toe. First how he came in trouble for denying the bearing-Sheet of his young Infant departed : then how he was forced for succour of himself to sue a *Præmunire* : and thereupon what conspiracy of the Clergy was wrought against him, what snares were laid, what latches were practised, and Articles devised to snarl him in the Trap of Heresy, and so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in Prison, how he was secretly murdered ; after his murder, hanged ; after his hanging, condemned ; after his condemnation, burned ; and after his burning, lastly, how his death was inquired by the Crowner, and cleared by acquittal of the Inquest. Moreover, how the cause was brought into the Parliament, and by the Parliament the King's Precept obtained for restitution of his Goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous story, with all the branches, and particular evidences of the same, taken out as well of the publick Acts, as of the Bishop's Registers, and special Records remaining in the custody of *Dunstan VWhapplot*, the Son of the Daughter of the said *Richard Hun*, and there to be seen. I thought here to unwrap and discover so much this more, for three special purposes :

First,

The Sentence of the Inquest.

Rich. Hun cleared by the Inquest, not to have hanged him.

The King's Letter for the restitution of *Hun*'s Goods.

Defence of Rich. Hun.

See publick Acts & Registers & Regist. Lond.

Three purposes considered.

First, as is requisite, for testimony and witness of Truth fully slandered, of Innocency wrongfully condemned, and of the Party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moveth me for Sir Thomas More's Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to jett poor simple Truth out of countenance.

The third cause which constraineth me, be the Dialogues of *Alanus Copus*; which two, the one in English, the other in Latin, railing and barking against *Richard Hun*, do double-wise charge him, both to be an Heretick, and also a desperate Homicide of himself. Which as it is false in the one, so it is to be found as untrue in the other, if simple Truth, which hath few Friends, and many times cometh in crafty handling, might freely come to indifferent hearing.

Answer for Rich. Hun against Sir Tho. More Right.

Sir T. More having many good verses had some great vice.

The Person of Sir Tho. More continued.

The Reasons of Sir Tho. More refuted.

The circumstances of Hun's hanging considered.

Utopia Moti.

Wherefore as I have hitherto described the order and manner of his handling, with the Circumstances thereof, in plain and naked narration of Story, simply laid out before all Mens faces; so something here to intermit, in the defence as well of his oppressed cause, as also in discharge of my self, I will now compendiously answer to both these foresaid Adversaries, stopping as it were, with one both two gaps; and the mouths also, if I can, of them both together.

And first against Sir Thomas More, albeit in Degree worshipsful, in Place superior, in wit and Learning singular, if his judgment in Christ's matters had been correspondent to the same, being otherwise a Man with many worthy Ornaments beautified: yet being but a Man, and one Man, I lay and object against the Person of him, the persons and censures of twenty four Questmen, the depolation of so many Jurates, the judgment of the Crown, the approbation of the Parliament; and lastly, the King's Bill assigned for restitution of his goods, with his own broad Seal confirmed, &c. And thus much to the Person and Credit of Sir Thomas More.

Now as touching his Reasons: whereas he coming in with a flim-flam of a Horse-mill or a Mills-horle (in his own terms I speak) thinketh it probation good enough, because he could not see him taken by the sleeve which murdered Hun: against these Reasons unreasonable of his, I alledge all the Evidences and demonstrations of the History above prefixed, to be considered, and of all indifferent Men to be peered.

First, How he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair kembed, his bonnet right set on his head, with his eie and mouth fair cloied, without any driving or spurning. His body being taken down, was found loose (which by hanging could not be) his neck broken, and the skin thereof beneath the throat, where the girdle went, fret and forced away; his girdle notwithstanding being of silk, and so double cast about the staple, that the space of the girdle between the staple and his neck, with the residue also that went about his neck, was not sufficient for his head to come out at. His hands moreover wrung in the wrists, his face, lips, chin, doublet, and shirt-collar unstained with any blood: whereas notwithstanding in a manner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang a great quantity of blood was found. Also, whereas as the staple whereon he hanged was so that he could not climb thereto without some mean, there was a stool set up upon the bolster of a bed, so tickle, that with the least touch in the World it was ready to fall: and how was it possible that Hun might hang himself upon that staple, the stool so standing? Besides the confession moreover of *Charles Joseph*'s own mouth to *Julian Littlell*, of *Robert Johnson*, *John Spalding* the Bell-ringer, *Peter Turner*, and others. All which Testimonies and Declarations being so clear and undeniable, may suffice (I trust) any indifferent Man to see where the truth of this case doth stand: unless Mr. More being a Gentleman of *Utopia*, peradventure after some strange guise of that Country, used to carry his eyes not in his head, but in his affection, not seeing but where he liketh, nor believing but what he listeth.

Finally, where Sir Thomas More, speaking of himself, so concludeth, That he hearing in the matter what well might be said, yet could not find contrary but Hun to be guilty of his own death: so in as many words to answer him again, I perusing and searching in the story of *Rich. Hun* what may well be searched, cannot but marvel with my self, either with what darkness the eyes of Mr. More be dazled, not to see what is so plain: or else with what conscience he could dissemble that which shame cannot deny.

And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Sir Thomas More.

Thirdly, Touching the Dialogues of *Allen Cope*, which had rather the Bishop's Chancellor and Officers to be recounted among thieves and murderers, than Hun to be numbred among the Martyrs; I have herein not much to say, because himself faith but little: and if he had said less, unless his ground were better, it had made as little matter. But so far as he saying not much, fendeth us to seek more in More; so with like brevity again I may send him to *William Tindall* to shap him an answer. Yet notwithstanding left Cope, in saying something, should think Hun's innocent cause to lack some friends, which will not or dare not adventure in defence of Truth; somewhat I will answer in this behalf.

And first touching this murder of Hun not to be his own wilful act, but the deed of others; besides the demonstrations above premised to Sir Thomas More, now to Mr. Cope: If I had no other evidences but only these two, I would require no more; that is, his cap found so freight standing upon his head, and the stool so tottering under his feet. For how is it, I will not say like; but how is it possible for a Man to hang himself in a filken girdle double cast about a staple, in such shortness, that the space of the knot could not well compass his head about, and yet have his cap so freight set upon his head as his was?

Again, How is it possible, or can it be imagined for him to hang himself, climbing up by a stool which had no stay for him to stand upon, but stool so tickle, that if he had touched the same never so little, it must needs have fallen?

But Cope being something more provident in this matter, seemeth to exceed not altogether so far as doth Mr. More. For he, understanding the case to be ambiguous and doubtful, so leaveth it in suspense, not determining that Hun did hang himself, and yet not admitting that he died a Martyr, no more than they which are quelled by thieves and murderers by high-ways side. Well, be it so as Cope doth agree, that they which die by the hands of Felons and Murderers in their own ways, be no Martyrs; yet notwithstanding this his own similitude, comparing the Bishop's Chancellor and Officers to Thieves and Murderers, doth grant at least that Hun died a true Man, altho no Martyr.

Now if the cause be it, and not the pain, that maketh a Martyr, in pondering the cause why Hun was slain, we shall find it not altogether like to the cause of them which perish by Thieves and Robbers. For such commonly, because of their goods, and for some worldly gain to be sought by their death, are made away, and being true Men, may peradventure have the reward, altho not the name of Martyrs: Whereas, this Man's death being wrought neither for money, nor any such temporal lure to redound to his Oppressors; as it hath another cause, so may it have another name, and deserve to be called by the name of Martyrdom.

Like as *Abel* being slain by wicked *Cain*, albeit he had no opinion of Religion articulate against him, but of spite only and of malice was made away, yet notwithstanding is justly numbred among the Martyrs; so what let to the contrary, but that Hun also with him may be reckoned in the same Society, seeing the cause wherefore they both did suffer, proceedeth together out of one Fountain? And what moreover if a Man should call *Nabab* (who for holding his right inheritance was slain) a Martyr, what great injury should he do either to the name, or cause, or the person, worthy to be carped at? Against *Tho. Becket*, you know Mr. Cope, no special Article of Faith was laid, wherefore he died: And why then do you bestow upon him so devoutly the title of a Martyr, for withholding that from the King, which by the Law of God, and of the Realm, did belong unto him; and cannot suffer Hun to be titled for a Martyr, dying in his own right, by the hands of spiritual Thieves and Homicides, as you your self do term them? But what do I strain my travel any further to prove Hun a Martyr, when as Cope's own confession doth import no less, tho I said nothing? For what if I should take no more but his own very words, and say, that he was known to be an Heretick, as Cope doth affirm? What could I say more, seeing he died for his Herefy, to prove him to die a Martyr? For to die an Heretick with the Papists, what is it else (to Cope told, say truth) but to die with God a Martyr?

But howsoever it please either Sir Thomas More to jett, or *Allen Cope* to scold out the matter, and to file

K. Hen. 8.

Answer to Allen Cope for R. Hun.

Hun murdered not by himself, but by others.

Not possible that Hun should hang himself.

Cope denieth Rich. Hun to die a Martyr.

The cause, not the pain, maketh a Martyr.

The cause of Abel's death and of Hun's compared.

Cope Dial 6. pag. 847.

K. Hen. 8. Richard Hun for a known and desperate Heretick: yet to all true godly disposed Men, Hun may well be known to be a godly and virtuous Person, no Heretick, but faithful and found, save that only he seemed rather half a Papist: at least no full Protestant, for that he resorted daily to Mass, and also had his Beads in Prison with him, after the Catholick manner; albeit he was somewhat inclined (as may appear) toward the Gospel. And if the name of a Martyr be thought too good for him; yet I trust Mr. Cope will stand so good Master to him, to let him at least be a Martyr's Fellow. But what now if I go further with Mr. Cope, and name Richard Hun, not only for a Martyr, but also commend him for a double Martyr? *Certes*, as I suppose, in so saying I should affirm no less than truth, nor any thing more than may truly be said, and justly proved. But to give and grant this contention unto the Adversary, which notwithstanding might be easily proved: Let us see now the proofs of Mr. Cope, how he argueth that Richard Hun is no Martyr: because (saith he) true Men being killed in high-ways by Thieves and Murderers, are not therefore to be counted Martyrs, &c. And was there nothing else in the cause of Hun, but as in true Men killed by Thieves and Murderers? They that are killed by Thieves and Murderers are killed for some prey, or money about them: And what prey or profit was in the death of Hun, let us see, to redound to them which oppressed him? If it were the Mortuary, or the bearing-Cloth, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the *Premunire*, the danger thereof pertained to the Priest, and not to them. If they feared lest the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole Church, then was the cause of his death not private but publick, tending to the whole Church and Clergy of Rome: and so is his death not altogether like to the death of them which for private respects are killed of Thieves and Murderers.

But he was an Heretick, saith Cope. By the same reason that Cope taketh him for an Heretick, I take him the more to be accepted for a Martyr: for by that way which they call Heresy, the living God is served, and by no way better. And if he were an Heretick, why then did they not proceed against him as an Heretick while he was alive? When they had him at Fulham before them, if they had been sure to intrap him in that snare, why did they not take their advantage when they might with least jeopardy? why did they not proceed and condemn him for an Heretick? why made they such haste to prevent his death before? why did they not tarry the sentence of the Law, having the Law in their own hands? But belike they perceived that he could not be proved an Heretick while he lived, and therefore thought it best to make him away privily, and to stop the *Premunire*, and afterward to stop the pursuit of his death by making him an Heretick. And therefore were Articles devised by the Chancellor (as is proved before by the witness of *Ch. Joseph* and another) against him, and he condemned for an Heretic, and all his favourers also, whosoever durst stir to take his part, and thereupon was committed to the secular Power, and burned. Wherein they did him double wrong; first in that they burned him for an Heretick, having before submitted himself to their favourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the Bishop's Registers by his own hand, as it is there pretended; which was against their own Laws. Again, if he had not submitted himself at that time, yet did they him wrong to burn him before they knew him and heard him speak (as *Tindal* saith) whether he would recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for an Heretick, yet to be killed and burned of them for an Heretick, that taketh not from him the name of a Martyr, but rather giveth him to be a double Martyr.

But Cope yet proceeding in his hot choler against *Rieh. Hun*, after he hath made him first no Martyr, and then an Heretick, thirdly he now maketh him also a murderer of himself, and saith, that no other Man was any part of his death but only his own hands, and that either for indignation and anger, or for desperation, or for some cause he knoweth not what. And in his *Epilogue* to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but nameless, who in Queen Mary's time in like sort went about to hang himself, had he not been taken in the manner and rescued.

Furthermore, as touching the Chancellor he argueth, that there was no cause why he should attempt any such violence against him, both for his Age, for his Dignity, for his Learning, and for the greatness of his own Peril which might ensue thereof. Who, if he had malign'd the Man, and had been so disposed to work his destruction, had means otherwise without danger to bring that about, having him within his danger convict and fast tied for Heresy. Whereunto I answer, that to all this matter sufficient hath been answered by the story it self of his death above specified. Whereby the manner of his death, by circumstances of his handling and hanging, by his Neck broke, by his Body loose, by his Skin fretted, by his Wrists wrung, by his Girdle in such thorniness double cast about the staple, by his Cap right upon his Head, by his Hair kemb'd, by his Shirt-closet, by the cake of Blood found in the floor, by his Shirt-collor, Doublet, Jacket, and other outward parts of his garments without drop of Blood supported, by the stool for standing upon the bolster, by the Chancellor's murrey Gown found the day after upon the Stocks, the wax Candle fair put out: Furthermore, by the Verdict of the Inquest, by the Attestation of the Witnesses sworn, by the Crowner's Judgment, by the Assent of the Parliament, by the King's Letters assign'd, and broad Seal for restitution of his goods, and finally by the confession of the Parties themselves which murdered him, &c. And yet thinketh Cope to make Men such fools, having yet their five wits, to ween yet that Hun did hang himself, after so many demonstrations and evidences to the contrary, as in every part of this story may appear? And tho it were, as it was, unlike, and hard for a Man to believe, that Dr. *Horsley*, a Man of such Age, Dignity, and Learning, would so much forget himself to attempt such a villany: yet so great is the Devil sometimes with Man, where God permitte, that he worketh greater things than this, and more incredible. For who would have thought it like that *Cain* would ever have killed *Abel* his own natural Brother? which was more than for a Bishop's Chancellor to kill a Citizen: yet so he did. And where Cope pretendeth the causes of anger and desperation whereby Hun did hang himself, show is it like, or who ever did hear, a Man being in such extremity of desperation, to stand first trimming himself, and kembing his head, before he go to hang himself? No more credit is also to be given to that which followeth in the same Cope, where he saith, that *Rieh. Hun* being in Prison, was convict of Heresy. By the which word Convict, if he mean that Hun was proved an Heretick, that is false; for that he being at Fulham examined upon certain Articles, both denied the Articles to be true as they were objected; and also if they were true, yet he submitted himself to their favourable correction; and therefore not standing obstinately in the same, could not be proved an Heretick. And if by this term Convict, he mean that he was by sentence cast, so was Hun never cast by any sentence for an Heretick, so long as he lived, but after his death, when he could nothing answer for himself. And because this untruth should not go without his fellow, see how he hudleth up one false narration in the neck of another; affirming moreover, that Hun was cast into Prison before he entered his Suit of *Premunire* against the Priest. Which is utterly false and untrue, both disagreeing to other stories, and also refuted by the words of *Sir Tho. More* his own Author: who reporteth, that Hun (in suing his *Premunire* against the Priest) being set upon a glory of Victory, made his boast among his friends, that he trusted to have the matter long spoken of, and to be called Hun's case. *Hec Morus*. Whereby it appeareth that Hun was not then in Prison clapt up for Heresy, but was abroad seeking counsel among the Lawyers, and boasting among his friends, as writeth *More*, Lib. 3. Dial.

After this heap of untruths above puffed, add yet further another Copy of Cope's false dealing: who seeking all corners and every-where how to pick matter against my former History, chargeth me with arrogancy, as tho I took so highly upon me to undo and derogate from the King's Acts and Judgments in the acquittal of Dr. *Horsley*. If it so pleased the King to acquit Dr. *Horsley* by his gracious Pardon, I am not against it, neither do I deny but the King so did: neither do I say, nor ever did, but the King of his supereminent Prerogative may so do: and wherein then do I unrip or loose the King's Acts here done and concluded? But if the question be this, Whether Dr. *Horsley* with

Hun no full Protestant.

The cause of Hun's secret murder discovered.

Crafty premise. Hun had double wrong.

Cope's reason why Hun should hang himself.

Cope's reason answered.

Proof that Hun did not hang himself.

Manifest untruth in Cope.

Another untruth noted in Cope.

Cope hables up untruths.

Another untruth noted in Cope.

Tho. Morus, Dial. lib. 3. Another untruth in Cope noted.

Answer to
Cope's
cali-
lation.

his Conjurates, did kill *Richard Hun* or no: then do I say, that the Pardon of the King doth not take away the Verity of the Crime committed, but removeth away the Penalty of the Law deserved: and so if the life of them was saved by way of pardon (as Mr. More himself seemeth not to deny) then was it not through their innocency claiming Justice, that they escaped, but through petition standing in need of Mercy. For what needeth Pardon where Justice absolveth? Yea, who futh Pardon, but in so doing must yield himself guilty? for Pardon never cometh lightly, either with God or Man, except the Crime be first confessed. Wherefore if they escaped by Justice, as Cope pretendeth, how then doth Mr. More say, they were saved by Pardon? and if they escaped by Pardon, how then doth Cope say they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the Sentence of the King's Attorney in the King's Name did absolve them as unguilty, according as the King was then informed by the Cardinal and fuit of Friends; yet afterward the King, being better informed by the Parliament, and the Truth better known, detested and abhorred their Fact, and yet continued his Pardon unto them, as by the King's own Acts and his Broad Seal appeareth, yet remaining in Records to be seen.

And as touching my former Histories set forth in Latine and in English, which spake first of the fore-man of the Quest, then of the King's Attorney, to be laboured with some gifts or money: as Cope hath yet proved no untruth in my saying, so less can he find any repugnance or disagreeing in the same. For he that speaketh of bribing, first of one person, and then afterwards of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary, I think, to himself, but rather doth comprehend that in the one Book, which he before leaveth out in the other; and yet no great repugnance either in the one or the other, seeing that which is said may be verified in both as it is no other like but in this matter it was: for how is it otherwise like or possible, but that there must needs be found some privy packing in this matter, seeing after such evidence found and brought in by the Crowner's Inquest and Jury of twenty four chosen Persons, after so many marks and tokens of the murder so clear and demountable, and laid forth so plain to the eyes of all the World, that no Man could deny, or not see the same; yet through the handling of the foresaid Attorney, and of the Foreman of the Quest, the Murderers were born out and confessed to be no Murderers. If such bolstering out of matters and partiality were then such a rare case in the Realm of England, in the time of Cardinal *Wolsey*, who then under the King and in the King's Name did what he list; then let it seem untrue in my former stories that I have written. And yet the words of my story, which Cope carpeth at so much, be not mine, but the words of *Edward Hall* his own Author. Wherefore if his disposition be so set, that he must needs be a censurer of other Mens writings, let him expostulate with *Hall* and not with me.

But I trouble the Reader too much in this matter of *Richard Hun*, being of it self so clear, that no indifferent Judge can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers, they will never be fatished. Wherefore to return again to the purpose of our story intermitted; in the Table above, containing the Names of them which about this time of *Richard Hun* were forced to deny and abjure their professed Opinions, mention was made of *Elizabeth Stamford*, *John Household*, and other moe, abjuring about the year of Lord 1517. Whose vexation and weakness, altho it be pitifull to behold, yet to consider the confession of their Doctrine in those ancient days, it is not unprofitable. Wherin we have to see the same form and knowledge of Doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders; which is now publickly received, as well touching the Lord's Sacrament of his Body, as also other specialities of sincerity. And altho they lacked then publick authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the Gospel, which the Lord's merciful Grace hath given us now; yet in secret knowledge and understanding they seemed then little or nothing inferior to these our times of publick Reformation: As may appear by this confession of *Elizabeth Stamford* here-under written; which only may suffice for example, to understand what ripe knowledge of God's Word was then abroad, altho not in Churches publickly preached, for danger of the Bishops, yet in secret wise taught and received of divers.

In number of whom was this *Elizabeth Stamford*, who being brought and examined before *Finjames* Bishop of

London, Anno 1517, confessed, *That she was taught by one Thomas Beale, (sometime dwelling at Henley) these words eleven years before: That Christ feedeth, and fast nourisheth his Church with his own precious Body, that is, the Bread of Life coming down from Heaven: this is the worthy Word that is worthily received, and joined unto Man to be in one Body with him. Sooth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wisely deeming of the Holy Sacrament, Christ's own Body: this is not received by chewing of Teeth, but by hearing with Ears, and understanding with your Soul, and wisely working thereafter. Therefore saith St. Paul, I fear me amongst us, Brethren, that many of us be feeble and sick; therefore I counsel us Brethren to rise and watch, that the great day of Doom come not suddenly upon us, as the Thief doth upon the Merchant.* Also the said Beale taught and shewed her, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Christ, but very Bread: And that the Sacrament was the very Body of Christ put upon the Crofs, after a divine and mystical manner. And moreover, that the said *Thomas Beale* did many times and oft teach her this foresaid lesson, that she should confess her sins to God, and that the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences were nought worth, and profited not, and that worshipping of Images and Pilgrimages are not to be done.

To this *Elizabeth Stamford*, may also be annexed the Doctrine and Confession of *Joan Sampson*, Wife of *John Sampson* Carpenter, of *Aldermanbury* in London: Against whom, being cited and examined before the Bishop of London, certain witnessses were produced: who upon their Oath, being sworn, did detect and denounce the said *Joan Sampson* in these Articles and Opinions following:

1. That the being in her labour, what time *Joan Sampson* her Predecessor, then being alive; was with her, and after the manner then of Women, called much upon the help of the Virgin *Mary*, she spitting thereat, was in such sort aggrieved, that the other party was compelled to forsake the house.

2. Also, that she spake against Pilgrimage, and the worshipping of the Blessed Virgin, and of all Saints, affirming that there is none Holy but One.

3. Item, another time, in the hearing of one *Margaret Answorth*, when she and other Women were invoking the blessed Virgin to help in Womens labour, she stood against them, and contumeliously spake against the Invocators.

4. Item, that the speaking against the Pilgrimage of our Lady of *Wilsdon* (as she was then called) and of Saint Saviour at *Barmsey*, called the said Saint Saviour, *Syn Sawyer*.

5. Item, for having two certain Books in English, one bigger, and another lesser, which she committed to one *John Anthead* a Cook; which Books in the Register be not named.

6. Item, that the said *Joan Sampson*, at a supper, in the hearing of certain Men, and of a certain Widow named *Joan White*, spake openly in contempt of the Sacrament of the Altar, saying, that the Priests were Idolaters which did lift up the Bread over their heads, making the people to worship it, and making the people to believe that it was the Lord's Body; and that it was better to eat the Altar-cloth, if it might be eaten and digested as easily as the other.

Here follow moreover the names of divers other which in the Registers be specified to abjure: As,

William Jacum Carpenter.
John Stradling.
John Newman Shereman.
Robert Boffel.
Thomas Edward Dyer.
Richard Dewar.
Richard Aulby.
John Osborne.
Robert Roger.
John Eton.
John Chapman.
William Chaken.
Richard Mildnall.
John Hatchet.
Jacob Sturdey.
Thomas Purnal Tailor.
John Bitam.
Robert Hutton Pinner.

Robert Pope.
John Geste of Stafford.
John Brian of the Parish of St. Stephen.
John Bol.
Richard Westcot.
William Crofte.
Gen. Lund Prior of St. Sibe.
Henry Coll.
William Man.
William Sweting.
Jacob Brenstler.
Sabine Mande.
John Spencer.
Patrike Dowd, alias *Capper*.
Robert Aley.
John Finch Cook.
John Southwiche.

B 3

Against

Ex Hen.
Thomas
Beale.

Joan Sampson.

Articles of
Joan Sampson.

Against the
Sacrament of
the Altar.

The names of
divers Per-
sons which
abjured.

The escaping
of Henley
came rather
of favour
than of his
demerits.

Ex Ed. Hall,
in vij. Hen. 8.
Anno 6.

Elizabeth
Stamford.
Anno
1517.

The teaching
of the former
times, to be
considered.

K. Hen. 8.
John Southwick.

Against this *John Southwick* last named it was laid and objected, that when one *Rivelay*, coming from the Church of the *Gray-Fryars* in *London*, had said to his Wife (asking where he had been) that he had heard *Maſs*, and had ſeen his Lord God in form of Bread and Wine over the Prieſt's head; the aforeſaid *John Southwick* there preſent answered again and ſaid: Nay, *William*, thou ſaweſt not thy Lord God, thou ſaweſt but Bread and Wine and the Chalice. And when the ſaid *William* answered again in the ſame words as before, ſaying, I truſt verily that I ſaw my Lord God in form of Bread and Wine, and this I doubt not: the other replying again, answered and ſaid as before; Nay, I tell thee thou ſaweſt but only a Figure or Sacrament of him, the which is in ſubſtance Bread and Wine, &c. This was in the Year of our Lord 1520. In which he was compelled to abjure.

Content of

All the above-named, in one Key of Doctrine and Religion, did hold and concord together: againſt whom were objected five or fix ſpecial matters: to wit, for ſpeaking againſt worſhipping of Saints, againſt Pilgrimage, againſt invocation of the bleſſed Virgin, againſt the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and for having Scripture-Books in Engliſh: which Books eſpecially I find to be named, as theſe, the Book of the four Evangelists, a Book of the Epistles of *Paul* and *Peter*, the Epistle of *St. James*, a Book of the *Apoſtles*, and of *Antichriſt*, of the *Ten Commandments*, and *Wickliffe's Wicket*, with ſuch other like.

John Stilman Martyr.

Anno
1518.

IT would ask a long tractation, and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good Men and Women, beſides theſe above-rehearſed, which in thoſe days recanted and abjured about the beginning of King *Henry's* Reign and before: among whom yet notwithstanding ſome there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made ſtrong in the profeſſion of his Truth, and conſtant unto death: of which number one was *John Stilman* by name, who about *September 24*, in the Year of our Lord 1518, was apprehended and brought before *Richard Fitzjames* then Biſhop of *London*, at his Manor of *Fulham*, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former Recantation, Oath, and Abjuration, made about eleven years then paſt, before *Edmund* then Biſhop of *Salisbury*, as well for ſpeaking againſt the worſhipping, praying, and offering unto Images; as alſo for denying the carnal and corporal preſence in the Sacrament of Chriſt's Memorial: yet ſince that time he had fallen into the ſame Opinions again, and ſo into the danger of relapſe: and further had highly commended and praiſed *John Wicliffe*, affirming that he was a Saint in Heaven, and that his Book called the *Wicket* was good and holy. Soon after his examination he was ſent from thence unto the Lollards Tower at *London*, and *October 22*, then next enſuing, was brought openly into the Conſistory of *Paul*, and was there judicially examined by *Thomas Hed* the Biſhop's Vicar-general, upon the contents of theſe Articles following:

John Stilman Martyr.

Wicliffe's Wicket. For Regis. Fitzjames London.

Articles laid againſt John Stilman.

1. Firſt I object unto you, that you have confeſſed before my Lord of *London* and me *D. Hed* his Vicar-general, That about twenty years paſt, one *Stephen Moore* of the Dioceſs of *Wincheſter*, (with whom you abode fix or ſeven years after) did teach you to believe that the going on Pilgrimage and worſhipping of Images, as the Lady of *Walſingham* and others, were not to be uſed. And alſo that afterwards one *Richard Smart*, who was burned at *Salisbury* about fourteen or fifteen years paſt, did read unto you *Wickliffe's Wicket*, and likewiſe inſtructed you to believe that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the Body of Chriſt: all which things you have erroneouſly believed.

Years of Antiquity to be noted. A godly Martyr. Rich. Smart burned at Salisbury. Anno 1509.

Wickliffe's Wicket.

2. Item, You have divers times read the ſaid Book called *Wickliffe's VVicket*, and one other Book of the *Ten Commandments* which the ſaid *Richard Smart* did give you, and at the time of your firſt apprehenſion you did hide them in an old Oke, and did not reveal them unto the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, before whom you were abjured of Hereſy about eleven years ſince; where you promiſed by Oath upon the Evangelists, ever after to believe and hold as the Chriſtian Faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the ſaid Hereſies, or any other, upon pain of relapſe. And further, you there promiſed to perform all ſuch penance

as the ſaid Biſhop of *Salisbury* did enjoin you: who then enjoined you upon the like pain, not to depart his Dioceſs without his ſpecial licence.

3. Item, It is evident that you be relapſed, as well by your own confeſſion, as alſo by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the ſaid place where you had hidden your Books; and then taking them away with you, you departed the foreſaid Dioceſs, without the licence of the Biſhop, and brought them with you to *London*, where now being attached and taken with them upon great ſuſpicion of Hereſy, you are brought unto the Biſhop of *London*: by reaſon of which your demeanour, you have ſhewed both your impenitent and diſſembled converſation from your errors, and alſo your unfaithful abjuration and diſobedience unto the authority of our mother holy Church, in that you performed not the penance; in which behalf you be voluntarily perjured, and alſo relapſed, in that you departed the ſame Dioceſs without licence.

4. Item, You be not only (as afore ſaid) impenitent, diſobedient, voluntarily perjured and relapſed by this your foreſaid heretical demeanour, but alſo ſentence your laſt attachment upon ſuſpicion of Hereſy, you have maliciously ſpoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my Lord of *London*, your Ordinary and me, judicially ſitting at *Fulham*, that you were forry that ever you did abjure your ſaid Opinions, and had not ſuffered then manfully for them, for they were and be good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them to die for it. And furthermore, you have ſpoken againſt our holy Father the Pope, and his Authority, damnable ſaying that he is *Antichriſt*, and not the true ſucceſſor of *Peter*, or Chriſt's Vicar on earth: and that his Pardons and Indulgences, which he granteth in the Sacrament of Penance, are naught, and that you will none of them. And likewiſe that the College of Cardinals be Limbs of the ſaid *Antichriſt*: and that all other inferior Prelats and Prieſts are the Synagogue of Satan. And moreover you ſaid, that the Doctors of the Church have ſubverted the Truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds, and therefore their works be naught, and they in Hell: but that *Wickliffe* is a Saint in Heaven, and that the Book called his *Wicket* is good, for therein he ſheweth the Truth. Alſo you did with that there were twenty thouſand of your Opinion, againſt us Scribes and Phariſees, to ſee what you would do for the defence of your Faith. All which Hereſies you did afterwards erroneouſly affirm before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and then ſaid that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earneſt perſwaſions to the contrary: and therefore for theſe Premies you be evidently relapſed, and ought to be committed to the ſecular Power.

Wickliffe's Wicket.

After theſe Articles thus propounded, and his conſtant perſevering in the Truth perceived, *Dr. Hed* Vicar-general, *October 25*, by his Sentence definitive, did condemn him a relapſed Heretic, and ſo delivered him the ſame preſent day unto the Sheriffs of *London*, to be openly burned in *Smithfield*.

Thomas Man Martyr.

NExt to *John Stilman* above-mentioned, followeth in this order of bleſſed Martyrs, the perſecution and condemnation of *Thomas Man*: who *March 29*, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in *Smithfield*. This *Thomas Man* had likewiſe been apprehended for the profeſſion of Chriſt's Goſpel about fix years before, *Auguſt 14*, 1511, and being at that time brought before *Dr. Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was by him examined upon divers and ſundry Articles, the effect whereof are theſe:

Th. Man Martyr.

1. Firſt, That he had ſpoken againſt Auricular Confeſſion, and denied the corporal Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament of the Altar.

The Articles of Th. Man.

2. Item, That he believed that all holy Men of his Sect were only Prieſts.

3. Item, That he had affirmed that the Father of Heaven was the Altar, and the ſecond Perſon the Sacrament; and that upon the Aſcenſion day the Sacrament aſcended unto the Altar, and there abideth ſtill.

4. Item, That he believed not aright in the Sacrament of Extreame Unction.

5. Item,

The burning of John Stillman



The burning of Thomas Man



5. Item, That he had called certain Priests, meanly arrayed, pild Knaves.

6. Item, That he had said that Pulpits were Priests lying Stools.

7. Item, That he had believed that Images ought not to be worshipped, and that he neither believed in the Crucifix, nor yet would worship it.

8. Item, That he had affirmed that he heard say, the Word of God and God to be all one, and that he that worthily receiveth the Word of God, receiveth God.

9. Item, That he had said that the Popish Church was not the Church of God, but a Synagogue: and that holy Men of his Sect were the true Church of God.

For these and such-like matters was he a long time imprisoned, and at last, through frailty and fear of death, was content to abjure and yield himself unto the judgment of the Romish Church, and thereupon was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but also from thenceforth to remain as Prisoner within the Monastery of *Osney* besides *Oxford*, and so to bear a Faggot before the first Cross, at the next general Procession within the University. Howbeit not long after, the Bishop having need of the poor Man's help in his household business, took him out of the said Monastery, and placed him within his own House until his business was ended; and then (his turn once served) he appointed *Dr. Wilcock* his Vicar-general, that in his judicial Session within the Priory of *Fridefwide* at *Oxford*, he should assign him to remain within the said Priory, and not to depart thence without license of the Prior for the time being, upon pain of relapse: and upon like pain he also enjoined him to wear the sign of a Faggot under his uppermost garment, until he were dispensed withal for the same. All which notwithstanding, he (being belike both sorry for his offence in denying the Truth, and also weary of his servile and prison-like bondage) bethought himself how he might best escape their cruel hands; and therefore after a while seeing good opportunity offered him, he fled the diocess and jurisdiction of *Lincoln*, and seeking abroad in other Countries for work, thereby to sustain his poor life, he most commonly abode, sometime in *Essex*, sometime in *Suffolk*; where also he associated and joined himself unto such godly professors of Christ's Gospel as he there could hear of. But within few years after (such is the cruel rage of Satan and his wicked Members, which never suffer the Godly long to continue untroubled)

he was again accused of relapse by the Inquest of the Inquisition of *London*, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before *Richard Fitzjames* then Bishop of *London*, and Feb. 9. 1518. he was examined by *Dr. Hed* the Bishop's Vicar-general, within his Palace at *London*: where the said *Hed*, judicially assisted with divers of his Complices, declared first unto *Man*, that forasmuch as he was since his first abjuring, again detected and accused, by certain credible and honest Persons, of the same Heresies which he had once before recanted: And further (contrary to the order of Penance enjoined him by the late Bishop of *Lincoln*) he had departed the Priory of *St. Fridefwide* and the Diocess of *Lincoln*, without leave either of the Bishop or Prior; and was now also found within the Diocess of *London*, and that without his badge assigned him by the said Bishop's Vicar-general: he therefore as Chancellor and Vicar-general unto the Bishop of *London*, deputed for that purpose, did then mean to proceed against him as a relapser, by order of the Ecclesiastical Laws in that behalf provided. Wherefore he appointed him to appear again in the Consistory of *Pauls*, Feb. 12. next after, there to answer unto such Articles as then should be propounded against him. At which day and place, the Chancellor (first reciting the causes above-mentioned, why he did then proceed against him) objected unto him these Articles following:

1. First, That he was of the Diocess of *London*.

2. Item, That he was a Christian Man, and professed Christ's Faith, and the determinations of holy Church concerning the seven Sacraments, and other Articles of the Catholick Faith.

3. Item, That it was not lawful for any Man (especially a lay-man) erroneously and obstinately to hold, teach, or defend any Opinion contrary unto the determinations of the said Church; and that the Person so doing is an Heretic.

4. Item, That within one of the twelve months of the year of our Lord 1511, he had been detected before the Bishop of *Lincoln* that then was, of divers points of Heresy; as that he had affirmed, that the very Body and Blood of Christ was not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but material Bread and Wine, and that he had received it at *Easter* as holy Bread: and likewise had affirmed, that the Crucifix and other Images in the Church, were not to be worshipped; and also, that confession made unto a Priest was of none effect; with divers other-like Opinions and Heresies.

5. Item,

Tho. Man's second time apprehended.

The cause of his Martyrdom.

Articles objected against Thomas Man.

Against the real presence in the Sacrament.

Th. Man sent to the Monastery of Osney.

Th. Man sent to the Monastery of Fridefwide.

Th. Man fled out of the Monastery.

K. Hen. 8.

5. Item, That for these and such-like points of Herefy he had been abjured in St. Mary's Church at Oxford, before Dr. *VVilebeck* Chancellor unto the said Bishop of Lincoln, in the month of *October*, in the year last above said, and there did renounce them and all other, promising to fall no more into the like.

6. Item, That there also he had taken a solemn Oath, to do such Penance as should be enjoined him by the Authority of the said Bishop.

7. Item, That then he was enjoined to abide within the Monastery of *Osney* by Oxford: and also there to bear a Fagot before the first Cross in the general Procession.

8. Item, That after a certain time that he had been in the Monastery of *Osney*, the Bishop of Lincoln (for certain causes) took him into his own house and service, respiteing his Penance for a time.

9. Item, That afterwards, which was *Octob. 9. 1512.* the said Bishop's Chancellor judicially sitting in the Chapter-house of the Priory of St. *Frideswide* in Oxford, did enjoin him that he should tarry within the said Priory, and not go out of the gates thereof, without license of the Prior for the time being, until he had other commandment from the Bishop, upon pain of relapse: And further, that he should from thenceforth, upon the like pain, wear a sign of a Fagot under his uppermost garment.

10. Item, That after his abjuration, and since the premises thus done, he was yet again detected to the Bishop of London by open fame, and denounced by worshipful and credible persons, that he had used like false Errors and Heresies, and had spoken and taught certain conclusions of Herefy against the Christian Faith, and determinations of holy Church: and that he had fallen into the like Heresies as before his abjuration, both against the Sacrament of the Altar, against Pilgrimages and worshipping of Images: and had blasphemed our blessed Lady, calling her *Mably*.

He meant
some Image
or Picture of
the Virgin,
set up in
some blind
place to be
worshipped.

11. Item, That when he wrought with one *John Bates*, in *Stratford Langthorne* in Rogation-week then three years past, and being bidden by the said *Bates's* Wife to go and hear the Gospel, he answered and said unto her, I will not go there, go you if you list, ye shall have as much need for it, as to put your finger in the fire and to burn it.

12. Item, That in times past, for fear of abjuration, he had fled from *Colebecher* to *Newbery*, and after that unto *Hamerham*, and had there damnable accompanied with Hereticks, and had taught heresies among them: and also since the time of his abjuration he had said, that he and his Wife had turned fix or seven hundred people unto those Opinions which he was abjured of, and others also, contrary to Christ's Faith, and determinations of Holy Church.

His answer unto these Articles was, that as touching the first nine, he granted them in part to be true; confessing to the second, that he was a true Christian, and did profess the true Christian Faith; but the contents of the last three he utterly denied to be true; affirming for certain answer unto the Eleventh Article, that at the time mentioned in the same, he did not work in the Town of *Stratford*. Upon which answer, the Chancellor called forth two Witnesses to be sworn and examined against him, willing him that if he had any just matter against any of them, he should refuse them. But to what purpose this his fair offer and trust shew of upright Justice served, I cannot see: For notwithstanding that he charged one of the Witnesses with theft and adultery, (for that having a Wife of his own, he did yet run away with another Man's Wife and Goods) and also alleged that the other was too young, to be a sworn Witness in case of life and death: yet were they both fully retained and allowed by the Chancellor, and sworn not to depart away or hide themselves, but to be always ready to justify that which they had to say against the said *Thomas Man*: and so for that time as well they as also all the rest were commanded to depart, and the Prisoner sent again to his Prison.

False witness

False witness
received
against
Thomas Man.

And here in the order of the Oath ministred unto these Witnesses, I had one note (me thinketh) worthy present remembrance both for that it is mentioned in the Process, and also because it somewhat openeth the foolish, ridiculous, and feigned figurative ceremonies of the Papists, who do attribute a spiritual signification almost unto all their doings. The Register, discoursing at large the manner of

their Oath, hath these words: *Ad Sancta Dei Evangelia jurari fecit, tribus mediis digitis crectis, & super librum positum, in signum Trinitatis, & fidei Catholice: & duobus (videlicet pollice & auriculari) suppositis & suppressis, & sub libro positum, in signum damnationis corporis & anime, si non deposuerunt veritatem in hac parte.* That is to say; He caused them to swear upon the Holy Evangelists, with their three middle fingers stretched out right, and laid upon the Book in sign of the Trinity, and Catholic Faith, and the other two (to wit, the thumb and the little finger) put downwards under the Book, in token of damnation of Body and Soul, if they did not depose the truth in the matter. This ceremonial order and exposition of theirs, as it is of their own fond invention, without any ground or example of the Scriptures of God, so mind I to leave it still unto themselves, with other their apish toys and ridicules, as things worthy to be laughed at; and will now further proceed with the rest of this Process which I have in hand.

The 15th of February, D. Had the Chancellor again judicially sitting in the Confraternity at *Pauls*, commanded *Thomas Man* to be brought before him, and there causing the Articles objected against him by the Bishop of Lincoln, with his order of Abjuration and Penance, and also his own Articles last propounded, to be first read; he called forth a third Witness to be sworn and examined upon the same. But because he would seem to do all things by order of Justice, and nothing against Law, he therefore appointed unto the said *Thomas Man* certain Doctors and Advocates of the Arches, as his Counsellors to plead in his behalf.

The ceremonial
manner
of the Popish
mantrifing of
their Oath.

Two Men
again called
by Dr. Had
Chancellor.

Which was even like as if the Lamb should be committed to the defence and protection of the Wolf, or the Hare to the Hound. For what good help could he look for at their hands, which were both most wicked haters and abhorers of his Christian Profession, and also stout upholders and maintainers of that Antichristian Law, by the which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good advice and profitable counsel which they gave him against his next examinations. For as well upon the 20th, and also the 23d days of the same month of February, in their several Sessions, he seeing his own Negations to their Objections taking no place against their sworn Witnesses, had no other thing to alledge for himself, but that, through his twenty weeks of hard imprisonment under the Bishop of Lincoln, he was forced to recant and abjure; which was a poor shift of Counsel, God knoweth: and yet Dr. *Rayner* being one of his chief assigned Advocates, instead of advice, could by his subtil questioning then make him confess, that certain talk whereof one of the Witnesses had accused him, was spoken about five years before past: which, because it was since his recantation, was rather an accusation of himself, than an excusing: and therefore it is easy to judge with how favourable and upright hearts they took upon them to be his Advocates and Defenders. The Chancellor likewise charged him upon the same 23d day, that since his last imprisonment, he had said unto *Robert Chany* the Bishop's Sumner, and his Keeper, that as far forth as he could see or perceive for his part in this matter, the Laws of the Church were grounded upon *Pilar* and *Caiphas*. Which Objection he granting to be true, the Chancellor did for that time dismiss the Court, until the first day of March next following.

Agnes Lope
Committes.

The subtil
practice of
the Romish
Churchmen.

Upon which day (minding to make quick dispatch) he in few words asked *Man*, what matter he had to alledge for himself why he should not then (considering the Premises) be pronounced a relapsed Heretic, and receive such punishment by the secular Power, as to such was due by order of Law? But he having no other allegations than before, which might take place with them, was finally condemned as an Heretic. And notwithstanding that, as the Register noteth (but how truly God only knoweth) he did again forsake his former renewed profession of Christ's Gospel, and yielded himself unto the Bishop of Rome, requiring to be absolved from his curse of Excommunication, and contented to do such Penance as they should enjoin him, he was yet March 29, delivered by Dr. *Had* unto the Sheriff of London, to be then presently burned with this Protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the Sheriff that he would receive this Person as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigor. The words to be marked in their Sentence be these: *Rogamus attente in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi digne severitatis ultio &*

The Laws of
the Church
of Rome
grounded
upon *Pilar*
and *Caiphas*.

The Popish
Chancellor
would not
seem to con-
sent to his
death, but yet
could send
him to the
Scaffold to
be killed.

excoꝑtio

executio de te & contra te in hac parte fienda taliter moderetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus, neque mansuetudo dissoluta, sed ad salutem & sanitatem anime tue, &c. That is, we desire, in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity, of thee, and against thee in this part, may so be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigour, nor yet no desolute mansuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy Soul, &c. Wherein these Catholick Church-men do well declare, according to the words of *Thomas Man* before expressed, that the Laws of their Church be grounded upon *Pilat* and *Caiaphas*. For like as *Caiaphas* with his Court of *Pharisees* cried against *Christ* unto *Pilat*: It is not lawful for us to put any Man to death; but if thou let him go, thou art not *Cæsar's* Friend. Even so they, first condemning the Saints of God to death, and then delivering them unto the secular Magistrate to be thereupon executed, would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, which bringeth all things to light in his due time, and uncovereth hypocrisy at last, that the may be seen and known in her right colours.

Thus *Thomas Man*, the manly Martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned by the unjust Sentence of *Hed* the Chancellor, was delivered to the Sheriff of *London* sitting on horseback in *Pater-noster-row*, before the Bishop's door, *An. 1518.* he protesting to the said Sheriff, that he had no power to put him to death, and therefore desired the Sheriff to take him as a Relapser and condemned, to see him punished; *Et tamen citra mortem*, that is, without death, as the words stand in the Register. The Sheriff receiving neither Articles to be read at his burning, nor any Indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to *Smithfield*, and there the same day in the forenoon caused him to be put into God's Angel; according to the words of the said *Tho. Man* before saying, that if he were taken again of the pild knave Priests, as he called them, he wist well he should go to the Holy Angel, and then be an Angel in Heaven.

In the Deposition of one *Tho. Risby Weaver* of *Stratford-Langborn*, against the forenamed Martyr *Tho. Man* it appeareth by the Registers, that he had been in divers Places and Countries in *England*, and had instructed very many, as at *Amerham*, at *London*, at *Billerica*, at *Chelmsford*, at *Stratford-Langborn*, at *Uxbridge*, at *Burnham*, at *Henley upon Thames*, in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, at *Newbery*, and divers places more: where he himself testifieth, that as he went *Weltward*, he found a great company of well-disposed Persons, being of the same judgement touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper that he was of, and especially at *Newbery*, where was (as he confessed) a glorious and sweet society of faithful Favourers, who had continued the space of fifteen years together, till at last by a certain Lewd Person, whom they trusted and made of their Council, they were bewrayed; and then many of them, to the number of six or seven-score, were abjured, and three or four of them burnt. From thence he came then (as he confessed) to the Forest of *Windsor*, where he, hearing of the Brethren which were at *Amerham*, removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching 23 years, which was from this present time feventy years ago. And this Congregation of *Backinghamshire* Men, remained till the time of *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, whereof we shall (Christ willing) hear more anon. Against these faithful Christians of *Amerham*, was great trouble and persecution in the time of *William Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, about the Year of our Lord 1507, at which time divers and many were abjured, and it was called *Abjuratio magna*, the great Abjuration; and they which were noted of that Doctrine and Profession, were called by the name of *known Men*, or *just fast Men*, &c. In this Congregation of the faithful Brethren, were four principal Readers or Instructors. Whereof one was *Tilleyworth*, called then *Dr. Tilleyworth*, who was burnt at *Amerham*, mentioned in our History before, by the name of *William Tilley*, whom I suppose to be rather called *Tilleyworth*. Another was *Thomas Chafe*, called amongst them *Dr. Chafe*, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the Bishop of *Lincoln's* Prison at *Woborne*, called *Little-cage*. The third was this *Thomas Man*, called also *Dr. Man*, burned as is here mentioned in *Smithfield*,

Anno 1518, who, as by his own confession, and no less also by his travel appeareth, was God's Champion, and suffered much trouble by the Priests for the Cause and Law of God. He confessed himself in the same Register, that he had turned seven hundred People to his Religion and Doctrine, for the which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couples of Men and Women from *Amerham*, *Uxbridge*, *Burnham*, and *Henley upon Thames*, where they dwelt, unto *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, that they might be brought (as he then termed it) out of the Devil's mouth. The fourth was *Robert Cofin*, named likewise among them *Dr. Cofin*.

Robert Cofin Martyr.

This *Robert Cofin* seemeth to be the same which in the former part of this History is forementioned, being called by the Name of *Father Robert*, and was burnt in *Backingham*. Of this *Robert Cofin*, I find in the Registers of *Lincoln*. That he, with *Thomas Man*, had instructed and persuaded one *Joan Norman*, about *Amerham*, not to go on Pilgrimage, nor to worship any Images of Saints. Also when she had bowed a piece of Silver to a Saint for the health of her Child, they dissuaded her from the same, and said, that she needed not to confesse her to a Priest, but that it was sufficient to lift up her hands to Heaven. Moreover, they were charged by the Bishop, for teaching the said *Joan*, that she might as well drink upon the Sunday before *Mais*, as any other day, &c. *Ex Regist. Joan. Longland*. And thus you see the Doctrine of these good Men, for the which they were in those days abjured and condemned to death.

William Sweeting, alias Clerke, Martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwise named *Clerke*, first dwelt with the Lady *Percy* at *Darlington*, in the County of *Northampton*, for a certain space, and from thence went to *Boxted* in the County of *Essex*, where he was the Holy-water Clerk the space of seven years: after that, he was Bailiff and Farmer to *Mrs. Margery Wood*, the term of thirteen years. From *Boxted* he departed and came to the Town of *St. Osith*, where he served the Prior of *St. Osith*, called *George Laund*, the space of sixteen years and more. Where he had so turned the Prior by his Persuasions, that the said Prior of *St. Osith* was afterward compelled to abjure. This *William Sweeting*, coming up to *London* with the fore said Prior, for suspicion of Heresy, was committed to the Lollard's Tower, under the custody of *Charles Joseph*, and there, being abjured in the Church of *St. Paul*, was constrained to bear a Fagot at *Paul's* Cross, and at *Colchester*; and afterward to wear a Fagot upon his Coat all his life. Which he did two years together upon his left sleeve, till at length the Parson of *Colchester* required him to help him in the Service of the Church, and so pluck'd the Badg from his sleeve, and there he remained two years, being the Holy-water Clerk. From thence afterward he departed, and travelling abroad, came to *Roderith* in the Diocess of *Winchester*, where he was Holy-water Clerk the space of a year. Then he went to *Cheshil*, where he was their Neat-herd, and kept the Town-beasts. In which Town, upon *St. Ann's* day in the morning, as he went forth with his Beasts to the field the good Man was apprehended and brought before the Bishop, and his Chamber searched for Books; this was *Anno 1511*.

The Crimes whereupon he was examined, were these:

First, For having much conference with one *William Man* of *Boxted*, in a Book which was called *Matthew*.

Item, That he had familiarity, and frequented much the company of *James Brewster*, who had been before abjured.

Item, That when his Wife would go on Pilgrimage, he asked of her, What good she should receive by her going on Pilgrimage? adding moreover, that, as he supposed, it was to no purpose nor profit, but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend her business.

Item, That he had learned and received of *William Man*, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the present very Body, but Bread in substance, received in memorial of Christ.

Item, That he had propounded and affirmed the same Doctrine to *James Brewster*.

Item,

K. Hen. 8.

Thom. Man
a great Rea-
der among
the Brethren
of Amer-
ham.

Rob. Cofin
burnt at
Backingham.

The teaching
and doctrine
of R. Cofin.

A perfidious
Heresy.

Will. Sweet-
ing Mar-
tyr.

Ex Regist.
Ric. Fitz-
James,
pag. 60.

Geor. Laund
Prior of St.
Osith abju-
red.

Crimes ob-
jected.
The Gospel
of St. Mat-
thew.

Against Pil-
grimage.

Against
Transub-
stantiation.

Thom. Man
burned of
the Sheriff
without any
warraunt.
An. 1518.
ment. Mit.
29. Ex Reg.
gila.

Ex Regist.
Ric. Fitz-
James, p. 798.
St. Osith 20-
James, and
three or four
burnt about
Newbery,
sixty years
ago.

Abjuratio
Magna.
Known Men,
or just fast
Men, at A-
merham.
Will. Til-
ley, or ra-
ther Til-
leyworth, Mar-
tyr.
Willelmus.
Thom. Chafe
Martyr.
Willelmus.

K. Hen. 8. *Item*, Because he had reposed his Wife for worshipping the Images in the Church, and for setting up Candles before them.

Against Images.

And thus have you all the causes and crimes laid against this *William Sweeting* wherefore he was condemned: Who then being asked what cause he had why he should not be judged for relapse? said, he had nothing else, but only that he committed himself to the mercy of Almighty God.

James Brewster Martyr.

*W*ith *William Sweeting* also the same time was examined and condemned *James Brewster*, of the Parish of *St. Nicholas* in *Colchester*. This *James Brewster* was a Carpenter, dwelling ten years in the Town of *Colchester*; who, being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of *St. James*, in one *Walker's* house in *St. Clement's* Parish.

About six years before, which was Anno 1505, he had been abjured by *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the See of *London* being then vacant. And after other Penance done at *Colchester*, he was enjoined to wear a Fagot upon his upper garment during his life. Which badge he did bear upon his left shoulder near the space of two years, till the Controller of the Earl of *Oxford* plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the Earl.

The Crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these:

First, That he had been five times with *William Sweeting* in the fields keeping Beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain Book. At which reading also were present at one time *Woodroof* or *Woodbinde* a Netmaker, with his Wife; also a Brother-in-law of *William Sweeting*; and another time *Thomas Goodred*, who heard likewise the said *William Sweeting* read.

Item, Because he used the company and conference of *Henry Hert* Carpenter of *Wiltshire*, and wrought with him in his science at *Wiltshire*.

Item, For having a certain little Book of Scripture in English, of an old writing, almost worn for age, whose name is not there expressed.

Item, Because he hearing upon a time one *Mr. Bardfield*

of *Colchester* thus say: That he that will not worship the *Maosim* in heart and thought, shall die in fight. He asked afterward of *William Man*, what that word *Maosim* should mean? who told him, that it signified as much as the making God, to wit, the Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, That he had much conference with *Henry Hert*, against Oblations and Images, and that it was better bestowed Money which was given to the Poor, than that which was offered in Pilgrimage.

Item, For that he had communication and conference with *Roger Helsar*, and one *Walker* a Thicker of *St. Clements*, concerning divers such matters of Pilgrimage, offering to Images, worshipping of Saints, and the Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, When *Thomas Goodred*, *William Sweeting*, and he, in the fields keeping Beasts, were talking together of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and like matters, this *James Brewster* should thus say: Now the Son of the living God help us. Unto whom *William Sweeting* again should answer, Now Almighty God so do.

And thus have you the Causes likewise and Crimes laid against *James Brewster*, upon which he with *William Sweeting* were together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romish manner is, Whether he had any cause why he should not be adjudged for relapse; he trusting to find favour and grace in submitting himself, said, That he submitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodness of him his Judge. And likewise did *William Sweeting* submit himself, trusting belike that they should find some favour and relief in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodness.

But note here the unmerciful and unchristian dealing of these Catholic Fathers, who upon their submission were contented to give out a solemn Communion, the tenor whereof was to release and pardon them from the sentence of Excommunication, wherein they had incurred: But immediately after upon the same, the Bishop, all this notwithstanding, pronounced upon them the Sentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both delivered to the secular Power, and both together burnt in *Smithfield* at one Fire, the eighteenth day of October, Anno 1511.

Maosim in Dan. ix. is an Idol, and signifieth as much as Forts and munitions.

A pious Heretic. xx Regit. Lond.

The unmerciful and unchristian dealing of the Catholic Priests.

Will. Sweeting & James Brewster burnt in *Smithfield*.

The burning of William Sweeting and James Brewster.



The burning of Christopher Shoemaker.



Christopher Shoemaker Martyr.

TO these blessed Saints before-named, we will also ad-join Christopher Shoemaker; of whom this I find briefly in the Register of Sir John Longland; that the said Christopher Shoemaker, a Parishioner of great Missenden, came to the House of John Say, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little Book the words which Christ spake to his Disciples. And thus coming to his house about four times, at every time he read something out of the same Book unto him: teaching him not to be deceived in the Priests celebration of the Mass, and declaring that it was not the same very present Body of Christ, as the Priests did phantasie; but in substance Bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ: and taught him moreover, that Pilgrimage, worshipping and setting up Candles to Saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the said John Say being taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by John Okenden and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the same Doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that Register concerning Christopher Shoemaker: declaring further, that he was burned at Newbery about this time, which was Anno 1518. And thus much out of the Registers of London.

Christopher Shoemaker Martyr burnt in Newbery.

IN turning over the Registers and Records of Lincoln likewise, and coming to the year of our Lord 1420, and 1521, I find that as the light of the Gospel began more to appear, and the number of Professors to grow, so the vehemency of persecution, and stir of the Bishops began also to increase. Whereupon ensued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and sundry quarters of this Realm, especially about Buckinghamshire and Amsesham, Usbridge, Henly, Newbery, in the Dioceses of London, in Essex, Cokesfiter, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and other places more. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these Countries among the People. Wherefore they are much beguiled and misinformed, which condemn this kind of Doctrine now received, of Novelty; asking, Where was this Church and Religion forty years ago, before Luther's time? To whom it may be answered, that this Religion and form of Doctrine was planted by the Apostles, and taught by true Bishops; afterward decayed, and now reformed again: and altho it was not received nor admitted of the Pope's Clergy before Luther's time, neither yet is; yet it was received of other, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to work, and that of a great number, which both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this History may appear. And if they think this Doctrine to be so new that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how then came such great persecution before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their own Catholick Fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this Doctrine of the Gospel so new, or the Professors thereof so late start up as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of Ignorance, and for not knowing and considering well the Times and Antiquities of the Church which have been before us. Which if they did, they should see and say, that the Church of England hath not lacked great multitudes which tasted and followed the sweetness of God's holy Word almost in as ample manner, for the number of well-disposed hearts as now. Altho publick Authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the Gospel, yet the secret multitude of true Professors was not much unequal: certes the fervent Zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times; as manifestly may appear by their fitting up all night in reading and hearing; also by their expences and charges in buying of Books in English, of whom some gave five Marks, some more, some less, for a Book: some gave a load of Hay for a few Chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul in English. In which rarity of Books, and want of Teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muse at; to note in the Registers, and to consider how the Word of Truth notwithstanding did multiply so exceedingly as it did amongst them. Wherein is to be seen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty Power: for so I find and observe in considering the Registers, how one Neighbour resorting

The antiquity of the true Doctrine of the Gospel.

Ignorance of Antiquity.

Elder times of the Gospel with these latter times compared.

and conferring with another, effusions with a few words of their first or second talk, did win and turn their minds to that wherein they desired to perwade them, touching the truth of God's Word and his Sacraments. To see their travels, their earnest seeking, their burning zeals, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the Faithful, may make us now in these our days of free profession, to blush for shame.

Four principal Points they stood in against the Church of Rome; in Pilgrimage, in adoration of Saints, in reading Scripture-books in English, and in the carnal presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament.

After the great Abjuration aforesaid, which was under William Smith Bishop of Lincoln, they were noted and termed among themselves by the name of known Men, or just fast Men: as now they are called by the name of Protestants.

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty Serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtilty did to circumvent them, that they caused the Wife to detect the Husband, the Husband the Wife, the Father the Daughter, the Daughter the Father, the Brother to disclose his Brother, and Neighbour the Neighbour. Neither were any Assemblies nor Readings kept, but both the Persons and also the Books were known, neither was any Word so closely spoken, nor Article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtilty and slightly these Catholick Prelats did use their Inquisitions and Examinations, that nothing was done or said among these known Men, fifteen or twenty years before, so covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious Interrogatories, so many Articles and suspicions they had, such Epicals and privy Scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the King, and in the King's Name; such diligence they shewed in that behalf, so violently and impudently they abused the Book of the peaceable Evangelists, wresting Men's Consciences upon their Oath, swearing them up on the same to detect themselves, their Fathers and Mothers, and other of their Kindred, with their Friends and Neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further process of the Table ensuing (Christ willing) which we have collected out of some part of the Registers of Lincoln, shall appear.

For the better declaration whereof, first here is to be noted by the way, touching the See of Lincoln, that after Will. Smith succeeded John Longland. This VVill. Smith, altho he was somewhat eager and sharp against the poor simple Flock of Christ's Servants, under whom some were burned, many abjured, a great number molested, as partly hath been afore declared; yet was he nothing so bloody and cruel as was the said Longland, which afterward succeeded in that Diocess. For so I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troublesome affliction of Buckinghamshire Men, where many were abjured, and certain burned; yet divers he sent quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home and live as good Christian Men should do. And many, which were enjoined penance before, he did release. This Smith died about the year of our Lord 1515, by whom was builded, as is aforesaid, the College of Brazen-nose in Oxford.

Not long after him followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful poor Servants of Christ: who to renew again the old sparkles of persecution, which were not yet utterly quenched, first began vvith one or two of them which had been abjured, whom he thought to be most notorious, caused them, by force of their Oath, to detect and bewray not only their own Opinions touching Points of Religion, but also to discover all other of their Affinity, which were either suspected or abjured before. And them likewise he put to their Oath, most violently constraining them to utter and confess both themselves, and whom else sooner they knew. By reason vvhereof an incredible multitude of Men, Women, and Maidens, were brought forth to examination, and straightly handled. And such as vvere found in relapse were burned.

The rest were so burdened with superstitious and idolatrous Penance and Injunction, that either through grief of Conscience they shortly after died, or else vvith shame they lived. All vvich tragical doings and proceedings of the Bishop against these known and just fast Men, in these Tables

K. Hen. 8.

The earnest zeal of our forefathers in following Christ's Gospel.

Abjuration magna.

Known Men just fast Men.

The practice of Romish Prelats.

The practice of Protestants.

Will. Smith Bishop of Lincoln.

John Longland Bishop of Lincoln.

The College of Brazen-nose in Oxford builded.

By Longland a grievous persecutor of Christ's people.

here.

K. Hen. 8. hereunder following (Christ granting) shall appear, both with the Accusers, and with the Parties themselves accused, and also the Crimes objected.

But before we enter into the Table, it shall be requisite first to hear the order and copie of his captious and crafty Interrogatories, vvhether he constrained the simple poor Men to accuse and appeach one another: vvhich Interrogatories were theie in order as followeth.

Interrogatories ministred commonly by the Bishop of Lincoln, against these Examinates here following.

Captious Interrogatories ministred by the Bishop of Lincoln.

The Interrogatories or Articles which Longland Bishop of Lincoln used most commonly to minister to these Examinates or known Men, in number were nine, and are these as followeth:

1. First, Whether they or any of them did know, that certain of the Parish of *Amerham*, had been converted before the said Bishop, late Bishop of Lincoln, for Herefy?
2. Item, Whether they knew that they so converted before the said Bishop, did en in the Sacrament of the Altar, or in any other Sacrament of the Church: and if they did, in vvhich Sacrament, and in vvhich of them? Also vvhether they knew that the said Parties so converted did confesse their errors, and receive penance for the same?
3. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were of the Society of them so converted for Herefy: and if they were, vvhich fellowship they had vvvith them, and vvvith vvhom?
4. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant vvvith such a one (naming the Person vvhom they knew suspected) as vvvith *Thurstan Littlepage*? And if they were, vvhich conversation they had vvvith him, how long, and vvhether: and whether they knew the said Person to have been suspect of Herefy?
5. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant vvvith him; or him (naming some other Person vvhom they suspected) as *Alexander Mattall*: and if they were, how, and how long? And vvhether they knew the said Person to be suspected of Herefy?
6. Item, Whether they or any of them had been beforetime detected of Herefy, to the Office of the foresaid *William Bishop of Lincoln*: And if they were, by vvhich person or persons they were detected? Or else, whether they were only called by the foresaid *William Bishop* for Herefy?
7. Item, Whether he or they be noted and holden for Hereticks; or be reputed and defamed to be of the sect of them which were converted for Herefy? and whether he or they be named for a *known Man* amongst them?
8. Item, Whether he or they have bin ever at any Read-

ings of such as have bin so converted for Herefy?

9. Item, Whether he or they were ever in any secret Communication or Conventicle vvvith them? vvhom or vvhich of them he knew to be named and reputed for a *known Man*; or holding against the Sacrament of the Altar, or other Sacraments and Articles of Faith? and if they knew any such, to declare vvhether, and vvhhen, and vvhich they were, and vvhom were present the same time?

These Articles and Interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be shewed a certain brief sum compendiously collected out of the Registers of *John Longland Bishop of Lincoln*, declaring, in order of a Table, the names first of them which by Oath were constrained against their wills to detect and accuse other. Secondly, The Persons that were accused. Thirdly, The Crimes to them objected; as in the proces of this Table shall follow to be seen.

And first; Forasmuch as the Bishop perceived that *Roger Bennet*, *William Chedwell*, *Edmund Dormer*, *Thomas Harding*, *Robert Andrew*, with such other, were Men especially noted to be of that side; therefore to work his purpose the better, he began with them; producing the same as Witnesses, to detect first *Robert Bartlet* of *Amerham*, and *Richard* his Brother; understanding that these forenamed Witnesses, because they had been abjured before, durst now do no other, upon pain of relapse, but needs confesse whatsoever was put unto them. And therefore because *Robert Bartlet* and *Richard* his Brother, being called before the Bishop, and sworn upon their Oath, would confesse nothing against themselves; the Bishop, to convict them by Witnesses, went first to *William Chedwell*, lying sore sick in his Bed, causing him upon the Evangelists to swear, whether he knew the foresaid *Robert* and *Richard Bartlet* to be *known Men*. Which being done, the Bishop then called before him *Robert Andrew*, *Roger Bennet*, *John Hill*, *Edmund Dormer*, *John Milfint*, *Thomas Bernard*, *Thomas Littlepage*, *John Duff*, all *Amerham Men*: Who being abjured before, as is said, durst no otherwise do, but confesse upon their Oath, that *Robert* and *Richard Bartlet* were *known Men*. And yet the Bishop, not contented with this, caused also their two Wives, to wit, *Margaret* the Wife of *Robert Bartlet*, and *Isabel* the Wife of *Richard Bartlet*, to depose and give witness against their own natural Husbands. Albeit *Isabel Bartlet*, being somewhat more temperate of her tongue, refused utterly to confesse any thing of her Husband, and denied her Husbands words to be true; till at last, the being convict of Perjury, was constrained to utter the truth, as in the proces of this Table following more particularly followeth to be seen.

A Table, describing the grievous affliction of good Men and Women in the Diocese of Lincoln, under John Longland their Bishop; with the names both of the Accusers, and of them that were Accused: Also with the Crimes to them objected: Out of the Registers of the said Diocese, Anno 1521.

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
	Robert Bartlet, Richard Bartlet his Brother.		
Will. Chedwell sick in his Bed. Robert Andrew. Rog. Bennet. John Hill. Edmund Dormer. Job. Milfint. Tho. Bernard. Thomas Littlepage.	His Robert Bartlet, and Richard his Brother, were detected by these foresaid Accusers, to be <i>known Men</i> , that is, to be of the same Company and Affinity with these Jurates, and others that had been abjured before in the time of <i>William Smith</i> Bishop of Lincoln, about the year of our Lord 1508, and that in the house of <i>Thomas Harding</i> they were so noted, by the words of <i>Harding's</i> Wife, who, speaking to <i>Robert Bartlet</i> , said, that she was glad that he was converted to Grace, and chosen to Almighty God; requiring him never to	John Doffet. Margaret Bartlet. Isabel Bartlet. These being before abjured, were now compelled by Oath to detect.	forfake that he was called to; for if he did, there was no Sacrifice left for him. Also the said <i>Harding's</i> Wife speaking to <i>Richard Bartlet</i> coming into her House, said, Here cometh a good Man, and I hope he will be a good Man: but he hath so much mind of buying and selling, and taking of Farms, that it putteth his mind from all goodness. By which words it appeared, said they, that he was a <i>known Man</i> . Item, That <i>Robert Bartlet</i> , speaking to <i>Harding's</i> Wife, said, He had thought to have called <i>William Tisfworth</i> false Heretick; but now he was better advised. Item, That they used the Lectures and Readings of that Company.

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	R.H.H.8 Anno 1521. Ex Regist. John Long- land, Lin- coln.
For reading Scripture in English.	This Robert Bartlet, and Richard his Brother first being sworn, and yet confessing nothing before the Bishop, at last were convicted by witnesses, as above appeareth, and noted therefore of Perjury. Wherefore incurring into greater danger, they were constrained at their next Examination to utter themselves, and confess what they had both done and said; that is, that the said Robert had read unto Richard his Brother a parcel of Scripture beginning thus: <i>James the Servant of God, to the twelve kinds, &c. Item,</i> that he heard William Tilsforth say, That Images of Saints were but Stocks and Stones, and dead things; and that he taught the same to his Brother Richard, and concealed the words of William Tilsforth. Item, That he partly believed Thomas Mastal, teaching him that the true presence of Christ was not in the Sacrament; and likewise of Images and Pilgrimages. Item, for receiving the Communion at Easter without thrift, &c.	Rich. Bartlet by his Oath was constrain- ed to detect	First, for learning the Epistle of St. James in English of Thurstan Littlepage. Secondly, for not believing the bodily presence in the Sacrament. Thirdly, for speaking against worship- ping of Images, and going on Pilgrimages Old Father Bartlet, his Father. This Richard Bartlet also in his Confession said of his Father, that he was a better Man than he was taken for: for the other day there came a Man to him as he was thrashing, and said, God speed Father Bartlet, ye work sore: Yea, said he, I thresh God Almighty out of the Straw.	The Poet God Almighty ry threshed out of the Straw.
The Brother detecteth the Brother.	Richard Bartlet his Brother. The Crime whereof Robert Bartlet accused his Brother Richard was this: Because, he said, his Brother Richard had been much conversant with Thurstan Littlepage, and had learned of him the counsels and secrets of those Men: Also that he had learned of him some of the Epistle of St. James, thus beginning: <i>James the Servant of God, to the twelve kinds, &c.</i>		Against this Agnes Wellis brought and examined before the Bishop, were ministred these Interrogatories, which for certain causes I thought here to insert, for our Posterity to note and consider; and they are these that follow: Articles ministred to Agnes Wellis: 1. Whether she knew that certain of the Parish of Amersham were converted before William Smith late Bishop of Lincoln for Heresy? 2. Item, Whether she knew that certain of them, so converted before the Bishop for Heresy, did err in the Sacrament of the Altar, or in other Sacraments, and what Errors they were, and wherein? 3. Item, Whether she knew any other to be suspect of the same Heresy or Sect, beside them of Amersham so converted, who they were, and how many? 4. Item, Whether she had been of the same company, or sect, or opinion with them, which were converted before the Bishop for Heresy? and if she were, what company she used, and whole? 5. Item, Whether she was at any time conversant with Thurstan Littlepage? and if she were, how oft she had been in his company, how, what time, in what place, who else were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him to be suspected for Heresy? 6. Item, Whether she knew and had been conversant with Alexander Mastal? and if she were, how, when, in what place, who were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him suspected for Heresy? 7. Item, Whether she was ever detected to the Office of W. Smith, late Bishop of Lincoln, at what time, or since the time that Littlepage and Mastal were converted before the Bishop for Heresy? and whether she was then called and converted before the Bishop for Heresy, or not? 8. Item, Whether she had been, or is now noted, had, holden, reputed, or defamed to be of the same Sect with Thurstan Littlepage, or other convicted of Heresy? and whether she be, or hath been nominated for a Known Woman among them? 9. Item, Whether she had been present at any time at the readings or conferings between Thurstan Littlepage and other Convicts? 10. Item, Whether Thurstan Littlepage did ever teach her the Epistle of St. James, or the Epistles of St. Peter or Paul in English? and whether she had repeated oft-times the Epistle of St. James unto the said Thurstan, in the presence of Richard Bartlet her Brother? 11. Item, Whether Richard Bartlet her Brother did teach her at any time the Epistle of St. James? and if he did, how oft, and in what place? 12. Item, Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or by any other in the foresaid Sect, that in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the true Body of Christ, but only the substance of Bread? 13. Item, Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, that Pilgrimage was not to be used, nor the Images of Saints to be adored? 14. Item, Whether she did credit the said Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, teaching her in the Premises? and whether she did believe or expressly consent with them in the foresaid Articles?	Articles mini- stred a- gainst Agnes Wellis.
The Hof- band de- tecteth the Wife.	Isabel Bartlet, his Wife. The cause wherein Robert Bartlet did detect his Wife, was this: That when the Bishop's Servant was come for her Husband, she uttered these words, saying, Alas! he was now an undone Man, and she but a dead Woman. Furthermore, the said Robert being demanded of the Bishop, Whether he knew Isabel his Wife to be of the Sect of Heretics before he married her, said, Yea. Being asked again, If she had not been of that Sect, whether then he would have married her? he granted the same likewise.			
Robert Bart- let was brought to examination, and caused by his Oath to de- tect,	Agnes Wellis, his Sister. Furthermore, the said Robert Bartlet detected his own Sister, in that he had twice instructed her not to worship Images, and also had taught her in the Epistle of St. James.			
The Brother accuseth the Sister.	Elizabeth Dean, Wife of Richard Dean of West-Wicam. Emme Tilsforth, Wife of William Tilsforth. William Grinder and his Wife. John Scruener. Alexander Mastal. William Tilsforth. Thurstan Littlepage. John Bartlet, his Brother. The said Robert Bartlet detected also these to be of the number of Known Men, for that they reformed many times together, reading and confering among themselves, and talking against worshipping of Images, and Pilgrimages. And if any came in amongst them which was not of their side, then they would say no more, but keep all silence, &c.			
	Agnes Wellis, Wife of John Wellis, his Sister. This Agnes was detected of her Brother in three points:			For reading the Scripture in English.

K. Hen.8.

Anno

1521.

Ex Regist.

Joh. Long-

land Lin-

coln.

15. Item, Whether that Robert Bartlet her Brother did ever teach her the Epistle of St. James? and if he did, how often, and where?

16. Item, Whether the said Robert Bartlet had taught her, that Pilgrimage was not to be used, and that Images were not to be adored?

17. Item, Whether the knew such a Law and Custom among them, that such as were not of that sort did contract matrimony only with themselves, and not with other Christians?

18. Item, Whether she did ever hear *Thurstan* or any other say, that they only which were of their Doctrine were true Christians?

19. Item, When she came to receive, and was confessed, whether she did utter and confess her Heresies to the Priest?

Captivus Ar-

ticles.

Unto these captivous and cruel interrogatory Articles mislaid against *Agnes Welles*, she answered negatively almost to all of them, refusing to utter any Person unto the Bishop. But soon after, being otherwise schooled, I cannot tell how, by the Catholics, she was compelled to detect both her self, her Brother *Robert Bartlet*, *Thurstan Littlepage*, and also *Isabel Morwin*, Wife of *John Morwin*, &c.

Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes objected.

Isabel Bartlet was then brought and examined before the Bishop; where she

She excuseth
her own
words.

Being asked whether she spake these words following to her Husband, at the coming of the Bishop's Man; Alas! now are you an undone Man, and I but a dead Woman?

First, she stood in long denial of the same; and altho her Husband gave witness against her, yet stood she that her Husband said not truth. At last she was compelled to grant those words to be spoken; and then being asked what she meant by them? thus she excuseth her self, That her Husband had been unkind to her a long time, and therefore she desired to depart from him; whereupon now for sorrow she spake these words, &c.

The which words her Husband did excuse something otherwise, saying, That his Wife spake those words between the Threshold and the Hall-door, because of a vehement fear of the loss of her Goods.

Richard Hobbes of Hitchenden.

Henry Hobbes of Hitchenden.

Hernes Wife.

Horne Widow of Amerisham.

Thomas Couper of Amerisham, Husbandman.

John Stamp, Wheeler of Amerisham.

Alice Harding, Wife of Thomas Harding.

William
Chedwel of
Amerisham.

The Crime laid to *Alice Harding* was this: because when the Priest was coming to *Richard Bennet* to give him counsel, she went before, and instructed him what he should do.

William Rogers, Tyler.

William Harding.

Roger Harding.

These were detected by *Roger Bennet*, for that they being admonished to appear before the Bishop's Chanceller at *Amerisham*, neglected so to do.

J. Jennings, Servant to James Morden.

George, Servant of T. Toche.

Thomas Gray, Servant of Roger Bennet.

These were detected for carrying about certain Books in English.

William Smith, Wheeler.

The Wife of Jo. Millett.

The Wife of W. Rogers.

Ro. Stamp and his Wife.

The Wife of Rob. Bartlet.

For English
Books.

Roger Bennet by like compulsion of his Oath was caused to detect these Persons:

Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes objected.

These good Women here named were detected to the Bishop by *Roger Bennet*, for that upon the Holy-days, when they go and come from the Church, they use to resort unto one *J. Collingworth's* House, and there to keep their Conventicle.

The Wife of *David Lewis*, and her Father.

This Woman was charged for speaking these Words: That the Churchmen in old time did lead the People as the Hen doth lead her Chickens; but our Priests do now lead the People to the Devil.

Agnes Frank, Wife of William Frank.

J. George. J. Gardiner.

J. Samme. James Morden.

Because she turned away her face from the Cross, as it was carried about on Easter-day in the morning at the Resurrection. Fol. 10.

Tho. Rowland put likewise to his Oath, did detect,

John Scrivenor the elder.

For carrying about Books from one to another.

Thomas Rowland,

For these words following: If I lie, curse, storm, swear, chide, fight, or threat, then am I worthy to be beat: I pray you, good Master of mine, if I offend in any of these nine, amend me with a good scouring.

Thomas Chose.

In the like sort also was charged *Thomas Chose*, because he heard him twice recite the Epistle of St. James, beginning: *James the Servant of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve kinds, &c.*

Also for these words: *It was by the days of Herod King of the Jews, that there was a Priest, Zachary by name, and he came of the sort of Abias, and his Wife the daughter of Aaron; both they were just before God, going in all the Commandments, &c.*

James Morden compelled in like manner by his Oath, did detect,

William Noron.

Agnes Alsford of Christham.

The cause laid to this *Agnes* was for teaching this *James* the words following:

*We be the Salt of the Earth; if it be purvised and vanished away, it is nothing worth. A City set upon an Hill may not be hid. To send not a Candle, and put it under a Bushel, but set it on a Candlestick, that it may give a light to all in the House. So shine your Lights before Men, as they may see your Work, and glorify the Father which is in Heaven. No tittle nor letter of the Law shall pass over till all things be done. And five times went he to the foresaid *Agnes* to learn this Lesson. Item, That the said *Agnes* did teach him to say this Lesson: *Jesus seeing his People, as he went up to a Hill, was set, and his Disciple came to him; he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed be the poor Men in Spirit, for the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs. Blessed be, mild Men, for they shall wield the Earth. And twice he came to her to learn this Lesson. Ex Regist. Longland, fol. 11.**

And these Lessons the said *Agnes* was bid to recite before six Bishops, who straightway enjoined and commanded her, that she should teach those Lessons no more to any Man, and especially to her Children. Ex Regist. fol. 11.

Note, gentle Reader, what Heresy is here.

The

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	K. Hen. 8.
	<p><i>Richard Alsford, Smith.</i> <i>Agnes Alsford,</i> <i>Thomas Chafe,</i> Because these two did exhort him thrice, that he should keep the things they spake of as secret in his Stomack, as a Man would keep a Thief in Prison.</p> <p><i>Thomas Tredway of Chesham,</i> <i>Robert Pope,</i> <i>John Morden and his Wife,</i> Because they were heard in the presence of this <i>James Morden</i> their Nephew, to recite the Ten Commandments in their House in English.</p> <p><i>Alice Atkins,</i> Because of him she learned the <i>Pater noster, Ave Maria,</i> and Creed in English, and the five <i>Marvels</i> of <i>St. Austin</i>; also another piece of an English Book, beginning, Here ensue four things by which a Man may know whether he shall be saved, &c.</p> <p><i>Marian Morden</i> his own Sister, Also that she did not worship Images: And after these little things he intended to teach her of the Sacrament.</p> <p><i>W. Africke or Littlepage.</i> <i>John Africke or Littlepage.</i> <i>Emme Harding or Africke.</i> <i>John Phip, Physician.</i></p>		<p><i>John Milson</i> and his Wife. <i>Roger Harding</i> and his Wife. <i>Tbo. Bernard.</i> <i>Tbo. Africke</i> and his Wife. <i>W. Rogers.</i> <i>W. Harding</i> and his Wife. <i>Kat. Bartlet,</i> the Mother of <i>Robert</i> and <i>Richard Bartlet</i>: <i>Th. Harding</i> and his Wife. <i>W. Frank</i> and <i>Agnes</i> his VVife. Because these coming to the Church, and especially at the Elevation-time, would say no Prayers, but lit mum (as he termed it) like Beasts. Because <i>Katharine Bartlet</i>, being of good health, came but seldom to the Church, but feigned her self sick. And because <i>Will. Frank</i> married <i>Agnes</i> his Wife, the being before abjured.</p> <p><i>Robert Pope,</i> Because he fled away when the great Abjuration was at <i>Amergham</i>; also for having certain English Books. Fol. 16. <i>Emme Africke,</i> alias <i>Harding.</i> <i>John Africke.</i> <i>Henry Milner.</i> <i>Hernes Wife,</i> now the Wife of <i>Waiveret</i> <i>VVilliam Tilsforth.</i> <i>Emme Tilsforth</i> of <i>London.</i> <i>Thomas Tilsforth</i> and his Wife. The Wife of <i>Robert Tilsforth.</i> <i>William Glasbroke.</i> <i>Christopher Glasbroke,</i> Milner. <i>Thomas Grove</i> and <i>Joan</i> his Wife. <i>Thomas Man</i> by <i>Bristow.</i> <i>Henry Milner,</i> Counted for a great Heretick, and learned in the Scripture. <i>John Schepard.</i> The Wife of <i>John Schepard</i> of <i>Dorney.</i> The elder Daughter of <i>Roger Harding</i> of <i>Amergham.</i> <i>Nic. Stokely,</i> Cooper, and his Wife, of <i>Henley.</i> <i>John Clerke.</i> <i>Thomas VVilbey</i> of <i>Henley.</i> <i>VV. Stokely.</i> Hubs with his Sons of <i>Hiebenden.</i> The Wife of <i>John Scrivener Smith,</i> of <i>Omborne.</i> <i>Thomas Clerke</i> the elder. <i>Thomas Clerke</i> the younger. <i>VVigner Farmer</i> of <i>Hiebenden.</i> <i>Robert Carder,</i> Weaver. <i>John Frier</i> Servant to <i>M. Pen.</i> <i>John Morwin</i> and <i>Isabel</i> his Wife. <i>Elizabeth Hoyer,</i> Wife of <i>Henry Hoyer</i> of <i>Little Missenden.</i> <i>Richard VVhite</i> Fuller of <i>Beckensfield.</i> <i>Andrew Randal</i> and his Wife of <i>Rickmansworth.</i> The Father of <i>Andrew Randal,</i> Because they received into their House <i>Thomas Man</i> flying for Persecution; and for reading <i>VVickliffes VVicket.</i> <i>Bennet VVard,</i> Fuller. This <i>Bennet VVard</i> was also denounced by <i>John Merston,</i> for saying, That it booteth no Man to pray to our Lady, nor to any Saint or Angel in Heaven, but to God only, for they have no power of Mans Soul. The VVife of <i>Bennet Ward</i> and her Daughter, For saying, that <i>Tbo. Pope</i> was the devouteft Man that ever came in their House; for he would sit reading in his Book to Midnight many times. <i>Tbo. Tailor</i> and his VVife of <i>Unbridg.</i> <i>Rob. Quicke.</i> <i>Rob. Cosins.</i> C 2 <i>Thomas</i></p>	<p>Anno 1521. Ex Regib. Jo. Longland Lincoln.</p> <p>The great Abjuration was Anno 1517.</p>
<p>The foresaid <i>James Morden</i> detected</p>		<p><i>Thomas Halsaker</i> sworn upon his Oath, did detect these Persons here following:</p>		
		<p><i>Tb. Holmes</i> detected,</p>		
<p><i>Roger Bonnet</i> by like compulsion of his Oath was caused to detect these following to be known Persons.</p>	<p><i>Will. Rogers,</i> Tiler, and his Wife. <i>W. Harding.</i> <i>Rog. Harding.</i> <i>Joan Jennings.</i> George Servant to <i>Tbo. Tochel.</i> <i>Thomas Gray,</i> Servant of <i>Roger Bennet.</i> <i>Agnes Franke.</i> <i>Joan Colingworth.</i> <i>W. Smith.</i> The Wife of <i>John Milsent.</i> <i>Rob. Stampe</i> and his Wife. The Wife of <i>Robert Bartlet.</i> The Wife of <i>David Lewis</i> of <i>Henley.</i> <i>John Frier,</i> Servant to <i>M. Penne.</i> <i>John Tracher.</i> <i>John Mordens</i> Wife. <i>Richard Alsford.</i> <i>W. Littlepage</i> sometime Apprentice of <i>John Scrivener.</i> <i>Emme</i> his Wife. <i>Jo. Scrivener.</i> <i>Isabel Morwin,</i> for teaching <i>Coplands</i> Wife her Errors.</p>			

K.Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Fy Rylit, Job. Long- leed Lin- coln.	Acofjers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Acofjers.	Parties accufed, and Crimes objected.
		<p><i>Thomas Clerke</i> and his Wife of Ware. <i>One Gildener</i> about Hertford. <i>John Say</i> and <i>W. Say</i> his Son of Little Miffenden. The Wife of <i>John Wellis</i> of Amerfharn. <i>Juan Glasbroke</i>, Siftler to <i>Will. Glasbroke</i> of Harrow on the Hill. <i>Tbo. Susan</i>, Wheeler. <i>John a Lee</i>, Smith. <i>John Augty</i>, Shectiman. <i>John Trier</i>. <i>Edmund Harding</i>. <i>John Heron</i> Carpenter of Hambeldon. <i>Henry Miller</i>. <i>John Phip</i>. He was very ripe in the Scripture. <i>Emme</i> Wife of <i>Richard Tilfworih</i>. <i>John Phip</i>. He was a Reader or Rehear-ter to the other. <i>John Say</i> of Miffenden. <i>VWilliam Stokeley</i>. <i>Roger Squire</i>. For faying to <i>Holmer</i>, This is one of them that maketh all this buinefs in our Town with the Bithop; I pray God tear all the Bones of him. <i>Roger Herne</i>. A certain Tanner. <i>John Butler</i>, Carpenter. <i>Richard Butler</i>. <i>VWilliam King</i> of Uxbridge. Thefe three fate up all the Night in the Houfe of <i>Durdant</i> of <i>Juen Court</i> by <i>Stanes</i>, reading all the night in a Book of Scripture. <i>John Mucklyf</i>, Weaver, For fpeaking againft Holy Bread and Holy Water. <i>Tbo. Man</i>. For faying, that Chrift was not fubftan- tially in the Sacrament. <i>Thomas Stilman</i>. <i>Jenkin Butler</i>. For receiving an Englifh Book given him by <i>Corder</i> his Father, who after his Abjuration done before Bithop <i>Smith</i>, fell fick and died.</p>		<p>dead was a good Man, and divers Known Men were called before him, and he fent them home again, bidding them that they fhould live among their Neighbours as good Chrifitian Men fhould do. And now, faid he, there is a new Bithop, which is called a bleffed Man; and if he be as he is named, he will not trouble the Servants of God, but will let them be in quiet. <i>James Morden</i> her own Brother, For teaching her the <i>Pater noster</i>, Ave, and Creed in Englifh; and that the fhould not go on Pilgrimage, nor fhould worfhip Saints or Images, which she had not done by the fpace of fix years paff, following and believing her Brother. <i>John Littlepage</i>. <i>Henry Littlepage</i>. <i>William Littlepage</i>. <i>Juan Littlepage</i>. <i>Richard Morden</i> his Brother of Chefbarn. <i>Emme</i> his Wife. <i>Alice Brown</i> of Chefbarn. <i>Radulph Morden</i> his Brother of Chefbarn. His Wife. <i>John Phip</i>. <i>Elizabeth Hamon</i>. A Canon of Miffenden. <i>Tbo. Grove</i> of London. <i>Ifabel Morwin</i>. The Wife of <i>Norman</i> of Amerfharn. <i>Tbo. Cooper</i> of Woodrov. <i>Roger Harding</i>. <i>W. Grinder</i>. Beaufe the two could not fay their Creed in Latin. The Wife of <i>Robert Stamp</i> of VWood- row. <i>Tbo. Harding</i> of Amerfharn. <i>Alice Harding</i> his Wife. Beaufe after their Abjuration in Bithop <i>Smith</i>'s time, divers known Men, as they then termed them, which were abjured be- fore, had much refort to their Houfe. <i>Agnes Squire</i>. For fpeaking thefe words : Men do fay, I was abjured for Herefy ; it may well be a Napkin for my Nofe, but I will never be afhamed of it. The Vicar of Little Miffenden. <i>Tbo. Grove</i> and his Wife. He was detected, for that he did give to Dr. Wilcock twenty Pounds, to exculpate him that he might not be brought to open Penance, <i>Thomas Holmes</i>, For that he was heard to fay thefe words, after the great Abjuration, when he had abjured, That the greateft Cobs were yet behind. <i>R. Sanders</i> of Amerfharn. Beaufe he ever defended them which were fufpected to be known Men. Alfo be- caufe he bought out his Penance, and carried his Badge in his Purfe.</p>
For reading the Scripture in Englifh.		<p>The forefaid <i>Tbo. Holmes</i> detected, <</p>		

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	K.Hen.8. Anno 1521. Ex Regist. John Long- land, Lin- coln.
John Philp.	Bishop Longland seeking how to convict John Philp of Perjury, (who, being charged with an Oath, did not answer affirmatively unto such Suspitions as were laid unto him by Thomas Holmer, and other several Accusers) did examine Sybil Africk his own Sister, upon her Oath to detect John Philp her Brother of Relapse; but the so answered, that the Bishop could take by her no great hold of Relapse against him. Wherein is to be noted the singular Iniquity and Abuse in the Church of Rome, which by virtue of Oath setteth the Sister to procure the Brother's Blood. The like also was fought by Thomas Africk his Sister's Husband; but they had by him no vantage.		Also because Joan his Wife had lent to this John Scrivener the Gospel of St. Matthew and Mark, which Book he gave to Bishop Smith.	
Jenkin Butler did appeach	John Butler his own Brother, For reading to him in a certain Book of the Scripture, and persuading him to hearken to the same. Robert Carder. Richard Butler his Brother. Henry Ulman of Oxbridge. Rich. Ashford of Walton, otherwise called Rich. Nash, or Rich. Tredway. William King of Oxbridge.	The forefaid John Scrivener forced by his Oath to accuse,	John Merrywether, his Wife, and his Son. Durdant by Stanes. Old Durdant. Isabel Wife of T. Harding. Harrop of Windsor. Joan Barret, Wife of John Barret of London. Henry Miller. Sutman. Tailor. All these were accused, because at the marriage of Durdant's Daughter they assembled together in a Barn, and heard a certain Epistle of St. Paul read; which reading they well liked, but especially Durdant, and commended the same. Tho. Rowland of Amergham. It was objected to Tho. Rowland for speaking these words: Ah good Lord! where is all our good communication which was wont to be amongst us when your Master was alive? Tho. Grove of London, Butcher. Wil. Glasbrooke of Harrow on the Hill. Christopher Glasbrooke of London. William Tilsforth of London, Goldsmith. Apprentice sometimes to John Barret. These were appeached because they used to resort and confer together of matters of Religion in the House of Thomas Man of Amergham, before the great Abjuration. John Newman. He was appeached, because he was present in the House of John Barret, at the reading of Scripture. John Wood of Henley. William Wood. Lewis of Henley, Serving-man. Willie and his Son. This Willie was appeached, because he taught the Gospel of Matthew to John Wood and William Wood, after the great Abjuration; and Father Robert did teach them St. Paul's Epistle, which old Father was after that burned at Buckingham.	
W. Ameriden did detect	Isabel Tracer, Wife of John Tracer, Because she came not to the Church often on the Work-days, being admonished both by the Churchwardens, by the Graduates of the Church, and by Dr. Cooke Commissary, but followed her business at home. Also because she purposed to set her Daughter to Alice Harding, saying, that she could better instruct her than many other. Also because she cursed the Priest after he was gone, which had given to her the Eucharist, saying, that he had given to her bitter Gall. Thomas Clement of Chesham. Alice Holting, For that the being great with child, did dine before she went to Church to take her Rites; saying, that Isabel Tracer did so tell her, that she might dine before the received the Sacrament. W. Trecoer of Amergham. For keeping, Thomas Grove in his House on Easter and Christmas-day, because he would not come to the Church. Robert Cofin. Thomas Man. Alice Harding. For dissuading from Pilgrimage, from worshipping of Images, and from bowing her Money to Saints for health of her Child. Also for saying, that she needed not to confess to a Priest, but to be enough to lift up her hands to Heaven. Also for saying, that she might as well drink upon the Sunday before Mass, as any other day, &c.		Thoustan Littlepage, Emma his Wife. This Thoustan had taught him the saying of Solomon, that Wrath raiseth Chiding; had taught him also the Pater noster and Ave in English. His Creed in English he learnt of his Grandmother. The said Thoustan also taught him, Christ not to be corporally in the Sacrament. John Littlepage his Brother. Alice Wife of Thoustan Littlepage. Because he was said to have learned the Ten Commandments in English of Alice, Thoustan's Wife, in his Father's House. John Frier. Because this John Frier had taught the said William the ten Commandments in English. Thomas Grove. Hernes Wife. The Wife of John Morwin. Richard Barile, Robert Barile. Thomas Bernard. Joan Clerk of Little Missenden: For saying, she never did believe in the Sacrament of the Altar, nor ever would believe it. John Horne of Amblyden.	
Joan Norman did appeach	Hen. Miller, Wire-drawer, which from Amergham fled to Chempersford. That he abjured and did Penance in Kent before, and afterward coming to Amergham, taught them (as he said) many Heresies.	Will, Littlepage forced by his Oath, did accuse,		
Jo. Scrivener forced by his Oath to accuse	John Barret Goldsmith of London. Joan Barret his Wife. Joan his Servant. Because he was heard in his own House, before his Wife and Maid there present, to recite the Epistle of Saint James, which Epistle, with many other things, he had perfectly without book.			

K. Hen. 8.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
Anno 1521. Ex Regist. Joh. Long- land Lin- coln.		His Sister <i>Agnes Vvard.</i> <i>Vvard's</i> Wife of <i>Marlow.</i> <i>Nicholas Stokeley.</i>		<i>John Phip.</i> For saying that Images are not to be wor- shipped, because they are made and carved with Mans hand, and that such ought not to be worshipped.
	<i>John Gardi- ner</i> did ap- peach,	Because that when this <i>Gardiner</i> said, God help us, and our Lady, and all the Saints of Heaven; then she said, What need is it to go to the feet, when we may go to the head?		<i>John Gardiner.</i> For that to the said <i>VWilliam</i> this <i>Gardiner</i> said, that all which are burned for this Sect are true Martyrs.
		<i>VWilliam Stokeley.</i> The Wife of <i>VWilliam Deane.</i> <i>VWilliam Ramsay</i> of <i>Newbery.</i> <i>John Simons</i> and his Wife of <i>Marlow.</i> <i>John Gray</i> of <i>Marlow.</i> <i>David Schywood.</i> <i>VWilliam Schywood.</i> <i>Raynold Schywood.</i>		<i>John Stilman.</i> <i>Thomas Geffrey</i> , first of <i>Uxbridge</i> , then of <i>Ipswich</i> , Taylor. For reading and teaching him in the acts and preachings of the Apostles. Item, for having a Scripture-book in English; which Book the said <i>Geffrey</i> gave to the Bishop of <i>London</i> when he was accused.
	<i>John Say</i> did detect	<i>Christopher Shoemaker.</i> <i>John Okenden.</i> <i>Robert Pope.</i> This <i>Christopher Shoemaker</i> had been burned a little before at <i>Newbery.</i>	<i>John Butler</i> by his Oath was forced to detect,	Item, That the said <i>Geffrey</i> said, that that true Pilgrimage was, barefoot to go and vi- sit the Poor, Weak, and Sick; for they are the true Images of God.
<i>Christopher Shoemaker Martyr.</i>				<i>Richard Vulford.</i> This <i>Vulford</i> and <i>Thomas Geffrey</i> told the said <i>John Butler</i> , that the Host consecrated was not the very true Body of Christ.
	<i>Elizabeth Copland</i> wit- nesseth a- gainst	Bishop <i>Longland</i> seeking matter against <i>Isabel Morwin</i> , (of whom he could take no great advantage by examinati- on) called and caused <i>Elizabeth Copland</i> , her own Sister, to testify against her in manner as followeth: <i>Isabel Morwin</i> , her own Sister. First, because in talk together, coming from their Father being at the point of death, <i>Isabel</i> said to her Sister <i>Elizabeth</i> , that all which die either pass to Hell or Hea- ven: Nay, said the other, there is between them Purgatory.		In proof whereof they said, that let a Mouse be put in the Pix with the Host, and the Mouse would eat it up. And for more proof, they declared unto the said <i>John Butler</i> , That there were two Priests in <i>Essex</i> , which put a Mouse in the Pix to a consecrated Host, and the Mouse did eat it: Afterward, the fact of these Priests being known, and brought to the Bishop, one of the Priests was burned for the same.
		Again: When <i>Elizabeth</i> came from the Rood of Rest, <i>Isabel</i> said, that if she knew so much as she hath heard, she would go no more on pilgrimage while she lived; for all Saints, said she, be in Heaven. Then asked <i>Elizabeth</i> , wherefore Pilgrimage was ordained of Doctors and Priests? The other said, for gain and profit. Who hath taught you this, (quoth <i>Elizabeth</i>) Man or Woman? Your Curate, I dare say, never learned you so. My Curate, said she, will never know so much. And moreover, said to <i>Elizabeth</i> her Sister, that if she would keep counsel, and not tell her Husband, she would say more. And when <i>Elizabeth</i> an- swered that she would not tell: but, faith the other, I will have you to swear: and because she would not swear, the other would not proceed any further.		<i>John Clerke</i> of <i>Denham</i> . Also the same <i>Vulford</i> and <i>Geffrey</i> told him and <i>John Clerke</i> , That holy Bread and holy Water were but a vain-glory of the World; for God never made them, but they were Mens Inventions: and that God never made Priests, for in Christ's time there were no Priests. Moreover, that <i>Thomas Geffrey</i> caused this <i>John Butler</i> divers Sundays to go to <i>London</i> to hear <i>Dr. Colet</i> .
<i>Alice Brown</i> forced by her Oath to detect,		<i>John Tracer</i> of <i>Chelham</i> . The cause why this <i>John Tracer</i> was de- nounced was this: for that he taught her in the Gospel this Saying of Jesus, <i>Blessed be they that bear the Word of God, and keep it.</i> Also because he taught her the eight Beati- tudes in English.	The foresaid <i>John Butler</i> did detect,	<i>Andrew Fuller</i> of <i>Uxbridge</i> . Because this <i>John Butler</i> had an old Book of <i>Richard Vulford</i> . Also another great Book of <i>Andrew Ful- ler</i> , for which he paid six shillings and four pence; and another little Book of <i>Thomas Man</i> , which he brought to the Bishop.
		<i>M. Tilfworth</i> , because she refused to detect other by vir- tue of her Oath, and denied such matter as by Witness and by the Bishop's Acts were proved against her, in pain of re- lapse the Bishop enjoined her to make certain Faggots of Cloth, and to wear the same both before her upper garment and behind, so long as she lived. Ex Regist. <i>Longland</i> .		<i>Thomas Man</i> . Moreover, this <i>Thomas Man</i> was appeach- ed, because he read to this Deponent ten years ago, how <i>Adam</i> and <i>Eve</i> were expelled out of Paradise; and for speaking against Pil- grimage, and worshipping of Images, and against the Singing-Service used then in Churches. This <i>Thomas Man</i> was burnt and died a Martyr, of whom mention is made before.
<i>VV. Phips</i> forced by his Oath to de- tect,		<i>Thomas Africke</i> . For asking how his Cousin <i>VVidmore</i> Clerk the elder, and <i>John Phip</i> did at <i>Hin- chenden</i> ? whether they kept the Laws of God as they were wont? <i>Roger Parker</i> deceased.		<i>William King</i> . This <i>VWilliam King</i> was appeached be- cause he lodged <i>Thomas Man</i> in his House upon a certain Holy-day at Divine Service; unto whom resorted <i>Richard Vulford</i> , and <i>John Clerke</i> , and this <i>John Butler</i> : to whom the said <i>Thomas Man</i> declared that Pilgri- mage was naught, and that Images were not to be worshipped.

Accuſers.

Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.

Robert Carder.

Durdant.

Richard Butler, his own Brother.

William King.

The foreſaid
John Butler
did detect,

To theſe was laid, That *Thomas Carder* brought this *John Butler* to *Durdant's* Houſe at *Juen-Court* by *Stanes*, where was *Richard Butler* his Brother, and *William King* reading in a certain Engliſh Book. At which time *Durdant* deſired them not to tell that he had any ſuch Engliſh Book in his Houſe, leſt he ſhould be burned for the ſame.

Richard Naſh or Aſhford.

Alſo another time, that *John Butler*, with *Richard Butler* his Brother, and *Robert Carder*, went to the Houſe of *Rich. Aſhford* or *Naſh*, to hear the ſame *Aſhford* read in a certain little Book which contained many good things.

Richard Vulman of London.

This *Vulman* was detected upon this, for that he would have read to this *John Butler* a certain Engliſh Book, and ſpake againſt Pilgrimage and Images.

Henry Ulman and his Wife of Uxbridg.

Radolph Carpenter of London.

A Daughter of John Phip.

A Daughter of William Phip.

This *R. Carpenter* was detected for having certain Books of the *Apocalypſe* in Engliſh. Alſo for that *Carpenter* and his Wife did bring him, and the Wife of *Henry Ulman*, to a Corner-Houſe of *Friday-Street*, where the good Man of the Houſe, having a ſtump-foot, had divers ſuch Books, to the intent they ſhould hear them read.

R. Butler, Jenkin Butler, his own Brethren.

The Mother of Richard Aſhford.

Jo. Butler his other Brother.

John Philip
compelled by his Oath
to detect,

Theſe were detected, partly for holding againſt the Sacrament of the Altar; partly alſo becauſe they were reading two hours together in a certain Book of the Acts of the Apoſtles in Engliſh at *Chesham* in *Aſhford's* Houſe.

The Wife of Robert Pope.

For having certain Books in Engliſh, one bound in Boards, and three with Parchment-coverings, with four other Sheets of Paper written in Engliſh, containing matter againſt the Romiſh Religion. Alſo another Book of the Service of the Virgin *Mary* in Engliſh.

Thomas Stilman.

Thomas Stilman was therefore detected, for that he told *William Phip*, how that he being in *Lollard's-Tower*, did climb up the Steeple where the Bells were, and there, cutting the Bell-ropes, did tie two of them together, and ſo by them ſlipped down into *Paul's Church-yard*, and eſcaped.

John Morden of Aſhley-Greene.

Richard Aſhford his Brother.

Thomas
Tredway
compelled by his Oath
to detect,

Theſe were accuſed and detected, becauſe *John Morden* had in his Houſe a Book of the Goſpels, and other Chapters in Engliſh, and read three or four times in the ſame. In which book his Brother *Aſhford* alſo did read once. Item, becauſe *John Morden* ſpake againſt Images, and ſpake theſe Words: Our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* ſaith in his Goſpel, *Bluffed be they that bear the Word of God, and keep it*, &c.

Accuſers.

Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.

K. Hen. 8

Agnes Aſhford, his own Mother.

Tredway alſo detected his Mother, for teaching him, that he ſhould not worſhip the Images of Saints.

Anno

1531:

Ex Regiſt.
John Long.
Ireſt. Lic-
cola.John Bernſeld
detecting her
own Father.

Likewiſe *Joan Bernard*, being accuſed by *Robert Copland*, was ſworn by her Oath to detect *Thomas Bernard* her own natural Father, for ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimage, againſt worſhipping of Saints, and againſt Dirges, and praying for the Dead, and for warning his Daughter not to utter any of all this to her ghottly Father.

The like Oath alſo was forced to *Richard Bernard*, that he ſhould in like manner detect *Thomas Bernard* his own natural Father, for teaching him not to worſhip Images, nor to believe in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in God only which is in Heaven; and that he ſhould not utter the ſame to the Priet.

Rich. Bern-
ard detect-
ing his own
Father.

Richard Carder.

The Vicar of
Juer, and
Richard Tail-
lor witneſs,
accuſed

For defending the cauſe of *Jenkin Butler*, and for ſaying that the Biſhop did him injury.

Item, for ſaying, that if he had known the Biſhop's Man would have fetch'd him to the Biſhop, he would have given him warning thereof before.

Item, for ſaying, That if he ſhould call him, he would confeſs nothing, altho he burned him.

Richard Carder, her Huſband.

For ſaying that he ſuſpected that ſhe was too much familiar with the Vicar of *Juer*; and when ſhe answered again, how could he be evil with her, ſeeing he ſaith Maſs every day, and doth confeſs himſelf before? then her Huſband ſaid, that he could confeſs himſelf to a Poſt, or to the Altar.

Where note, that the Biſhop then examining her of that offence, whether ſhe was culpable, and whether ſhe was commonly in the voice of the People defamed with him or no? ſhe confeſſed it ſo to be. Whereupon no other Penalty nor Penance for that crime of Adultery was enjoined her of the Biſhop, but only this, that he ſhould frequent the Vicar's Houſe no more.

Richard Vulford of Kiſtlyp.

For ſpeaking againſt Images, Pilgrimages, Oblations, and againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Against Image
Pilgrimages
Oblations
the Sacrament of the
Altar.John Clerke
of Denham
forced by his
Oath to de-
tect,

Item, When this *John Clerke* had made a Wheel for Fiſh, *Richard Vulford* coming by, asked him, When he had made his wheel, whether the wheel now could turn again, and make him? and he ſaid, No. Even ſo (quoth he) God hath made all Priets, as thou haſt made the wheel; and how can they turn again, and make God?

John Butler.

The Daughter of John Phip of Huſebenden.

John Maſtal
detected

For ſaying, that ſhe was as well-learned as was the Parſon-Priet, in all things except only in ſaying of Maſs.

Alice Sanders, Wife of Richard Sanders of Amerſham.

Rob. Row-
land, &c.

For giving Twelve-pence to *Thomas Holmer*, to buy a certain Book in Engliſh for her Daughter; to whom *Thomas Holmer* answered again, that a Noble would not ſuffice to buy it.

Another time, for giving Six-pence to the buying of a certain Book in Engliſh, which coſt five Marks.

Another

K.Hen. 8.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
Anno 1521. For Revolt. John Long-land Lin-coln.	Rob. Row-land, Will. Franke, Tho. Howe, Tho. Rowland, Joan Franke, John Baker; All these de- tected,	<p>Another time <i>Thomas Howe</i> coming from <i>Owborne</i>, she asked, what news? and he said, That many were there condemned of Heresy, and therefore he would lean to that way no more. Then said she, If he did so, he would gain nothing thereby. Whereby he had no more work with her Husband, and after was put from the Holy-water Clerkship in that Town.</p> <p>Another time, for saying to <i>Thomas Rowland</i> these Words: You may see how <i>Thomas Howe</i> and other, which laboured to have Heretics detected before <i>Bishop Smith</i>, are brought now to Beggery; you may take example by them.</p>	Richard Vul- ford detected	<p><i>John Butler</i>, For having of him a certain Book in En- glish, containing a Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian.</p> <p>His own Wife deceased, <i>John Clerk of Denbam</i>, For communing with him against Ima- ges, Pilgrimages, and the Sacrament of the Altar. <small>Against the Sacrament of the Altar.</small></p> <p><i>Thomas Geffrey of Uxbridg</i>, and his Wife departed, For communing against the Sacrament of the Altar, worshipping of Saints, Pilgrimages, &c.</p> <p><i>Henry Ulman of Uxbridg</i>, For speaking and teaching against the Sacrament of the Altar eleven years ago and saying it was but a Trifle.</p> <p>The Mother of <i>William King of Ux-bridg</i>, <i>William King</i>, <i>Robert Carder</i> the elder, <i>John Baker of Uxbridg</i>.</p> <p><i>Geldener</i> the elder, His two Daughters. For being present and hearkning unto <i>Richard Bennet</i>, reading the Epistle of <i>St. James</i> in English. <small>For reading the Scripture.</small></p> <p><i>Emme</i> Sister of <i>William Tilsworth</i>, Martyr. <i>John Lee</i> Carpenter of <i>Henley</i>.</p>
	Joan Franke, Will. Franke the elder, Will. Franke the younger, Alice Tred- way detected	<p><i>Joan Colingborne</i>, For saying to one <i>Joan Timberlake</i>, and <i>Alice Tredway</i>, ten years ago, That she could never believe Pilgrimages to be profitable, nor that Saints were to be worshipped; and desired them not to tell their Curate, Which <i>Alice</i> immediately caused her to be called before the Bishop.</p> <p><i>Isabel Tracer</i>, Wife of <i>William Tracer</i>, his Mistress, For that she being not sick, but in good health, and being rebuked divers times of her Husband for the same, yet would not go to the Church, but tarried at home, and kept her work, as well Holy-day as Work-day, the space of three years together.</p>	John Service- nor the elder detected	<p>Here is to be noted, that in the Town of <i>Chesham</i> were two Men, one named <i>Robert Hutton</i>, the other <i>John Spark</i>; of which the one called the other Heretic, the other called him again Thief. <i>Spark</i>, which called <i>Hutton</i> Thief, was condemned to pay for his Slander ten shillings; but <i>Hutton</i>, which called the other Heretic, paid nothing. It happened that the Wife of this <i>Spark</i> not long after had certain Money stolen, for the which the said <i>Spark</i> her Husband sent for the counsel of two Friars, who gave him counsel to make two Balls of Clay, and to put them in the Water, and in the same Balls to inclose the names of them whom he sus- pected: and so doing, the said <i>Spark</i> came to his Money again. And this was detected to Bishop <i>Longland</i> the same time by <i>Thomas Clement</i>. But of all this matter there was no Inquisition made, nor Interrogatories minitred, nor Witnesses produced, nor any Sentence given. <i>Ex Regist. Longland. fol. 50.</i> <small>Witchcraft lets of the Bishop un- punished.</small></p>
	Isabel Gar- dner and John Gard- ner forced by their Oath to detect,	<p><i>Thomas Rave of Great-Merlow</i>, For speaking against Pilgrimages in the company of <i>John</i> and <i>Elizabeth Gardiner</i>, as he was going to our Lady of <i>Lincoln</i> for his Penance enjoined by Bishop <i>Smith</i>. Also the same time, as he met certain coming from <i>St. John Shorne</i>, for saying they were Fools, and calling it Idolatry.</p> <p>Also in the same Voyage, when he saw a certain Chappel in decay and ruine, he said, Lo, yonder is a fair Milk-houle down.</p> <p>Item, when he came to <i>Lincoln</i>, he made water in the Chappel at Mass-time, excusing afterward that he did it of necessity. Item, the same time, speaking against the Sacra- ment of the Altar, he said, that Christ sitteth in Heaven at the right-hand of the Father Almighty; and brought forth this Parable, saying, That Christ our Lord said these words when he went from his Disciples, and ascended to Heaven, That once he was in Sinners hands, and would come there no more. Also when he came to <i>Wicomb</i>, there to do his Penance, he bound his Faggot with a silken Lace. Also being demanded of <i>Dr. London</i>, whether he had done his Penance in coming to our Lady of <i>Lincoln</i>? he answered, That Bishop <i>Smith</i> had relea- sed him to come to our Lady of <i>Missenden</i> for six years; and three years he came, but whether he came any more, because he did not there register his name, therefore he said he could not prove it.</p> <p>The Wife of <i>Thomas Porter of Hyebeenden</i>.</p>	John Grofar being put to his Oath, de- tected	<p><i>Thomas Tykyl</i>, <i>Thomas Spencer</i> and his Wife, <i>John Knight</i>.</p> <p>This <i>John Grofar</i> was examined whe- ther he had a Book of the Gospels in En- glish? who confessed that he received such a Book of <i>Thomas Tykyl</i>, Morrow-Mass-Priest in <i>Milk-street</i>, and afterward lent the same Book to <i>Thomas Spencer</i>, which <i>Thomas Spencer</i> with his Wife used to read upon the same. After that it was lent to <i>John Knight</i>, who at length delivered the Book to the Vi- car of <i>Rickmanfworth</i>.</p> <p><i>Francis Funge</i> and his Brother, <i>Thomas Clerke</i>, <i>Francis Funge</i> was examined for speaking these words to his Brother <i>John</i>, which words he had learned of <i>Thomas Clerke</i>: If the Sacrament of the Altar be very God and Man, Flesh and Blood, in form of Bread, as Priests say that it is; then have we many</p>
	Roger Bennet forced by his Oath to de- tect,	<p>The Wife of <i>William Tilsworth</i>, now of <i>Hawkewell</i>, For not thinking Catholicly, that is, af- ter the Tradition of <i>Rome</i>, of the Sacrament of the Altar,</p> <p>The Wife of <i>Robert Stampe</i>, For not accomplishing her Penance en- joined by Bishop <i>Smith</i>, <i>Marian Randal</i>.</p>	John Funge forced by his Oath to de- tect,	

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	K.Hen.8.
	many Gods: and in Heaven there is but one God. And if there were an hundred houlded in one Parish, and as many in another, then there must be more than one God. I will not deny but it is an holy thing, but it is not the Body of the Lord that suffered passion for us: for he was once in Man's hands here, and ill intreated, and therefore he will never come in sinful Mens hands again. Also for speaking these Words: The Pope hath no authority to give pardon, and to release any Man's Soul from Sin, and so from pain; it is nothing but blinding of the People to have their Money. Also for these words, or such like: If a Man do sow twenty quarters of Corn, as Wheat, or Barley, or other Corn, he ought to deduct his Seed, and of the residue to tithes, or else he hath wrong, &c.		<i>Item</i> , Another time he said, That Men of the Church should be put down, and the false Gods which they make; and after that he said they should know more, and then should be a merry World. <i>Christopher Tinker of Wickam</i> , The cause of this <i>Tinker's</i> Trouble was, for that he coming to this Man's Houfe, and complaining to him of the poverty of the World, had these words: That there was never so ungoverned a People, and that they bare themselves so bold upon their Pardons and Pilgrimages, that they cared not whatsoever they did. And so he departed. And seven days after that, this <i>Tinker</i> coming again, asked him, how his last communication with him did please him? and he said, Well. Then the <i>Tinker</i> said he knew more, and that he could tell him more, and bad him that he should believe in God in Heaven; for there be many Gods in Earth, and there is but one God; and that he was once here, and was ill dealt with, and would no more come here till the Day of Dooms. And that the Sacrament of the Altar was a holy thing, but not the Flesh and Blood of Christ that was born of the Virgin: and charged him not to tell this to his Wife, and especially to his Wife's Brother, a Priest. Afterward, as the Priest was drying singeing Bread being wet, which his Sister had bought, the foresaid <i>Thomas Clerke</i> said, That if every one of these were a God, then were there many Gods. To whom the Priest answered, that till the holy Words were spoken over it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, Flesh and Blood; saying moreover, that it was not meet for any Lay-man to speak of such things. These words of the Priest being after recited to the <i>Tinker</i> by the said <i>Clerke</i> , then said he, Let every Man say what they will, but you shall find it as I shew you, &c. and if you will take the labour to come to my Houfe, I will shew you further proof of it, if you will take heed, &c.	Anno 1521. Ex Regist. John Long. [a] 11. line. col. 4.
<i>Francis Funge</i> and <i>Alice</i> his Wife were sworn to their Oath to detect,	<i>Thomas Clerke</i> , For speaking against the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, unto <i>Francis Funge</i> , as before, &c. <i>Robert Rave of Dorney</i> , For saying these words, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not that Body which was born of the blessed Virgin <i>Mary</i> . <i>Item</i> , For speaking such words fourteen years past: That Folks were ill occupied, that worshipped any things graven with Mans hand, for that which is graven with Mans hand is neither God nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of Saints. Nor ought we to worship any thing but God and our Lady, and not Images of Saints, which are but Stocks and Stones.	<i>Tho. Clerke</i> forced by his Oath, did detect		
<i>Henry Dein</i> forced by his Oath to detect,	<i>Edmund Hill of Penn.</i> <i>Robert Freeman</i> , Parish-Priest of <i>Orton</i> by <i>Colebrook</i> , For having and reading upon a suspected Book, which Book when he perceived to be seen in his hand, he cloied it, and carried it to his Chamber.			
<i>J. Hill</i> forced by his Oath, did detect,	<i>Thomas Grove</i> and his Wife of <i>Amerham</i> , <i>Matild Philby</i> Wife of <i>Edward Philby</i> of <i>Chaldwy</i> , <i>Joan Gun of Chesham</i> , Because the instructed and taught the said <i>Hill</i> , before his Abjuration, in the Epistle of <i>St. James</i> , and other opinions. <i>William Atkins</i> of <i>Great Missenden</i> , <i>Richard Marden</i> of <i>Chesham</i> , <i>Emme Marden</i> his Wife.		<i>Thomas Africk</i> , alias <i>Littlepage</i> , and his Wife. To these was objected, that they had communication and conference with this <i>Robert Pope</i> in the Gospel of <i>St. Matthew</i> , before the great Abjuration, in the Town of <i>Amerham</i> .	
<i>Will. Gudgame</i> forced by his Oath to detect,	<i>Joan Gudgame</i> his own Wife, For being in the same opinion of the Sacrament that he was of; who notwithstanding did swear the same not to be true that her Husband said. <i>Alice Nafte</i> or <i>Chapman</i> of <i>Missenden</i> .	<i>Rob. Pope</i> , first of <i>Amerham</i> , after of <i>Wickenrad</i> , caused by his Oath, did detect these following:	<i>Tho. Scrivener</i> , Father to <i>Thomas Holmes</i> Wife. This <i>Scrivener</i> was detected, for that the said <i>Pope</i> had of him a Book of the Epistles in English. <i>Bennet Ward</i> of <i>Beckensfield</i> , and his Father <i>Edmund Dorney</i> . To <i>Ward</i> this was laid, that the foresaid <i>Pope</i> had received a Book of the Ten Commandments. He had also the Gospels of <i>Matthew</i> and <i>Mark</i> . Of the same <i>Ward</i> he learned his Christ-croft-row, five parts of the eight Beatitudes. <i>Thomas Harding</i> and his Wife. <i>John Scrivener</i> and his Wife.	
A Prophecy. <i>Matild Symonds</i> , and <i>Jo. Symonds</i> her Husband, put to their Oath, detected	<i>One Haggard of London</i> , For speaking in their Houfe, Anno 1520, these words: That there should be a Battle of Priests, and all the Priests should be slain: and that the Priests should a while rule, but they should all be destroyed, because they hold against the Law of the Holy Church, and for making of false Gods, and after that they should be overthrown.			<i>Tho.</i>

R. Hen. 8. Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
<p>Anno 1521. Ex Regist. John Long and Lin- coln.</p>	<p><i>Tho. Man</i> and his Wife. <i>Another Tho. Man</i> and his Wife. <i>Thomas Bernard</i>. They were detected for this, because they had communed and talked with the said <i>Robert Pope</i> oftentimes in Books of Scripture, and other matters of Religion, concerning Pilgrimage, adoration of Images, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Body.</p> <p><i>Thomas Grove</i>. <i>Thomas Holmes</i>. <i>Robert Rave</i>. <i>William Gudgame</i> and his Wife. <i>Nash</i> the elder, and his Wife. <i>William Gray</i> of <i>Easthenred</i>, Milner. <i>Edward Gray</i> and his Wife of <i>Easthenred</i>. <i>Margery Young</i> Widow of <i>Easthenred</i>. <i>Isabel More</i>, Sister to the said <i>Margery</i> of <i>Easthenred</i>. <i>Richard Nobis</i>, Fowler, and his Wife, of <i>Easthenred</i>.</p> <p><i>Richard Colins</i> of <i>Ginge</i>, and his Wife. This <i>Colins</i> was among them a great Reader, and had a Book of <i>Wickliffe</i> Wicket, and a Book of <i>Luke</i>, and one of <i>Paul</i>, and a Cloff of the <i>Apocalypse</i>. <i>William Colins</i> his Brother. <i>Thomas Colins</i>, the Father of <i>Richard</i> and <i>William</i>. He had a Book of <i>Paul</i>, and a Book of small Epistles. <i>John Colins</i> of <i>Bosterton</i>. <i>Robert Lyvord</i> of <i>Steventon</i>. <i>William Lyvord</i> of <i>Steventon</i>. Father <i>Amershaw</i> of <i>Steventon</i>. — <i>Smart</i> of <i>Steventon</i>, Milner. <i>Thomas Hall</i> of <i>Hungerford</i>. <i>John Eden</i> of <i>Hungerford</i>. <i>John Ludlow</i> of <i>Hungerford</i>. <i>Thomas New</i> of <i>VVantage</i>, Thatcher. <i>Jean Tailor</i> and her Mother of <i>Biffam</i>. <i>Humphrey Shoemaker</i> of <i>Newbery</i>. <i>John Semand</i> of <i>Newbery</i>, Fühmonger. <i>Robert Geydon</i> and his Wife of <i>Newbery</i>, Weaver. <i>John Edmunds</i> of <i>Burford</i>. This <i>John Edmunds</i> was charged for having a Book named <i>W. Thorpe</i>; also for reading in an English Book after a Marriage.</p> <p><i>Robert Burger</i> and his Wife of <i>Burford</i>. <i>John Colins</i> of <i>Burford</i>. <i>John Colins</i> and his Wife of <i>Asthal</i>.</p> <p><i>John Clarke</i> of <i>Clawfield</i>. This <i>Clarke</i> was heard say, That all the World was as well hallowed as the Church or Church-yard; and that it was as good to be buried in the Field as in the Church or Church-yard.</p> <p><i>VVilliam Gnn</i> and his Wife of <i>Witney</i>, Tanner. <i>John Baker</i> of <i>VVitney</i>, Weaver. <i>John Brabant</i> the elder of <i>Stanlake</i>. <i>John Brabant</i> the younger of <i>Stanlake</i>. <i>John Kember</i> of <i>Hennybarker</i>. <i>VValter Kember</i> his Brother of <i>Hennybarker</i>. <i>John Rabettes</i> of <i>Chawley</i>. <i>Thomas VVidmore</i> of <i>Hychenden</i>.</p> <p><i>John Phip</i>, <i>VVilliam Phip</i>, For reading a certain Treatise upon the <i>Pater noster</i> in English, which this <i>John Phip</i> did read to him, and to his Father.</p>	<p>This forefaid <i>Robert Pope</i> moreover detected <i>Edward Pope</i> his own Father of <i>Little Missenden</i>, for hearing the Gospel of <i>Matthew</i> read unto him, and for communing upon the same with this <i>Robert Pope</i> his Son. He detected likewise <i>Edward Pope</i> his Brother.</p> <p>Furthermore, he detected his own VVife, who had before abjured under <i>Bishop Smith</i>, to continue still in her opinions.</p> <p><i>Rob. Pope</i>, before abjured, did detect these here following:</p>	<p>The Son detecting the Father.</p> <p><i>Thomas Clarke</i> the elder of <i>Hychenden</i>. <i>Lawrence Hems</i> of <i>Hychenden</i>. <i>VVilliam Haliday</i> of <i>Easthenred</i>. This <i>Haliday</i> was detected for having in his custody a Book of the Acts of the Apostles in English, which the said <i>Robert Pope</i> brought unto him at the taking of <i>Roger Doda</i>.</p> <p><i>VVilliam Squire</i> and his Brother of <i>Sebam</i>. <i>Thomas Stephenson</i> and <i>Matild</i> his Daughter, of <i>Cberney</i>.</p> <p><i>Thomas Philip</i>, Pointer, <i>Laurence Tailor</i> of <i>London</i>, For that these two being in the House of <i>Richard Colins</i> at <i>Gynge</i>, there did read in an English Book the Epistle of <i>St. Paul</i> to the <i>Romans</i>; and <i>Laurence</i> did read the first Chapter of <i>St. Luke's</i> Gospel.</p> <p><i>Andrew Maysey</i> of <i>Burton</i>. The Wife of <i>Richard Colins</i> of <i>Gynge</i>.</p> <p><i>John Harris</i> and his Wife. <i>Alice Colins</i>, Wife of <i>Richard Colins</i>. These being together at <i>Upton</i> in <i>John Harris's</i> House, did talk of the <i>Apocalypse</i>, and of the Acts of the Apostles, and therefore were suspected, and thus detected. <i>Ex Regist. Longland</i>, fol. 71. Item, Because <i>John Harris</i> spake against Pilgrimage, Images, and was heard to talk of seven lean and seven fat Oxen.</p> <p><i>Rob. Colins</i> of <i>Hertford-Wallis</i>, Maſon.</p> <p><i>Thomas Gray</i> of <i>Westhenred</i>, For receiving certain Books of this <i>Robert Pope</i>.</p> <p><i>Margaret Houſe</i>, Wife of <i>Will. Houſe</i> of <i>Eastginge</i>, For keeping company, and receiving the Doctrine of <i>Alice Colins</i>.</p> <p><i>John Nash</i> of <i>Little Missenden</i>. <i>Henry Erkin</i> and his Mother, of <i>Little Missenden</i>. <i>Richard Dell</i> of <i>Missenden</i>.</p> <p><i>Richard Colins</i> of <i>Gynge</i>. First, for that this <i>Richard Colins</i> did read unto the said <i>Robert Colins</i> the Ten Commandments, and after taught him the Epistle of <i>St. James</i>, and another small Epistle of <i>Peter</i>; and after that took him the Gospel of <i>St. John</i> in English, and bad him read therein himself.</p> <p>Also for teaching him not to worship Images, nor to set up Candles, nor to go on Pilgrimage.</p> <p>Another crime against <i>Rich. Colins</i>, because he taught this <i>Robert</i>, that in all such things wherein he offended God, he should only thrive himself to God; and in what things he offended Man, he should thrive himself to Man.</p> <p>For reading the Scripture in English.</p>

Robert Pope of VVesthenred, being before abjured, now again put to his Oath, detected these which follow;

Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.	Accuſers.	Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.	K.Hen.8.
Against the Sacrament of the Altar.	Alſo for teaching him, that the Sacrament of the Altar is not very God, but a certain figurative thing of Chriſt in Bread: and that the Prieſt hath no power to conſecrate the Body of Chriſt. Alſo, for that the ſaid Richard did teach him in <i>Wickliffe's Wicket</i> , how that a Man may not make the Body of our Lord which made us: and how can we then make him again? The Father is unbegotten, and unmade: the Son is only begotten, and not made; and how then can Man make that which is unmade, ſaid he? And in the ſame Book of <i>Wickliffe's Wicket</i> follow the words of Chriſt thus ſpeaking: If my words be Hereſy, then am I an Hereſick; and if my words be Leaſings, then am I a Liar, &c. Alſo another Crime againſt <i>Richard Colins</i> : For having certain Engliſh Books, as <i>Wickliffe's Wicket</i> , the Goſpel of St. <i>John</i> , the Epistles of St. <i>Paul</i> , <i>James</i> , and <i>Peter</i> , in Engliſh, an Expoſition of the <i>Apocalypſe</i> , a Book of our Lady's Mattens in Engliſh, a Book of <i>Colomen</i> in Engliſh, a Book called the <i>Prieſt's Confefſion</i> .	Henry Stacy, Son of Stacy of Colemanſtrete. Thomas Sawenton of Charnay in Barkeſhire. John Brabans in Stanlake. John Baker Weaver of Winney.	<i>Richard Colins</i> . The words of <i>Richard Colins</i> were theſe: That the Sacrament was not the true Body of Chriſt in Fleſh and Blood; but yet it ought to be reverenced, albeit not ſo as the true Body of Chriſt. <i>Thomas Colins</i> of Ginge, his own natural Father. The Crime againſt <i>Thomas Colins</i> ; for that eight years paſt this <i>Thomas Colins</i> his Father had taught this <i>John</i> his Son, in the preſence of his Mother, the Ten Commandments, and namely, that he ſhould have but one God, and ſhould worſhip nothing but God alone; and that to worſhip Saints, and go on Pilgrimage, was Idolatry. Alſo, that he ſhould not worſhip the Sacrament of the Altar as God, for that it was but a Token of the Lord's Body. Which thing ſo much diſcontented this <i>John Colins</i> , that he ſaid he would diſcloſe his Father's Errors, and make him to be burned; but his Mother entreated him not to do so.	Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. John Longland, Lincoln.
For ſpeaking againſt Idolatry.	<i>John Edmunds</i> of Burford, Tailor. The Crime againſt <i>John Edmunds</i> ; for having a certain Engliſh Book of the Commandments. <i>John Harris</i> . The Crime againſt <i>John Harris</i> , for communicating with him of the firſt Chapter of St. <i>John's</i> Goſpel: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God, &c. Alſo for communicating of a Chapter in <i>Matthew</i> , of the eight beatitudes. Item, For counſelling him not to go on Pilgrimage to Saints, becauſe they were Idols. <i>Thomas Hall</i> . Re. <i>Livord</i> , W. <i>Livord</i> . — <i>Bruges</i> and <i>Joan</i> his Wife. — <i>Harris</i> and his Wife, <i>Richard Colins</i> . All theſe were detected, for that they being together in <i>Bruges's</i> houſe at Burford, were reading together in the Book of the Expoſition of the <i>Apocalypſe</i> , and communed concerning the matter of opening the Book with ſeven Claiſes, &c. <i>John Ledſdall</i> , or <i>Edon</i> , of Hungerford. <i>John Colins</i> of Burford. <i>John Colins</i> and his Wife of Aſthall. <i>John Clerk</i> of Clauſfield. The Wife of <i>Richard Colins</i> of Ginge. <i>Thomas Colins</i> and his Wife of Ginge. This <i>Thomas Colins</i> was charged for having a Book of <i>Paul</i> and <i>James</i> in Engliſh. <i>William Colins</i> . <i>Robert Pope</i> of Henred. <i>Hakker</i> of Colemanſtrete in London. <i>Stacy</i> , Brickmaker, of Colemanſtrete, For having the Book of the <i>Apocalypſe</i> . <i>Thomas Philip</i> , Lawrence <i>Whorſer</i> of London, For reading the Epiſtle of St. <i>Peter</i> in Engliſh, in the houſe of <i>Robert Colins</i> of Aſthall. <i>Joan Colins</i> his own Siſter, of Aſthall. <i>Thomas Colins</i> his Couſin, of Aſthall. Mrs. <i>Brifſton</i> of London. <i>John Colins</i> , Son of <i>Richard Colins</i> , of Ginge. <i>Joan Colins</i> , Daughter of <i>Richard Colins</i> , of Ginge.	<i>John Colins</i> of Burford appeached to the Biſhop the Perſons here named: <i>Robert Colins</i> of Aſthall. The Crime againſt <i>Robert Colins</i> ; that this <i>Robert</i> read to him in a certain thick Book of Scripture in Engliſh. <i>John Edmunds</i> and his Wife. The Crime laid to <i>John Edmunds</i> ; For that he read to this <i>John</i> the Ten Commandments, and told him that <i>John Baptiſt</i> ſaid, that one ſhould come after him, whole buckle of his ſhoe he was not worthy to undo. <i>Alice</i> Wife of <i>Gunne</i> of Winney. <i>John Hakker</i> and his Son of London. This <i>John Hakker</i> of London, coming to Burford, brought a Book ſpeaking of the ten Plagues of <i>Pharaoh</i> . Alſo after that, another Book entreating of the ſeven Sacraments. <i>Lawrence Tailor</i> of Shoreditch. <i>Thomas Philip</i> of London. <i>Philip</i> , Servant of <i>Richard Colins</i> . <i>Wauſſſill</i> Fiſhmonger of the Vize. <i>Joan Robert</i> . <i>Burges's</i> Wife. <i>John Boyer</i> and his Brother, a Monk of Burford. <i>Tho. Baker</i> , Father to <i>Gunn's</i> Wife of <i>Whateley</i> . <i>Agnes</i> Daughter of <i>John Edmunds</i> . The Mother of <i>John Boyer</i> of Sudbery. <i>Edward Red</i> Schoolmaſter of Burford. <i>Robert Hickman</i> of Lechelde. <i>Elenor Higges</i> of Burford. This <i>Elenor</i> was charged, that ſhe ſhould burn the Sacrament in an Oven. <i>John Through</i> of the Priory of Burford. The Mother of <i>Robert Burges's</i> Wife. <i>Roger Dods</i> of Burford, by his Oath, was compelled to utter theſe Perſons here named: Sir <i>John Drury</i> , Vicar of <i>Wandriſh</i> in <i>Worceſhire</i> . The Crime againſt this Sir <i>John Drury</i> was, for that when <i>Roger Dods</i> came fiſt to him to be his Servant, he ſware him upon a Book to keep his counſel in all things: and after that	The Son accuſed the Father.	

The foreſaid Rob. Colins being ſworn upon the E-vangelists, did detect theſe Per-ſons.

The ſoreſaid Rob. Colins being ſworn upon the E-vangelists, did detect theſe Perſons.

R. Hen. 8.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.
Anno 1521. Ex Regist. Joh. Long- land Libr. coln.		that he shewed him a certain Woman in his house, whom he said to be his Wife: counselling moreover the said <i>Roger Dods</i> , upon an Enbruing day, to sup with Bread and Cheese: saying, that which goeth into a Man's Body denleth not a Man's Soul; but that which goeth out of the Body, defileth both Body and Soul.		The Father of <i>Roberts Colins</i> .
		Also that the said Vicar taught him the A, B, C, to the intent he should have understanding in the <i>Apocalyps</i> : wherein he said, that he should perceive all the fallhood of the World, and all the truth. He said furthermore unto him, when he had been at the Lady of <i>Worcester</i> , at the Blood of <i>Haile</i> , which had cost him 18 pence, that he had done as an ill husband, that had ploughed his land, and sown it, but nothing to the purpose; for he had worshipped Man's handy-work, and cast away his moony, which had been better given to the poor: for he should worship but one God, and no handy-work of Man.		This Father <i>Colins</i> had been of this Doctrine from the year of our Lord 1430.
		Item, When the people would offer Candles, where he was Vicar, to <i>Mary Magdalen</i> , he would take them away, and say they were Fools that brought them thither.		<i>Thomas Baker</i> of <i>Whateley</i> ; <i>Robert Liword</i> ; <i>John Symphon</i> of <i>Stewenton</i> ; <i>Thomas Reiley</i> of <i>Burford</i> ; <i>John Clemson</i> Servant to the Prior of <i>Burford</i> ; <i>James Edmunds</i> of <i>Burford</i> ; <i>William Gun</i> of <i>Winney</i> .
		<i>Elizabeth More</i> of <i>Eaſtbenred</i> .		To these was laid, that they being in the house of <i>John Harris</i> of <i>Upton</i> , at the marriage of <i>Joan</i> the Wife of <i>Robert Burger</i> , did read in a Book called <i>Nicodemus's Gospel</i> , that made the Cloth which our Lord was buried in; (as the Register saith) and in that Book is the story of the destruction of <i>Jerusalem</i> .
		<i>Henry Miller</i> of <i>Tuck</i> by <i>Ware</i> .		<i>John Baker</i> Weaver of <i>Winney</i> . The Bailiff of <i>Winney</i> .
		This <i>Henry</i> did shew to <i>Roger Dods</i> a certain story of a Woman in the <i>Apocalyps</i> , riding upon a red Beast. The said <i>Henry</i> was twice abjured.		<i>John Hakker</i> ; <i>John Brabant</i> and his Wife; <i>John Brabant</i> his Son, with his Wife; <i>John Brabant</i> the younger Son, with his Wife; <i>Reginald Brabant</i> of <i>Stanlake</i> .
		<i>John Phip</i> of <i>Hychenden</i> .		For reading in a certain English Book of Scripture, they being together in <i>John Brabant's</i> House of <i>Stanlake</i> .
		For reading unto the said <i>Roger Dods</i> a certain Gospel in English.		Henry Phip.
		<i>William Phip</i> of <i>Hychenden</i> , and <i>Henry</i> his Son.		The Crime and Detection against this <i>Henry</i> , was, for that he being asked of this <i>Dods</i> , Anno 1515, whether he would go to <i>Wimbor</i> or not? answered again, that he was chosen Roodman, that is, Keeper of the Roodloft, saying, that he must go and tind a Candle before his <i>Block-Almighty</i> .
		This <i>William</i> had exhorted <i>Roger Dods</i> that he should worship no Images, nor commit Idolatry, but worship one God: and told the same <i>Roger</i> , that it was good for a Man to be merry and wife, meaning that he should keep close that was told him, for else frait punishment should follow.		<i>Oliver Smith</i> of <i>Newline</i> and his Wife.
		<i>Roger Parker</i> of <i>Hychenden</i> .		William Hobbis.
		This <i>Parker</i> said to <i>John Phip</i> for burning of his Books, that he was foul to blame, for they were worth a hundred Marks. To whom <i>John</i> answered, that he had rather burn his Books, than that his Books should burn him.		This <i>William Hobbis</i> was detected first by <i>Radulph Hobbis</i> his Brother to <i>Bilhop Smith</i> ; but was delivered through the fait of the Curate of <i>West-Wickam</i> .
		The Wife of <i>Thomas Widemore</i> , Daughter of <i>Roger Houſe</i> , of <i>Hychenden</i> . Old <i>Widemore's</i> Wife, Sister to <i>John Phip</i> of <i>Hychenden</i> .		<i>Philip Brabant</i> , Servant of <i>Richard Colins</i> .
		<i>John Lediſdall</i> of <i>Hungerford</i> .		For saying that the Sacrament of the Altar was made in the remembrance of Christ's own Body, but it was not the Body of Christ.
		For reading of the Bible in <i>Robert Burger's</i> house at <i>Burford</i> , upon Holy-rood day, with <i>Colins</i> , <i>Lyword</i> , <i>Thomas Hall</i> , and others.		The <i>Shepherds Kalender</i> was also accused and detected.
		<i>Robert Colins</i> and his Wife; <i>John Colins</i> and his Wife.		Because the same <i>Edmunds</i> said, That he was perſwaded by this Book, reading these words, that the Sacrament was made in the remembrance of Christ.
		For buying a Bible of <i>Stacy</i> for twenty shillings.		The Book of <i>William Thorpe</i> likewise was much complained of, both by this <i>John Edmunds</i> and divers other.
				<i>Richard Colins</i> of <i>Ginger</i> .
				This <i>Richard Colins</i> , as he was a great doer among these good Men, so was he much complained upon by divers, and also by this <i>Edmunds</i> , for bringing with him a Book called the <i>King of Beeme</i> into their company, and did read thereof a great part unto them, in this <i>Edmunds</i> house of <i>Burford</i> .

For reading
the Bible in
English.

BLOCK-
ALMIGH-
TY.

Against the
bodily pre-
ſence of the
Sacrament.

Against the
bodily pre-
ſence.

The Book
called the
King of
Beeme.

Alice

Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	Accusers.	Parties accused, and Crimes objected.	K.Hen.8.
	<p><i>Alice Colins, Wife of Richard Colins.</i> This <i>Alice</i> likewise was a famous Woman among them, and had a good memory, and could recite much of the Scriptures, and other good Books: And therefore when any Conventicle of these Men did meet at <i>Burford</i>, commonly she was sent for, to recite unto them the declaration of the Ten Commandments, and the Epistles of <i>Peter</i> and <i>James</i>.</p> <p><i>Joan Colins</i>, Daughter of <i>Richard</i> and of <i>Alice Colins</i>.</p> <p>This <i>Joan</i> also, following her Fathers and Mothers steps, was noted, for that he had learned with her Father and Mother the Ten Commandments, the Seven deadly Sins, the Seven works of Mercy, the Five Wits bodily and ghostly, the Eight Beelings, and five Chapters of <i>St. James</i> Epistle.</p> <p><i>Agnes Edmunds</i> his own Daughter. This <i>Agnes Edmunds</i> was also detected by her Father, that he brought her to the house of <i>Richard Colins</i> to service, to the intent she might be instructed there in God's Law: where she had learned likewise the ten Commandments, and the five Wives bodily and ghostly, and the seven deadly Sins.</p> <p><i>Alice Gunne.</i> <i>W. Russel of Colemanstreet.</i> One Mother <i>Joan</i>. Father <i>John of Hungerford</i>. <i>Joan Taylor</i>, Servant of <i>John Harris</i> of <i>Burford</i>. <i>Thomas Quicke</i>, Weaver, of <i>Reading</i>. <i>Philip Brabant</i>, Weaver. <i>John Barber</i>, Clerk of <i>Amerham</i>. <i>John Eding</i>, of <i>Hungerford</i>. One <i>Brabant</i>, Brother to <i>Philip Brabant</i> of <i>Stanlake</i>.</p> <p><i>Robert Butterfield.</i></p> <p><i>William Dorset.</i> The words of <i>William Dorset</i> were these: That Pilgrimage was of none effect; and offering Candles or other things to Saints, stood in no stead, and was but cost lost. Also when his Wife was going on Pilgrimage, and he asked, Whither? and she said, To our Lady of <i>Wilsdon</i>: Our Lady, said he, is in Heaven.</p> <p><i>John Edmunds.</i> This <i>John Edmunds</i> was detected, because that he talking with the said <i>Baker</i> of Pilgrimage, bad him go offer his money to the Image of God. When the other asked what that was? he said, that the Image of God was the poor People, blind and lame, and said, that he offended Almighty God in going on Pilgrimage.</p> <p><i>Henry Phip</i> his own Son. For communing with <i>Roger Dods</i> against Pilgrimage and Adoration of Images.</p> <p>His own words spoken to <i>Roger Dods</i>, say to him, That he must light a Candle before his BLOCK ALMIGHTY, being then Rood-man. <i>Roger Parker</i>, <i>William Phip</i> his own Father. For talking together against Pilgrimage and Idolatry.</p>	<p><i>John Hakker</i>, <i>Rob. Pope</i>, For reading the Holy Scripture in his Father's House, and for saying these words, Christ made his Maundy, and said, Take this Bread, eat it; this is my Body: Take this Wine, drink it, this is my Blood: And Priests say by these words, that the Sacrament of the Altar is the Body of Christ.</p> <p><i>John Brabant</i> his Father, and his Mother. For being present when <i>Hakker</i> was reading the Scripture in their house.</p> <p><i>Philip Brabant</i> his Uncle. The words of <i>Philip Brabant</i> were these: That it was deadly sin to go on Pilgrimage.</p> <p>Concerning this <i>John Brabant</i>, here is to be noted the form and effect of the Bishop's examination; asking and demanding thus of the said <i>Brabant</i>: <i>An unquam audisti Johannem Hakker legentem sacram Scripturam contra determinationem Ecclesie?</i> That is, Whether he ever heard <i>John Hakker</i> read the Holy Scripture against the determination of the Church? By the which words, if he mean that it is against the determination of the Church to read the Holy Scripture, it may thereby appear to be a blind Church. And if they mean that the Holy Scripture containeth any such thing, in it which is against the determination of the Church, then it appeareth their Church to be contrary unto God, seeing it determineth one thing, and God's Word another.</p> <p><i>Robert Pope</i>, <i>Richard Nobbis</i>, <i>John Edmonds</i>. For speaking against going on Pilgrimage, and Image-worship.</p> <p><i>John a Vvedon.</i> When this <i>John a Lee</i> had told the said <i>Vvedon</i>, how the Bishop had said in his Sermon these words; That all which were of the Sect of Hereticks, believed that God was in Heaven, but they believed not that the Body of Christ on the Altar was God. To this he answering again, said; Yea, be bold in that word, deriding the Bishop in so saying.</p> <p><i>William Dorset</i> of <i>Kings-Langley</i>, For saying that Images stood for nothing, and that Pilgrimage served to spend folks money, and nothing else.</p> <p><i>Alice Colins</i>, For teaching the said <i>Joan Stevenston</i> in Lent the Ten Commandments, thus beginning; I am thy Lord God which led thee out of the Land of <i>Egypt</i>, and brought thee out of the House of <i>Thraldom</i>: Thou shalt have no Alien Gods before me; neither make to thee any Image graven with Man's hands, that is in Heaven above, neither in the Earth beneath, &c. Item, for teaching her the first Chapter of <i>St. John's</i> Gospel; in the beginning was the Word, &c.</p> <p><i>John Harris</i>, For teaching her the first Chapter of <i>Peter</i>.</p>	<p>For having the ten Commandments in English.</p> <p><i>John Edmonds</i>, otherwise called <i>John Ogins</i> of <i>Burford</i>, did detect</p> <p>The Father accuseth his own Daughter.</p> <p><i>John Baker</i> being urged upon his Oath, did disclose</p> <p><i>Will. Phip</i>, adjured by his Oath, did accuse</p> <p><i>Henry Phip</i>, being examined and adjured by the Bishop, was compelled to disclose</p> <p>BLOCK ALMIGHTY.</p>	<p>Ex Registra J. Longland Lincoln Fol. 85.</p>

D M.

K. Hen. 8. Accusers.

Parties accused, and Crimes detailed.

Mr. Cotismore of Brightwell. Also Mrs. Cotismore, otherwise called Mrs. Dolie,

For speaking these words to one John Brinton her Servant; That if she went to her Chamber and prayed there, she should have as much merit as tho she went to *Walsingham* on Pilgrimage.

Item, When the said Sir John came to her after the death of Mr. Cotismore his Master, requiring her to send one John Stainer her Servant to our Lady of *Walsingham*, for Master Cotismore, which in his life-time, being sick, promised in his own Person to visit that place: she would not consent thereto, nor let her Servant go.

Item for saying, that when Women go to offer to Images or Saints, they did it to shew their new gay geare: and that Images were but Carpenter's Chips: and that folks go on Pilgrimage more for the green way, than for any devotion.

Thomas Vincent of London.

To Thomas Vincent it was objected, for giving this Hakker a Book of St. Matthew in English.

Mrs. Cotismore, otherwise Doly.

Richard Colins,

For receiving of the said Hakker a Book of the Ten Commandments in English. Goodwife Bristow of Woodstreet in London.

William Gunne,

For receiving of Hakker a Book of the ten Plagues sent of God to Pharaoh.

The Wife of Thomas VVidmore of Chichester.

Elizabeth the Daughter of this Hakker, and Robert her Husband, otherwise called Fittson of Newbery.

William Stukley of Henly.

John Simonds, and his Wife, of great Marlow.

John Aulley of Henly.

Thomas Aulley of Henly.
—Grinder of Cookham.

John Heron.

For having a Book of the Exposition of the Gospels fair written in English.

Richard Grace,

For speaking these words following; That our blessed Lady was the Godmother to St. Katharine: and therefore the Legend is not true, in saying, that Christ did marry with St. Katharine, and bade Adrian put on his Vestment, and say the Service of Matrimony: for so Christ should live in Adultery for marrying with his Godfather: which thing if he should do, he should be thought not to do well.

Item, For saying by the Picture of St. Nicholas being newly painted, that he was not worthy to stand in the Rood-loft, but that it better becomen him to stand in the Bellry, &c.

Sir John a Priest, and also Robert Robinson, detected

Carpenters Chips.

John Hakker did detect

Thom. Grove, and also John of Reading, put to their Oath, did detect

they could get in corners. 2ly, What were their Opinions we have also described. And thirdly, Herein is to be noted moreover the blind ignorance and uncourteous dealing of the Bishops against them, not only in that they, by their violent Oath and capricious Interrogatories, constrained the Children to accuse their Parents, and Parents the Children, the Husband the Wife, and the Wife the Husband, &c. But especially in that most wrongfully they so afflicted them, without all good reason or cause, only for the sincere verity of God's Word, and reading of Holy Scriptures.

Now it remaineth, that as you have heard their Opinions, (which principally in number were four) to also we declare their Reasons and Scriptures whereupon they grounded; and after that consequently the order and manner of Penance to them enjoined by the Bishop. And first against Pilgrimage, and against worshipping of Images, they used this Text of the *Apocalypse*, ch. 9. I saw Horses in a Vision, and the heads of them as the heads of Lions: smoke, fire, and brimstone came out of their mouths: with these three Plagues, the third part of Men were slain of the smoke, and of the fire, and of the brimstone that came out of the mouths of them. They that were not slain of these three Plagues, were such as worshipped not Devils, and Images of Gold and Silver, of Brass, of Iron, and of Stone, &c. Ex Regist. Longland. fol. 72. Also they used and alleged the first Commandment, that there is but one God, and that they ought not to worship more Gods than one.

And as touching the Sacrament, and the right Doctrine thereof, they had their instruction partly out of *Wickliffe's Wicket*, partly out of the *Shepherds Kalender*: where they read that the Sacrament was made in remembrance of Christ, and ought to be received in remembrance of his Body, &c. Moreover they alleged and followed the words of Christ spoken at the Supper, at what time he sitting with his Disciples, and making with them his Maundy; took Bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his Disciples, and said, Eat ye, this (reaching out his arm, and shewing the Bread in his hand, and then noting his own natural Body, and touching the same, and not the Bread consecrated) is my Body which shall be betrayed for you; do this in remembrance of me. And likewise took the Wine and bade them drink, saying, This is my Blood which is of the New Testament, &c.

Item, That Christ our Saviour sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and there shall be unto the day of Doom. Wherefore they believed that in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Christ.

Item, (said one of them) Men speak much of the Sacrament of the Altar: but this will I bide by. That upon Chare-Thursday, Christ brake Bread unto his Disciples, and bade them eat it; saying, it was his Flesh and Blood. And then he went from them, and suffered passion; and then he rose from death to life, and ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and there he is to remain unto the day of Doom, when he shall judge both quick and dead; and therefore how he should be here in the former Bread, he said, he could not see.

Such Reasons and Allegations as these and other-like, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the *Shepherds Kalender*, *Wickliffe's Wicket*, and out of other Books they had amongst them. And altho there was no learned Man with them to ground them in their Doctrine, yet they communing and conferring together among themselves, did convert one another, the Lord's hand working with them marvellously: so that in short space the number of these known or just fast Men (as they were then termed) did exceedingly encrease; in such sort that the Bishop, seeing the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his complaint to the King, and required his aid for suppression of these Men. Whereupon King Henry being then young, and unexpert in the bloody practices and blind leadings of these Apollitical Prelats, incensed with his suggestions and cruel complaints, directed down Letters to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Officers, and Subjects, for the aid of the Bishop in this behalf: The Tenor of which Letters here ensueth:

The reasons and probabilities of their Doctrine.

Wickliffe's Wicket. The Shepherds Kalender.

Ex Regist. Joh. Longland, Lincol. Fol. 72.

The Bishop complained to the King.

IN this Table above prefixed, thou hast, gentle Reader, to see and understand; first, the number and names of these good Men and Women, troubled and molested by the Church of Rome, and all in one Year; of whom few or none were learned, being simple Labourers and Artificers, but as it pleased the Lord to work in them knowledge and understanding, by reading a few English Books, such as

The

The Copy of the King's Letter for the aid of *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, againſt the Servants of Chriſt, faſtly then called *Hereticks*.

The Towns, and Villages, and Countries where theſe foreſaid Perſons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be theſe.

K. Hen. 8.

The Copy of the Kings Letters.

HENRY the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, Defender of the Faith: To all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Conſtables, and to all other our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, theſe our Letters hearing or ſeing, and to every of them, greeting, Forasmuch as the right reverend Father in God, our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellor, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* hath now within his Dioceſſ no ſmall number of Hereticks, as it is thought, to his no little diſcomfort and heavineſſ: We therefore being in will and mind ſafely to provide for the ſaid right reverend Father in God and his Officers, that they, no none of them, ſhall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the ſaid Hereticks or their Faſtors, in the executing and miniſtring of Juſtice unto the ſaid Hereticks, according to the Laws of Holy Church; do ſtraightly charge and command you, and every of you, as ye tender our high diſpleaſure, to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to the ſaid right reverend Father in God, and his ſaid Officers, in the executing of Juſtice in the Premiſſes, as they or any of them ſhall require you ſo to do; not failing to accompliſh our commandment and pleaſure in the Premiſſes, as ye intend to pleaſe us, and will answer to the contrary at your uttermoſt perils. Given under our Signet at our Caſtle at *Windſor*, the twentieth day of October, the thirteenth year of our Reign.

The Biſhop thus being armed, no leſs with the authority of the King's Letter, than incited with his own fierceneſſ, forelacked no time, but, effoon to accompliſh his moody violence upon the poor Flock of Chriſt, called before him, ſitting upon his Tribunal-seat, both theſe afore-named Perſons, and all other in his Dioceſſ, which were never ſo little noted or ſuſpected to incline toward thoſe Opinions: of whom to ſuch as had but newly been taken, and had not before abjured, he enjoined moſt ſtrait and rigorous Penance. The other in whom he could find any relapſe, yea, albeit they ſubmitted themſelves never ſo humbly to his favourable courteſy; and tho' alſo at his requell, and for hope of pardon, they had ſhewed themſelves great detectors of their Brethren, being moreover of him ſed and flattered thereunto; yet notwithstanding, contrary to his fair words, and their expectation, he ſpared not, but read Sentence of Relapſe againſt them, committing them to the ſecular Arm to be burnt.

And firſt as touching them, who being brought to Abjuration, were put to their Penance; long it were to recite the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a Catalogue; firſt reciting the Perſons, afterward the rigorous Penance to them enjoined.

The Names of them which were abjured in the Dioceſſ of *Lincoln*, in the Year of our Lord 1521.

William Collins.	Richard Vufford.
John Collins.	Thomas Tredway.
Joan Collins.	William Gudgame.
Robert Collins.	Roger Heron.
John Hacker.	Francis Funge.
John Brabant the Father.	Robert Pope.
John Brabant the Son.	Roger Dods.
John Brabant younger Son.	John Harris.
John Edmonds.	Robert Bruges.
Edward Pope.	John Stampe.
Henry Phip.	Joan Stampe.
John Steventon.	Richard White.
Joan Steventon.	Benet Ward.
Robert Bartlet.	John Baker.
Thomas Clerke.	Agnes Wellis.
John Clerke.	Marian Morden.
Richard Bartler.	Iſabel Morwin.
William Phip.	John Butler.
John Phip.	John Butler the younger.
Thomas Couper.	Richard Carder.
William Littlepage.	Richard Bernard.
John Littlepage.	Joan Bernard.
Joan Littlepage.	John Grace.
John Say.	John French.
John Frier.	John Edings.

Amerſham.
Chetham.
Hychenden.
Miſtenden the great.
Miſtenden the leſſ.
Eait-hendred.
Weſt-hendred.
Aithall.
Bekensfield.
Denham.
Gyngce.
Betterton.
Chemey.
Stanlake.
Clouſfield.
Walton.
Narlow.
Domey.
Juer.
Barton.

Uxbridg.
Owburne.
Henley.
Wickham.
Weſt-Wickham.
Newbery.
Burford.
Winney.
Hungerford.
Upton.
Windor.
London.
Colemanſtreet in London.
Chapſide in London.
Shoreditch by London.
ſt. Giles in London.
Eſſex.
Suffolk.
Norfolk.
Norwich.

The names of the towns where they lived.

The Books and Opinions which theſe were charged withal, and for the which they were abjured, partly are before expreſſed, partly here follow in a brief Summary to be ſeen.

A brief ſum of their Opinions.

THE Opinions of many of theſe Perſons were, That he or he never believed in the Sacrament of the Altar, nor ever would, and that it was not as Men did take it. *Ex Regiſt. Fol. 32.*

For that he was known of his Neighbourhood to be a good *Ibid.*

Fellow, meaning, that he was a *known Man.*

For ſaying, that he would give forty pence on condition *Fol. 33.*

that ſuch a one knew ſo much as he did know.

Some for ſaying, that they of *Amerſham*, which had bin abjured before by Biſhop *Smith*, were good Men, and perfect Chriſtians, and ſimple Folk which could not answer for themſelves, and therefore were oppreſſed by power of the Biſhop. *Fol. 34.*

Some, for hiding other in their Barns. *Ibid.*

Some, for reading the Scriptures, or Treatiſes of Scripture, in Engliſh: ſome, for hearing the fame read.

Some, for defending, ſome for marrying with them which had been abjured.

Some, for ſaying that Matrimony was not a Sacrament. *Fol. 36.*

Some, for ſaying that worſhipping of Images was Mawmetry; ſome for calling Images Carpenters Chips; ſome for calling them ſtocks and ſtones; ſome for calling them dead things.

Some, for ſaying that money ſpent upon Pilgrimage, ſerved but to maintain Thieves and Harlots. *Fol. 33.*

Some, for calling the Image in the Rood-loſt, *Block-Almighty.*

Other for ſaying, that nothing graven with Man's hand was to be worſhipped. *Fol. 37.*

Some for calling them Fools which came from Mr. *John Sharne* in Pilgrimage. *Fol. 40.*

Another, for calling his Vicar a poll-ftome Prieſt. *Ibid.*

Another, for calling a certain blind Chappell, being in ruin, an old fair Milk-houſe. *Ibid.*

Another for ſaying, that he threſhed God Almighty out of the Straw. *Fol. 4.*

Another for ſaying, that Alms ſhould not be given before it did liveſt in a Man's hand. *Fol. 34.*

Some, for ſaying, that they which die, paſſ ſtraight either to Heaven or Hell. *Fol. 35.*

Iſabel Bartler was brought before the Biſhop and abjured, for lamenting her Husband when the Biſhop's Man came for him, and ſaying, that he was an undone Man, and ſhe a dead Woman.

For ſaying, that Chriſt, departing from his Diſciples into Heaven, ſaid, That once he was in ſinners hands, and would come there no more. *Fol. 45.*

Robert Rave, hearing a certain Bell in an uplandiſh Steeple, ſaid, Lo, yonder is a fair Bell, and it were to hang about any Cows neck in this Town; and therefore,

K. Hen. 8. as for other such-like matters more, he was brought *coram nobis*.

Item, For receiving the Sacrament at *Easter*, and doubting whether it was the very Body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their ghostly Father.

Some for saying, that the Pope had no authority to give Pardon, or to release Man's Soul from sin, and so from pain; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The order of Penance.

The Penance to these parties enjoined by this *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, was almost uniform, and all after one condition; save only that they were severally committed and divided into several and divers Monasteries, there to be kept and found of Alms all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the Bishop: as As for Example, I have here adjoined the Bishop's Letter for one of the said number, sent to the Abbey of *Ensham*, there to be kept in perpetual Penance. By which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, which were bestowed likewise sundrily into sundry Abbies, as to *Osney*, to *Frideswide*, to *Abingdon*, to *Tame*, to *Biffetor*, to *Dorchester*, to *Nostley*, to *Ashbridge*, and divers more: The Copy of the Bishop's Letter sent to the Abbot of *Ensham*, here followeth under written.

The Bishop's Letter to the Abbot of *Ensham*.

The Copy of the Bishop's Letter to the Abbot of *Ensham*.

MI loving Brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: And whereas I have, according to the Law, put this bearer *R. T.* to perpetual Penance within your Monastery of *Ensham*, there to live as a Penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, and nevertheless according unto the Law, command you to receive him, and see you order him there according to his Injunctions, which he will shew you if you require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him: And his meat and drink he may have, such as you give of your Alms. And if he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business, whereby he may deserve his meat and drink; so may you order him as ye see convenient to his desert, so that he pass not the precinct of your Monastery. And thus fare you heartily well: From my place, &c.

As touching the residue of the Penance and Punishment inflicted to these Men, they do little or nothing discharge, but had one order in them all. The manner and form whereof in the said Bishop's Register doth proceed in condition as followeth.

Penance enjoined under pain of relapse, by *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, the 19 day of December, Anno 1521.

Ex Restit. Fol. 50. Penance enjoined to these Abjurers under pain of relapse.

IN primis, That every one of them shall, upon a market-day, such as shall be limited unto them, in the market-time, go thence about the market at *Burford*, and then to stand up upon the highest grece of the Crosse there, a quarter of an hour with a Fagot of Wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and every one of them once to bear a fagot of Wood upon their shoulders before their Procession upon a Sunday which shall be limited unto them at *Burford*, from the Quire door going out, to the Quire door going in, and all the high Mass time to hold the same Fagot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the grece before the high Altar there; and every of them to do likewise in their own parish Church, upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them: and once to bear a Fagot at a general Procession at *Uxbridge*, when they shall be assigned thereto: and once to bear a Fagot at the burning of an Heretick, when they shall be moulted thereto.

Also every one of them to fast, Bread and Ale only every Friday during their life; and every Even of Corpus Christi, every one of them to fast Bread and Water during their Life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same.

Also, to say every of them every Sunday, and every Friday, during their life, once our Lady Psalter, and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

Also they, nor none of them, shall not hide their mark upon their Cheek, neither with Hat, Cap, Hood, Kerchief, Napkin, or otherwise; nor shall suffer their Beards to grow past fourteen days; nor ever haunt

again together with any suspect person or persons, unless it be in the open Market, Fair, Church, or common Inn or Alehouse, where other people may see their Conversion.

And all these Injunctions they and every of them are to fulfil with their Penance, and every part of the same, under pain of relapse.

And thus have you the Names, with the Causes and the Penance of them which were at this present time abjured. By which word *abjured is meant, that they were contrained by their Oath, swearing upon the Evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a Crosse to the same, to say that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and never should hold hereafter these or any other-like Opinions, contrary to the determination of the Holy Mother Church of *Rome*: And further, that they should detect unto their Ordinary, whomsoever they should see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain the same.

* Abjured, what it signifies.

Here follow the Names of them which were condemned for relapse, and committed unto the secular Power.

AMong these aforementioned Persons which thus submitted themselves, and were put to Penance, certain there were, which because they had been abjured before, as is above-mentioned, under Bishop Smith, were now condemned for relapse, and had Sentence read against them, and so were committed to the secular Arm to be burned: Whose Names here follow.

Martyrs.

Thomas Bernard,
James Morden.

Robert Rave,
John Scrivener.

Anno
1521.

Of these mention is made before, both touching their Abjuration, and also their Martyrdom. Unto whom we may adjoin,

Joan Norman.

Thomas Holmes.

This *Tho. Holmes*, albeit he had disclosed and detected many of his Brethren, as in the Table above is expressed; thinking thereby to please the Bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be a feed Man of the Bishop for the same: yet notwithstanding in the said Bishop's Register appeareth the sentence of Relapse and Condemnation, written and drawn out against him; and most like it is that he was also adjudged and executed with the other.

As touching the burning of *John Scrivener*, here is to be noted, that his Children were compelled to set fire unto their Father; in like manner as *Joan Clerk* also, Daughter of *William Tilsteworth*, was constrained to give fire to the burning of her own natural Father, as is above specified.

Children compelled to set fire to their own Father.

The Example of which cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and Nature, so it hath not been seen nor heard of in the memory of the Heathen.

Where moreover is to be noted, that at the burning of this *John Scrivener*, one *Thomas Dorman*, mentioned before, was present, and bare a Fagot at *Amerham*: whose Abjuration was afterward laid against him, at what time he should depose for recovery of certain Lands from the School of *Barchamstead*. This *Thomas Dorman*, (as I am credibly informed of certain about *Amerham*) was Uncle to this our *Dorman*, and found him at School at *Barchamstead*, under Master *Reeve*; which now so uncharitably abuseth his Pen in writing against the contrary Doctrine, and raleth so fiercely against the Blood of Christ's slain Servants, miscalling them to be a dughl of stinking Martyrs.

A note of T. Dorman. This Master Dorman, because he was put to School by his Uncle at Barchamstead to M. Reeve, being a Protestant; therefore he for the same cause, in the first sentence of his greivous faith, that he was brought up in Calvin's School.

Well, howsoever the favour of these good Martyrs do scent in the nose of Mr. *Dorman*, I doubt not but they give a better odour and sweeter smell in the presence of the Lord: *Præstis enim in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*; precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. And therefore howsoever it shall please Master *Dorman* with reproachful language to mis-term the good Martyrs of Christ, or rather Christ in

him

his Martyrs; his unfermly usage, more Cart-like than Clerke-like, is not greatly to be weighed. For as the danger of his Blasphemy burtheth not them which are gone; so the contumely and reprobach thereof as well comprehendeth his own Kindred, Friends, and Countrey, as any other else; and especially redoundeth to himself, and woundeth his own Soul, and none else, unto the great provoking of God's wrath against him, unless he be blessed with better Grace by time to repent.

Doctor Colet.

Much about this time, or not past two years before, died Doctor *John Colet*, of whom mention was made in the Table above. To whose Sermons these known men, about *Buckinghamshire*, had a great mind to resort. After he came from *Italy* and *Paris*, he first began to read the Epistles of *St. Paul* openly in *Oxford*, instead of *Scotus* and *Thomas*. From whence he was called by the Kings, and made Dean of *Pauls*: where he accustomed much to preach, not without a great Auditory, as well of the King's Court, as of the Citizens and others. His Diet was frugal, his Life upright, in Discipline he was severe: inasmuch that his Canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like Monks. The honest and honourable State of Matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of Priests. At his Dinner commonly was read either some Chapter of *St. Paul*, or of *Solomon's* Proverbs: He never used to sup. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common Error of Popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed something to incline from the vulgar Trade of that Age. The religious order of Monks and Friars he fancied not; as neither he could greatly favour the barbarous Divinity of the School-Doctors, as of *Scotus*, but least of all of *Thomas Aquinas*: inasmuch that when *Erasmus*, speaking in the praise of *Thomas Aquinas*, did commend him, that he had read many old Authors, and had written many new Works, as *Cassian Aurea*, and such like, to prove and to know his judgment: *Colet* first supposing that *Erasmus* had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, burtheth out in great vehemency, saying, What tell you me (quoth he) of the commendation of that man, who except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous Spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly: and also, except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole Doctrine with man's prophane Doctrine, in such sort as he hath done?

The Bishop of *London* at that time was *Fitzjamer*, of age no less than fourscore. Who (bearing long grudge and displeasure against *Colet*) with other two Bishops, taking his part, like to himself, entred Action of complaint against *Colet* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then, *William Warham*. The matter of his Complaint was divided into three Articles: The first was for speaking against worshipping of Images: The second was about Hospitality, for that the entreating upon the place of the Gospel, *Pasce, pasce, pasce*, Feed, Feed, feed: when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of Life, and with Doctrine: in the third, which the School-men do expound for feeding with Hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the Belly, and applied it another way.

The third Crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bofome Sermons, declaring nothing else to the people, but what they bring in their Papers with them. Which because the Bishop of *London* used then much to do for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this out of displeasure. The Archbishop more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with *Colet*, so took his part against his Accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

William Tindal, in his Book answering *Master Moor*, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the Bishop of *London* would have made the said *Colet*, Dean of *Pauls*, an Heretic, for translating the *Pater-Noster* into English, had not the Bishop of *Canterbury* holpen the Dean.

But yet the malice of *Fitzjamer* the Bishop so creased not: who being thus repulsed by the Archbishop, practised by another train how to accuse him unto the King. The occasion thus fell: It happened the same time, what the

King was in preparation of War against *France*: whereupon the Bishop with his Co-adjutors, taking occasion upon certain Words of *Colet*, wherein he seemed to prefer Peace before any kind of War, were it never so just; accused him therefore in their Sermons, and also before the King.

Furthermore it so befel the same time, that upon Good-friday Doctor *Colet*, preaching before the King, entreated of the Victory of Christ; exhorting all Christians to fight under the Standard of Christ, against the Devil: adding moreover, what an hard thing it was to fight under Christ's Banner, and that all they which upon private hatred or ambition took Weapon against their Enemy (one Christian to slay another) did not fight under the Banner of Christ, but rather of Satan: and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men in their Wars would follow Christ their Prince and Captain, in fighting against their Enemies, rather than the examples of *Julius*, or *Alexander*, &c. The King hearing *Colet* thus speak, and staring left by his words the hearts of his Soldiers might be withdrawn from his Wars, which he had then in hand, took him aside and talked with him in secret Conference, walking in his Garden. Bishop *Fitzjamer*, *Briot*, and *Standish*, who were his Enemies, thought now none other, but that *Colet* must needs be committed to the Tower, and waited for his coming out. But the King with great gentleness entertaining Doctor *Colet*, and bidding him familiarly to put on his Cap, in long courteous talk had with him in the Garden, much commended him for his Learning and Integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points, but that only he required him (for that the rude Soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he had said) more plainly to explain his words and mind in that behalf; which after he did: and so after long communication and great promises, the King dismissed *Colet* with these words, saying, Let every man have his Doctor as him liketh, this shall be my Doctor; and so he departed. Whereby none of his Adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

Among many other memorable acts left behind him, he erected a worthy Foundation of the School of *Pauls* (I pray God the fruits of the School may answer the Foundation) for the cherishing up of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient Stipend as well for the Master, as for the Usher: whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single Priests with their suspected Chastity. The first Moderator of this School, was *Gualt. Lilius*, a man no less notable for his Learning, than was *Colet* for his Foundation. *Ex Epist. Erasmi ad Jodoc. Jonam*. This *Colet* died the year of our Lord 1519.

Not long before the death of this *Colet* and *Lilius*, lived *Gualtelmus Grocine* and *Gualtelmus Latimerus*, both English men also, and famously learned. This *Grocine*, as began to read in his open Lecture in the Church of *St. Paul*, the Book of *Dionysius Areopagita*, commonly called *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica* (for the reading of the holy Scriptures in *Pauls* was not in use) in the first entry of his Preface cried out with great vehemency against them; whosoever they were, which either denied or stood in doubt of the Authority of that Book: in the number of whom he noted *Laurence Valla*, and dives other of the like approved Judgment and Learning. But afterward the same *Grocine*, when he had continued a few weeks in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altered and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the forenamed Book, in his judgment, was never written by that Author whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles to be called *Dionysius Areopagita*. *Ex Erasmi ad Parisienses*.

The translation of these two couples above rehearsed, doth occasion me to adjoin also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not unworthy to be remembered, were *Thomas Linacre* and *Richard Pace*: which two followed much upon the time of *Colet*, and of *William Lily*. But of *Richard Pace*, which was Dean next after the aforesaid *Colet*, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speak, coming to the story of Cardinal *Vulsey*.

Moreover, to these two I thought if not out of season, to couple also some mention of *Jeffrey Chaucer* and *John Gower*. Which although being much discrepant from these in course of years, yet may seem not unworthy

K. Hen. 8.

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cer. John Gower.

K. Hen. 8. thy to be matched with these forenamed persons, in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the Prologue of *Gower's* work, entituled *Confessio Amantis*, that he finished it in the sixteenth year of King *Richard* the second. And in the end of the eighth Book of his said Treatise he declareth that he was both sick and old when he wrote it: whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding by certain Verses of the said Master *Gower*, placed in the later end of *Chaucer's* Works both in Latin and English, it may seem that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of King *Henry* the fourth, and also by a Book which he wrote to the same King *Henry*. By his Sepulture within the Chappel of the Church of St. *Mary Overie*, which was then a Monastery, where he and his Wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain and his Garland of Laurel, that he was both a Knight, and flourishing then in Poetry. In the which place of his Sepulture were made in his Grave-stone three Books: the first bearing the Title, *Speculum meditantis*; the second, *Vox clamantis*; the third, *Confessio amantis*. Besides these, divers Chronicles and other Works moe he compiled.

For Books
of *John*
Gower.

Likewise as touching the time of *Chaucer*, by his own words in the end of his first Book of *Troilus* and *Cresside*, it is manifest that he and *Gower* were both of one time; although it seemeth that *Gower* was a great deal his ancient:

Chaucer and
Gower com-
mended for
their studi-
ous Exercise.

both notably learned, as the barbarous rudeness of that time did give, both great Friends together, and both in like kind of study together occupied; so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that they, excelling many other in Study and Exercise of good Letters, did pass forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly, to the worthy Fame and Commendation of their name. *Chaucer's* Works be all printed in one Volume, and therefore known to all men.

This I marvel to see the idle life of the Priests and Clergy-men of that time, seeing these Lay-persons shewed themselves in these kinds of liberal Studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied: but much more I marvel to consider this, how that the Bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English Books and Treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorize the Works of *Chaucer* to remain full and to be occupied. Who (no doubt) saw in Religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his Works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wiclevian, or else there was never any; and that all his Works almost, if they be thoroughly advised, will testify (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly) and especially the later end of his third Book of the Testament of Love: for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the Communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espie him at the full. Although in the same Book (as in all other he useth to do) under shadows covertly, as under a Vizard, he sheweth Truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty Adversary. And therefore the Bishops, belike, taking his Works but for Jest and Toys, in condemning other Books, yet permitted his Books to be read.

Chaucer a
right Wiclevian.
Chaucer's
Books.

Men brought
to Truth by
reading
Chaucer's
Works.

The Pleas-
ants Tale
in *Chaucer*.

So it pleased God then to blind the Eyes of them, for the more commodious of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his Treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly informed, of certain which knew the Parties, which to them reported, that by reading of *Chaucer's* Works, they were brought to the true knowledge of Religion: And not unlike to be true. For to omit other parts of his Volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what Tale can be more plainly told than the Tale of the Ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the Pope with his Prelates to be Antichrist, than doth the poor Pellican reasoning against the greedy Griffin? Under which *Esopys* fables, or Poetrie, who is so blind that seeth not by the Pellican the Doctrine of Christ, and of the Lollards to be defended against the Church of *Rome*? Or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true which the Pellican there affirmeth in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretended Church? Again, what Egg can be more like, or Fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that raven-

ning Gryph resembleth the true Image, that is, the Nature and Qualities of that which we call the Church of *Rome*, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that narration were exempted out of the Copies of *Chaucer's* Works: which notwithstanding now is restored again, and is extant for every man to read that is disposed. This *Geffrey Chaucer*, being born (as is thought) in *Oxfordshire*, and dwelling in *Woodstock*, lieth buried in the Church of the Minister of St. *Peter at Vintria* in an Isle on the south side of the said Church, not far from the door leading to the Cloister, and upon his Grave-stone sith were written these two old Verses.

Galfridus Chaucer Vates, & fama Poësis
Materne, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Afterward about the year of our Lord 1556, one Master *Briekham*, bestowing more cost upon his Tomb, did add therunto these Verses following.

Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quaras Domini, si tempora-moris,
Ecce nota subsunt, que tibi cuncta notent.
25 Octob. Anno 1400.

Here beginneth the Reformation of the Church of Christ in the time of Martin Luther.

Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with The corrup-
tion of the
Church de-
scribed.
Tongue, or Pen of man, into what miserable ruine and desolation the Church of Christ was brought in those later days: yet partly, by the reading of these Stories afore said, some intelligence may be given to them which have judgment to mark, or Eyes to see in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned during the space of these four hundred years before and more. By the viewing and considering of which Times and Histories, thou mayst understand (gentle Reader) how the Religion of Christ, which only consisteth in Spirit and Verity, was wholly turned into outward Observations, Ceremonies, and Idolatry. So many Saints we had, so many Gods, so many Monasteries, so many Pilgrimages. As many Churches, as many Reliques forged and feigned we had. Again, so many Reliques, so many lying Miracles we believed. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead Stocks and Stones. In place of Christ immortal, we adored mortal Bread. In stead of his Blood, we worshipped the Blood of Ducks; how the people were led, so that the Priests were fed, no care was taken. In stead of God's Word, Man's Word was set up. In stead of Christ's Testament, the Pope's Testament, that is, the Canon-Law. In stead of *Psalm*, the Master of Sentences took place, and almost full possession. The Law of God was little read, the use and end thereof was less known; and as the end of the Law was unknown, so the difference between the Gospel and the Law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of Faith not expended. Through the Ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite Errors, Sects, and Religions crept into the Church, overwhelming the world, as with a Flood of Ignorance and Seduction. And no marvel; for where the Foundation is not well laid, what Building can stand or prosper? The Foundation of all our Christianity is only this; The promise of God in the Blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising life to all that believe in him: Giving (saith the Scripture) unto Rom. 6.
us, and not bargaining or indenting with us. And that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christ's sake, and not conditionally for our Merits sake. Rom. 4.

Furthermore, Freely (saith the Scripture) by Grace, that the Promise might be firm and sure, and not by the works that we do, which always are doubtful. By Grace (saith the Scripture) through promise to all and upon all that believe, and not by the Law, upon them that do deserve. Rom. 3.
For if it come by deserving, then it is not of Grace: Rom. 11.
If it be not of Grace, then it is not of Promise; and contrariwise, if it be of Grace and Promise, then it is not of works, saith St. *Paul*. Upon the Foundation of God's free Promise and Grace first builded the Patriarchs, Kings, and Prophets. Upon this same Foundation also Christ the Lord builded his Church. Upon which Foundation the Apostles likewise builded the Church Apostolical or Catholic.
This

The founda-
tion of Chri-
stian Reli-
gion.

Rom. 4.

Rom. 3.

1 Cor. 5.

This Apostolical and Catholick Foundation so long as the Church did retain, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long season after the Apostles time. But after, in process of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the Church, so soon as this Foundation began to be lost, came in new Builders, which would build upon a new Foundation a new Church more glorious, which we call now the Church of *Rome*. Who being not contented with the old Foundation, and the Head-cornet-stone, which the Lord by his Word had laid; in place whereof they laid the ground-work upon the Condition and Strength of the Law and Works. Although it is not to be denied, but that the Doctrine of God's holy Law, and of good Works according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned and followed of all men: yet it is not that Foundation whereupon our Salvation consisteth; neither is that Foundation able to bear up the weight of the Kingdom of Heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the Foundation; which Foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of St. Paul, saying; No man can lay any other Foundation beside that which is laid, Christ Jesus, &c.

But this ancient Foundation, which the old ancient Church of Christ laid (as I said) hath been now of long time forsaken, and in head thereof, a new Church, with a new Foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's Promise, and his free Grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free Justification by Faith, but upon merits and deserts of men's working. And hereon have they planted all these their new devices, to infinite, that they cannot well be numbered; as Masses-Trecenaries, Dirges, Obsequies, Mattens, and Hours-singing-Service, Vigils, Midnight-rising, Bare-foot going, Fift-tasting, Lent-fast, Ember-fast, Stations, Rogations, Jubilees, Advocation of Saints, Praying to Images, Pilgrimage-walking, Works of Supererogation, Application of Merits, Orders, Rules, Sects of Religion, Vowes of Chastity, wilful Poverty, Pardons, Relations, Indulgencies, Penance, and Satisfaction, with auricular Confession, founding of Abbies, building of Chappels, giving to Churches: And who is able to recite all their laborious Buildings, falsely framed upon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true Foundation, which is the free justification by Faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Moreover note, that as this new-found Church of *Rome* was thus deformed in Doctrine, so no less was it corrupted in order of Life and deep Hypocritie, doing all things only under pretences and dissembled Titles. So under the pretence of Peter's Chair, they exercised a Majesty above Emperors and Kings. Under the Vizour of their vowed Chastity reigned Adultery; under the cloke of professed Poverty, they possessed the goods of the Temporality; under the title of being dead unto the World, they not only reigned in the World, but also ruled the World; under the colour of the Keys of Heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the States of the World under their girdle, and crept not only into the Purles of men, but also into their Consciences: they heard their Confessions; they knew their Secrets; they dispensed as they were disposed, and looked what them lifted: And finally when they had brought the whole World under their Subjection; yet did their Pride neither cease to ascend, neither could their Avarice be ever satisfied. And if the example of Cardinal *Wolsey* and other Cardinals and Popes cannot satisfy thee, I beseech thee (gentle Reader) turn over the aforelaid Book of the Ploughmans Tale in *Chaucer* above-mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their Demeanour than I have here described.

In these fo blind and miserable corrupt dayes of darkness and ignorance, thou seest, good Reader (I doubt not) how necessary it was, and high time that Reformation of the Church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work through the merciful and no less needful Providence of Almighty God; who although he suffered his Church to wander and start aside, through the seduction of Pride and Prosperity along time, yet at length it pleased his goodness to respect his people, and to reduce his Church into the pristine Foundation and frame again, from whence it was pitiously decayed. Whereof I have now consequently to entreat; intending by the Grace of Christ to declare how, and by what means first this Refor-

mation of the Church began, and how it proceeded, encreasing by little and little unto this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

And herein we have first to behold the admirable Work of God's Wisdom. For as the first decay and ruine of the Church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of knowledg in Teachers: so, to reforme the Church again by Doctrine and Learning, it pleased God to open to man the Art of Printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of *John Hus* and *Hierome*. Printing being opened, incontinently ministred unto the Church the Instruments and Tools of Learning and Knowledge, which were good Books and Authors which before lay hid and unknown. The Science of Printing being found, immediately followed the Grace of God: which flired up good Wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and of Judgment: by which Light darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; Truth from Error, Religion from Superstition, to be discerned, as is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the inventing of Printing.

Furthermore; after these Wits flired up of God, followed other more, encreasing daily more and more in Science, in Tongues, and Perfection of Knowledge: who now were able not only to discern in matters of judgment, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good Letters, that they did encounter also with the Adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of Learning against Barbarity; of Verity against Error; of true Religion against Superstition. In number of whom, amongst many other here unnamed, were *Piclus*, and *Franciscus Mirandula*, *Laur. Valla*, *Franc. Petrarca*, *Doc. Wesalius*, *Revelinus*, *Grocinius*, *Coletar*, *Rhenanus*, *Erasmus*, &c. And here began the first pulch and assault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous Faction of the Pope's pretended Church. Who after that by their learned Writings and laborious Travel, they had opened a Window of light unto the World, and had made (as it were) a way more ready for others to come after: Immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed *Martin Luther*, with others after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full Reformation of his Church, as by their Acts and Proceedings hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) more amply to be declared.

And now coming to the time and story of *Martin Luther*, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint to be the principal Organ and Minister under him, to reform Religion, and to subvert the See of the Pope: first, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, to inter such Prophecies and Forewarnings as were sent before of God, by divers and sundry good men, long before the time of *Luther*, which foretold and prophesied of this Reformation of the Church to come.

Prophecies going before Martin Luther.

And first to begin with the Prophecies of *John Hus*, and *Hierome*, it is both notable, and also before-mentioned, what the said *John Hus* at the time of his burning prophesied unto his Enemies, saying; That after an hundred years come and gone, they should give account to God and to him.

Where is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415, (which year *John Hus* was burned) or from the year 1416, (when *Hierome* did suffer) unto the year 1516, (when *Martin Luther* began first to write) we shall find the Number of an Hundred Years expired.

Likewise to this may be adjoynd the propheticall Vision or Dream, which chanced to the said *John Hus* lying in the Dungeon of the Friars in *Constance*, a little before he was burned: His Dream, as he himself reporteth in his Epistles writing to Master *John Gism*, and as I have also before recorded the same, so will I now repeat the same again in like effect of words, as he wrote it himself in Latin; the effect of which Latin is this:

I pray you expound to me the Dream which I had this Night. I saw that in my Church at *Bethlehem* (whereof I was *Ezra*) they desired and laboured so a-

The first be-
renewing of
Reformation
began, and by
what means.

Printing the
Foundations
of Reformation
began.

The Do-
ctrine of the
Church cor-
rupted.

The life and
manners of
the Church
corrupted.

Habentes
speciem pie-
tatis, sed
viam ejus
abnegantes.
a Tim. 3.

The Refor-
mation of
the Church
necessary.

The Prophe-
cie of *John
Hus* touch-
ing the Re-
formation
of the
Church.

Another
Prophecies of
John Hus
concerning the
Reformation
of the
Church.

epistle

K. Hen. 8. *bolto all the Images of Chriſt, and did aboliſh them. I the next day following roſe up, and ſaw many other Painters, which painted both the ſame, and many more Images, and more faire, which I was glad to behold: whereupon the Painters, with the great multitude of people, ſaid: Now let the Biſhops and Priſts come, and put out theſe Images if they can. Which thing done, much people rejoiced in Bethlehem, and I with them: and riſing up, I felt my ſelf to laugh.*

Ex Reſt. 45.
John Huſ.

This Dream Maſter John of Chivm firſt expounded. Then he in the next Epistle after expounded it himſelf to this effect: *Stante mandato Dei, &c.* That is, the Commandment of God ſtanding, that we muſt obſerve no Dreams, yet notwithstanding, I truſt that the Life of Chriſt was painted in Bethlehem by me, through his Word, in the Hearts of Men; the which Preaching they went about in Bethlehem to deſtroy, firſt in commanding that no Preaching ſhould be, neither in the Church of Bethlehem, nor in the Chappels thereby: Secondly, that the Church of Bethlehem ſhould be thrown down to the ground. the ſame Life of Chriſt ſhall be painted up again by moe Preachers much better than I, and after a much more better ſort, ſo that a great number of people ſhall rejoice thereat: all ſuch as love the Life of Chriſt, and alſo I ſhall rejoice my ſelf, at what time I ſhall awake, that is, when I ſhall riſe again from the dead.

Another
Propheſie of
John Huſ.

Alſo in his forty eighth Epistle he ſeemeth to have a like propheticall meaning, where he ſaith; *That he truſted that thoſe things, which he ſpoke then within the Houſe, ſhould afterwards be preached above on the Houſetop, &c.*

Another
Propheſie by
John Huſ.

And becauſe we are here in hand with the Prophecies of John Huſ, it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain Treatiſe, *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium abominations*, thus prophelying of the Reformation of the Church, *The Church, he ſaith, cannot be reduced to its former dignity, and reformed, before all things firſt be made new, (the truth whereof appeareth by the Temple of Solomon) as well the Clergy and Priſts, as alſo the People and Laity. Or elſe, except all ſuch as now be addicted to avarice, from the laſt to the moſt, be firſt converted and renewed, as well the people as the Clergy and Priſts, things cannot be reformed. Albeit, at my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the firſt, that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the new Man, which is created after God. Of the which people, new Clergy and Priſts ſhall come forth and be taken, which all ſhall hate Covetouſneſs and Glory of this Life, labouring to an heavenly Converſation. Notwithstanding, all theſe things ſhall be done and wrought in continuance and order of time, diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth, and will do of his own Goodneſs and Mercy, and for the riches of his Patience and Sufferance, giving time and ſpace of Repentance to them that have long lain in their ſins, to amend and ſlie from the face of the Lord's Fury, until at length all ſhall ſuffer together, and until both the carnal people, and Priſts, and Clergy, in proceſs and order of time, ſhall fall away and be conſumed, as is the Cloath conſumed and eaten of the Moth, &c.*

A Propheſie
of Hiero-
nimo by Hiero-
nymus
Pragmatic.

With this Propheſie of John Huſ above mentioned, ſpeaking of the hundredth Years, accordeth alſo the Teſtimony of Hierome his fellow Martyr, in theſe Words; *And I cite you all (ſaid he) to answer before the moſt high and juſt Judge, after an hundred years.*

This Hierome was burnt Anno 1416; and Luther began to write, Anno 1516, which was juſt a hundred Year, according to the right account of Hierome's Propheſie.

Another
Propheſie of
Reforma-
tion by John
Huſton
Monk of
Toungue.

Philip Melancthon in his Apology, *Cap. de Vitis Monſtri*, teſtiſieth of one John Huſton a Monk in Thuringe, who, for ſpeaking againſt certain Abules of the Place and Order where he lived, was caſt into Priſon. At length being weak and feeble through Imprifonment, he ſent for the Warden of the Covert, deſiring and beſeeching him to have ſome reſpect of his wofull ſtate and pitifull caſe. The Warden rebuking and accuſing him for that he had done and ſpoken; he answered again and ſaid, *That he had ſpoken nothing which might be prejudicial or hurtful to their Montery, or againſt their Religion: but there*

Ex Phil.
Melanct.
in Apologia,
cap. de Mo-
nach.

ſhould come one (and aſſigned the year Anno 1516) who ſhould utterly ſubvert all Montery, and they ſhould never be able to reſiſt him, &c.

Ex Revel.
Briget. 1.4.
cap. 17.
Briget pro-
phelieth of
Reforma-
tion.

Long it were to induce here all Prophecies that be read in Hiſtories. Certain I mind briefly to touch and paſs over. And firſt to omit the Revelations of Briget (whereunto I do not much attribute) who prophelying of the Deſtruction of Rome in her fourth Book, *Cap. 17. ſaith; That Rome ſhall be ſcoured and purged with three things, with Sword, Fire, and the Plough: reſembling moreover the ſaid Church of Rome to a Plant removed out of the old place into a new; alſo to a Body condemned by a Judge to have the ſkin flayn off; the Blood to be drawn from the Fleſh; the Fleſh to be cut in pieces; and the Bones thereof to be broken; and all the Marrow to be ſqueezed out from the ſame; ſo that no part thereof remain whole and perfect, &c.* But to theſe Speculations of Briget I give no great Reſpect, as neither I do to the Predictions of Katherine de Senis.

And yet notwithstanding, Antonius writing of the ſame Katherine in his third part, *Tit. 23. cap. 14. reciteth her Words thus, prophelying of the Reformation of the Church to Frier Reynold her ghofly Father: 'By theſe Tribulations (ſaith ſhe) God after a ſecret manner unknown to man, ſhall purge his holy Church, and after thoſe things ſhall follow ſuch a Reformation of the holy Church of God, and ſuch a Renovation of the holy Paſtors, that the only Cogitation and Remembrance thereof, maketh my Spirit to rejoice in the Lord: And as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the Spoule, which is now all deformed and ragged, ſhall be adorned and decked with moſt rich and precious Outheſ and Brouches: And all the Faithfull ſhall be glad and rejoice to ſee themſelves beautified with ſo holy Paſtors. Yea, and alſo the Infidels, then allured by the ſweet favour of Chriſt, ſhall return to the Catholick Fold, and be converted to the true Biſhop and Shepherd of their Souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this ſtorm he will give a great calm, &c.*

Antonius
part 3. Hilt.
titul. 23.
cap. 14.
Katherine
ſpeaketh pro-
phelying of
Reforma-
tion.

Of the Authority of this Propheſie I have not to affirm or judge, but rather to hear what the Catholick Judges will ſay of this their own Saint and Prophet. For if they do not credit her Spirit of Propheſie, why then do they authorize her for a pure Saint among the Sisters of dear St. Dominick? If they warrant her Propheſie, let them ſay then, when was this glorious Reformation of the Church ever true or like to be true, if it be not true now in this marvellous alteration of the Church in theſe our latter days? Or when was there any ſuch Conversion of Chriſtian People in all Countries ever heard of, ſince the Apoſtles time, as hath been ſince the preaching of Martin Luther?

The Prophe-
ſie of Hiero-
nimo Savo-
nola.

Of Hieronimus Savonarola I wrote before, ſhewing that he prophelieth; *That one ſhould paſs over the Alps like to Cyrus, who ſhould ſubvert and deſtroy all Italy. Which may well be applied to God's Word, and the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſpreading now abroad ſince Luther's time.*

Theodoricus, Biſhop of Croatia, lived near about the time when Huſ and Hierome were martyred. Who in the end of his propheticall Vettes, which are extant in print, declareth; *That the See of Rome, which is ſo horribly polluted with Simony and Avarice, ſhall fall, and no more oppreſs men with Tyranny, as it hath done, and that it ſhall be ſubverted by her own Subject, and that the Church and true Piety ſhall flouriſh more again than ever it did before.*

The Prophe-
ſie of Theo-
doricus.

Noviomagus teſtiſieth, that he, in the Year of our Lord 1520. heard Oſtendorpius, a Canon of Deventry ſay, that when he was a young man, Doctor Weſtilius a Friſian, which was then an old Man, told him, 'That he ſhould live to ſee this new School-Divinity of Scots, Aquinas, and Bonaventura, to be utterly forſaken and exploded of all true Chriſtians.

The Prophe-
ſie of Dr.
Weſtilius.

In a Book of Carolus Bouillius, mention is made of a certain Viſion which one Nicolas, an Hermite of Helvetia, had; *In which Viſion he ſaw the Pope's Head crowned with three Swords proceeding from his face, and three Swords coming*

A Propheſie
of the Pope's
Head.

coming toward it. This Vision is also imprinted in the Books of *Martin Luther*, with his Preface before it.

Nicholas Medlerus, being of late Superintendent of *Brunswick*, affirmed and testified, 'That he heard and knew a certain Priest in his Country, that told the Priests there, that they laid aside *Paul* under their Desks and Pews: but the time would come, when as *Paul* should come abroad, and drive them under the Desks and dark Stalls, where they should not appear, &c.

Matthius Flaccius, in the end of his Book entitled, *de Testibus Veritatis*, 'Speaketh of one *Michael Stifelius*; which *Michael*, being an old Man, told him, that he heard the Priests and Monks say, many times by old Prophecies, that a violent Reformation must needs come amongst them: and also that the said *Michael* heard *Conradus Stifelius* his Father many times declare the same: who also, for the great hatred he bare against this filthy sect of Monks and Priests, told to one *Peter Pires*, a Friend and Neighbour of his, that he should live and see the day; and therefore desired him, that when the day came, besides those Priests which he should kill for himself, he would kill one Priest for his sake. *Hec eu Flaccio*.

This *Stifelius* thought belike, that this Reformation should be wrought by outward violence, and force of Sword; but he was therein deceived: altho the Adversary useth all forcible means, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the Gospel always beginneth with peace and quietness.

In the Table of *Amergham-Men* I signified a little before, how one *Haggard of London*, speaking of this Reformation to come, declared, *That the Priests should make battel, and have the upper hand a while, but shortly they should be vanquished and overthrown for ever*.

In the time of *Pope Alexander* the sixth, and about the year of our Lord 1500, as is before specified, *The high Angel which stood in the top of the Pope's Church and Castle of St. Angel, was thrown down with a terrible Thunder into the River of Tiberis*: Whereby might seem to be declared the ruin and fall of the Popedom.

To this may be adjoined that which in certain Chronicles, and in *John Bale*, is recorded; which saith, *That in the year of our Lord, 1516*, (which was the same year when *Martin Luther* began) *Pope Leo the tenth did create one and thirty Cardinals: In the which year and day of their Creation, there fell a tempest of Thunder and Lightning in Rome, which so strook the Church where the Cardinals were made, that it removed the little Child Jesus out of the lap of his Mother, and the Keys out of St. Peter's band*. Which thing many then did interpret to signify and foretell the subversion and alteration of the See of Rome.

Hitherto pertaineth also a strange portent and a prodigious token from Heaven, in the Year of our Lord 1505, in the which year, under the Reign of *Maximilian* the Emperor, *There appeared in Germany, upon the Vestures of Men, as well of Priests as Laymen, upon Womens Garments also, and upon their Rocks as they were spinning, divers Prints and Tokens of the Nails, of the Spunge, of the Spear, of the Lord's Coat, and of bloody Crosses, &c.* All which were seen upon their Caps and Gowns, as is most certainly testified and recorded by divers, which both did see, and also did write upon the same. Of whom first was *Maximilian* the Emperor, who both had and shewed the same to *Franciscus Mirandula*, which wrote thereupon a Book in Latin Meetre called *Stansficon*; wherein, for the more credit, these Verses be contained.

*Non ignota cano, Caesar monstravit, & ipsi
Vidimus: Innumeros promissu Germania testet, &c.*

Of this also writeth *Jo. Carion, Functius, P. Melancthon, Flaccius*, with divers other moe. These Marks and Tokens, as they were very strange, so were they diversly expounded of many, some thinking that they portended Affliction and Persecution of the Church to draw near: some, that God by that Token did admonish them, or forewarned unto them the true Doctrine of their Justification, which only is to be fought in the Cross and Passion of Christ and no other thing. This I marvel, that *Christianus Massius*, and other of that Profession, do leave it out. Belike they saw something in it that made not for their liking. For whether it signifieth Persecution to come upon the Ger-

mans, they cannot be evil that suffer and bear the Cross of Christ: or whether it signifieth the true Doctrine of Christ coming to the Germans; it cannot otherwise be, but that the Doctrine of the Bishop of Rome must needs be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath stirred up in Germany.

By these and such-like Prophecies, it is evident to understand, the time not to be far off, when God of his determinate Providence was disposed to reform and to restore his Church. And not only by these Prophecies the same might well appear, but also and much rather, by the hearts of the people at that time; whose minds were so incensed and inflamed with hatred against the pomp and pride of Rome, both thorow all Nations, and especially the people of Germany, that it was easy to perceive the time was near at hand, when the pride of Popish Prelacy would have a fall. Such disdain there was, such contempt and derision began to rise on every side then, against the Pope and the Court of Rome, that it might soon appear by the hearts of the people, that God was not disposed to have it long to stand. For neither were their detestable doings so secret, that Men did not see them, neither did any Man behold them, having any sparkle of godliness, that could abide them. And thereupon grew these Proverbs to their derision, in every Country: As in Germany it hath been a Proverb amongst them.

*Was ist nu inder werlt fur ein wesen,
Wir moegen fur den paffen nicht genen.*

What is this, to see the World now round about,
That for these traveling Priests no Man that once may
roust?

*Quam primum clericus suscipit rasuram, statim intrat in eum
Diabolus.*

That is;

As soon as a Clerk is shorn into his Order, by and by the
Devil entrencheth into him.

In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.

That is;

In the Name of God begetteth all evil:
Alluding to the Pope's Bulls, which commonly so begin.

Item, When Bulls come from Rome, bind well your Purfes.
The nearer Rome, the further from Christ.

Item, He that goeth once to Rome, seeth a wicked Man.

He that goeth twice, learneth to know him.

He that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him.

Item, The Court of Rome never regardeth the Sheep without the Wool.

Once were wooden Chalices, and golden Priests:

Now we have golden Chalices, and wooden Priests.

Once Christian Men had blind Churches and light Hearts;

Now they have blind Hearts, and light Churches.

Item, Many are worshipped for Saints in Heaven, whose
Souls be burning in Hell.

What should I speak of our English Proverb, which so vilely esteemeth the filthy Friars, that it compareth them (saying thy reverence, good Reader) to a Fart?

In France, *Gallus-Sennensis* writeth four hundred years ago, that amongst them it was an old saying; *Rome solui Satanam in perniciem totius Ecclesie*: that is, That Satan was let loose at Rome to destroy the whole Church.

Thomas Becket himself in his time, writing to the College of Cardinals, denieth it not, but to be a common word both through Town and City, *Quod non sit iustitia Rome*: that is, That there is no Right at Rome.

To these may be adjoined also the A, B, C, which we find in the Margent of a certain old Register, to be attributed to *William Thorpe*, whose Story we have comprehended in the Book before.

*A wake ye ghostly Persons, awake, awake,
B eth Priests, Pope, Bishop, and Cardinal:
C onsider wisely, what ways ye take,
D angerously being like to have a fall.
E very where the mischief of you all,
F ar and near, breaketh out every fast:
G od will needs be revenged at the last.*

How

The A, B, C,
against the
pride of the
Clergy.

Ex Fla. de
testibus ve-
ritatis.

The Gospel
beginneth
his reforma-
tion with
peace and
quietness.

The fall of
the Popedom
signified by
the fall of
the Angel
from the
Church top
of the Popes
Castle.
Ex Baleo,
Cent. 8.

Another sig-
nification of
the Popes
subversion.

Ex Joan Ca-
rion Franc.
Mirandula,
& alius.
Bloody
Marks of the
Lord's Passi-
on seen up-
on Mens
Garments.

The expre-
ssion of this
portent.

K. Hen. 8.

How long have ye the World captiv'd,
In sore bondage of Men's Traditions?
Kings and Emperors ye have depriv'd,
Loudly usurping their chief Possessions:
Much misery ye make in all Religions:
Now your Friends be almost at their last cast,
O God! sure to be revenged at the last.
Poor People to oppress ye have no shame,
Making for fear of your bloody tyranny,
Rightful Justice ye have put out of frame,
Seeking the lust of your God the belly.
Therefore I dare you boldly certify
Very little, tho you be thereof agast,
That God will be revenged at the last.

By these and such-like sayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may soon be seen what Hearts and Judgments the People had in those days of the Romish Clergy. Which thing, no doubt, was of God as a secret Prophecy, that shortly Religion should be reitored: according as it came to pass about this present time, when Dr. Martin Luther first began to write, after that *Picus Mirandula*, and *Laurentia Valla*, and last of all *Erasmus Roterdamus*, had somewhat broken the way before, and had shaken the Monks houses. But Luther gave the stroke, and plucked down the Foundation, and all by opening one Vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the Touchstone of all Truth and Doctrine, as the only principal Origin of our Salvation, which is our free justifying by Faith only in Christ the Son of God. The laborious travels, and the whole process, and the constant preachings of this worthy Man, because they are lucidly declared in the History of *Joannes Sleidanus*, I shall the less need to stay long thereupon, but only to run over some principal matters of his Life and Acts, as they are briefly collected by *Philip Melancthon*.

The History of Dr. Martin Luther, with his Life and Doctrine described.

The History of Martin Luther, with his Life and Doctrine described.

Martin Luther, after he was grown in years, being born at *Isleben* in Saxony, Anno 1483, was set to the University, first of *Magdeburg*, then of *Erford*. In this University of *Erford*, there was a certain aged Man in the Convent of the *Augustines*, (whose thought to be *Weselus* above mentioned) with whom Luther being then of the same Order, a Friar *Augustine*, had conference upon divers things, especially touching the Article of Remission of Sins; the which Article the said aged Father opened unto Luther after this sort; declaring, that we must not generally believe only forgiveness of sins to be, or to belong, to *Peter*, to *Paul*, to *David*, or such good Men alone; but that God's express Commandment is, that every Man should believe his sins particularly to be forgiven him in Christ; and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of *St. Bernard*, and shewed him the place, in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: *But add thou that thou believest this, that by him thy sins are forgiven thee. This is the Testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy Heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For this is the Opinion of the Apostle, that Man is freely justified by Faith.*

An excellent declaration of St. Bernard touching Faith.

By these words Luther was not only strengthened, but was also instructed of the full meaning of *St. Paul*, who repeateth so many times this sentence, *We are justified by Faith*. And having read the Expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpose of the old Man, as by the comfort he received in his Spirit, the vanity of those Interpretations, which he had read before of the Schoolmen. And so reading by little and little, with conferring the sayings and examples of the Prophets and Apostles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of Faith by force of Prayer, he perceived that Doctrine most evidently. Then began he to read *St. Augustine's* Books, where he found many comfortable sentences: among other, in the Exposition of the Psalms, and especially in the Book of the Spirit and Letter, which confirmed this Doctrine of Faith and Consolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aside the Sententiares, as *Gabriel Cameracensis*. Also he read the Books of *Oecum*, whose subtilty he preferred above *Thomas Aquinas* and *Scotus*. He read also and revolved *Gerson*; but above all the rest, he

The profit of St. Augustine's Books.

perused all over *St. Augustine's* Works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his study at *Erford* the space of four years in the Convent of the *Augustines*.

About this time one *Staupitius*, a famous Man, ministering his help to further the erection of an University in *Wittenberg*, and endeavouring to have Schools of Divinity founded in this new University: when he had considered the spirit and towardsness of Luther, he called him from *Erford*, to place him in *Wittenberg*, in the year 1508, and of his age 26. There his towardsness appeared in the ordinary exercise, both of his disputations in the Schools, and preaching in Churches: where many wife and learned Men attentively heard Luther, namely Dr. *Melancthus*.

The Institution of the University at Wittenberg. Staupitius.

This *Melancthus* would oftentimes say, that Luther was of such a marvellous spirit, and so ingenious, that he gave apparent signification, that he would introduce a more compendious, easie, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and abolish the order that then was used.

The Judgment of Dr. Melancthus upon Martin Luther.

There first he expounded the Logic and Philosophy of *Aristotle*, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his study in Theology. Three years after he went to *Rome*, about certain Contentions of the Monks; and returning the same year, he was graded Doctor, at the expences of Elector *Fredrick* Duke of *Saxony*, according to the solemn manner of Schools; for he had heard him preach; well understood the quietness of his Spirit; diligently considered the vehemency of his words; and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his Sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree *Staupitius*, against his will, enforced upon him; saying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to pass in his Church by him. And tho these words were spoken merrily, yet it came so to pass anon after; as many Predictions or Presages prove true before a change.

Luther sent to Rome. Frederick Duke of Saxony. Luther commenced Doctor.

After this, he began to expound the Epistle to the *Romans*, and consequently the *Psalms*: where he shewed the difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel. He also confounded the Error that reigned then in Schools and Sermons, teaching that Men may merit remission of sins by their proper works, and that they be just before God by outward Discipline, as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of Men to the Son of God. And as *John Baptist* demonstrated the Lamb of God which took away the sins of the World; Even so Luther (shining in the Church as a bright Star after a long cloudy and obscure Sky, expressly shewed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful Gift.

Dr. Martin Luther becometh to read the Epistle to the Romans.

Luther taught Jesus Christ.

These happy beginnings of so good matters, got him great authority, especially seeing his life also was correspondent to his profession. The consideration whereof, shewed to him marvellously the hearts of his Auditors, and also many notable Personages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the Ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his Fellows; he medled in no doubtful Opinions, but taught this only Doctrine, as most principal of all others to all Men, opening and declaring the Doctrine of Repentance, of remission of Sins, of Faith, of true comfort in times of Adversity. Every Man received good taste of this sweet Doctrine, and the Learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the Prophets, and Apostles to come forth into light, out of darkness, whereby they began to understand the difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel; betwixt the promises of the Law, and the promise of the Gospel; betwixt Spiritual Justice, and Civil Things: which certainly could not have been found in *Thomas Aquinas*, *Scotus*, and such-like School-Clerks.

It hapned moreover about this time, that many were provoked by *Erasmus's* learned Works, to study the Greek and Latin Tongues: who perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the Monks barbarous and sophistical Doctrine; and especially such as were of a liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew Tongue, to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and property of the Tongues and drawn the Doctrine of the very Fountains, he might give more found judgment.

Erasmus opened the way before Luther.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which was the year of our Lord 1516, Leo the tenth of that name succeeding after *Julius* the second, was Pope of Rome. Who under

Ex Christ. Melancthus. Chron.

under pretence of War against the Turk, sent a Jubilee with his Pardons abroad through all Christian Realms and Dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable Riches and Treasure. The Gatherers and Collectors whereby of perwaded the people, that whosoever would give ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliver one Soul from the pains of Purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatsoever they would have him, according to the saying, *Quicquid solveritis super terram, erit solutum in Cælis, &c. Whatsoever you shall loose upon Earth, the same shall be loosed in Heaven.* But if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing, *Ex Christi. Massæ, lib. 20. Chro.*

Ten Shilling Pardons.

Tecellius preacher of the Pope's Pardons.

Luther's Propositions of Pardons.

The first occasion why Luther writ against Pardons.

The slander of Tecellius the Frier.

The praise of Frederick Duke of Saxony.

This filthy kind of the Pope's Merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of Christian Regions, so it came also to Germany, through the means of a certain Dominick Frier named *Tecellius*, who most impudently caused the Pope's Indulgences, or Pardons to be carried and sold about the Country. Whereupon *Luther*, much moved with the blasphemous Sermons of this shameless Frier, and having his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintain true Religion, published certain Propositions concerning Indulgences, which are to be read in the first Tome of his Works, and set them openly on the Temple that joineth to the Castle of *Wittenberg*, the morrow after the Feast of all Saints, the year 1517.

This begerly Frier, hoping to obtain the Pope's blessing, assembled certain Monks, and sophistical Divines of his Convent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against *Luther*. And whilst he began not only to inveig in his Sermons, but to thunder against *Luther*; crying, *Luther* is an Heretic, and worthy to be persecuted with Fire. And besides this, he burned openly *Luther's* Propositions, and the Sermon which he wrote of Indulgences. This rage and furnish fury of this Frier, enforced *Luther* to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his matter.

And thus rose the beginnings of this Controversy; where-in *Luther*, neither suspecting, nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the Ceremonies, did not utterly reject the Indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they fallily accuse him, which blaze, that he began with plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the end that in process of time he might change the state of the Common-weal, and purchase authority either for himself or other.

And certes, he was not suborned or stirred up by them of the Court, (as the Duke of *Brunswick* wrote) inasmuch that the Duke *Frederick* was sore offended that such contention and controversy should arise, having regard to the sequel thereof.

And as this good Duke *Frederick* was one, of all the Princes of our time, that loved best quietness and common tranquillity; neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to refer all his Counsels to the common utility of all the World, (as it is easy to be conjectured divers ways) so he neither encouraged nor supported *Luther*, but often represented semblance of heaviness and sorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater dissensions. But being a wife Prince, and following the counsel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himself, that the Glory of God was to be preferred above all things. Neither was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, oblatinately to repugn the Truth. Wherefore he did as a godly Prince should do; he obeyed God, committing himself to his holy grace, and omnipotent protection. And altho *Maximilianus* the Emperor, *Carolus* King of Spain, and Pope *Julius*, had given commandment to the said Duke *Frederick*, that he should inhibit *Luther* from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the Duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of *Luther*, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of the Scripture which he alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged sincere. And yet neither did he this, trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious and inquisitive to hear the judgment of others, which were both aged & learned. In the number of whom was *Erasmus*, whom the Duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of *Martin Luther*; saying and protesting, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to

manifest truth; and therefore he desired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him, freely and friendly.

Erasmus, thus being entreated of the Duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the Duke's Request, saying, That in *Luther* were two great faults; first, that he would touch the Bellies of Monks: the second, that he would touch the Pope's Crown; which two matters in no case are to be dealt withal. Then, opening his mind plainly to the Duke, thus he said, That *Luther* did dwell in detecting Errors, and that Reformation was to be wished, and very necessary in the Church: and added moreover, that the effect of his Doctrine was true: but only that he withheld in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling. Whereupon Duke *Frederick* shortly after wrote to *Luther* seriously, exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his stile. This was at the City of *Colen*, shortly after the coronation of the new Emperor, where also *Hunsenus*, *Aloisius*, *Martianus*, *Ludovicus Vivæ*, *Halenius*, with other learned Men, were assembled together, waiting upon the Emperor.

The judgment of Erasmus touching Luther. Monks bellies, and the Pope's Crown not to be touched.

Ex Cer. c. 15.

Ex Epist. de c. 15.

Furthermore, the same *Erasmus*, the year next following that, wrote up to the Archbishop of *Monte* a certain Epistle touching the cause of *Luther*. In which Epistle thus he signifieth to the Bishop; That many things were in the Books of *Luther* condemned of Monks and Divines, for heretical, which in the Books of Bernard and Austin are read for sound and godly.

Also, That the World is burthened with Monks Institutions, with School-Doctrines and Opinions, and with the tyranny of begging Friars: which Friars, when they are but the Pious Servants and Underlings, yet they have grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible, both to the Pope himself, and to all Princes. Who so long as the Pope maketh with them, so long they make him more than a God: but if he make any thing against their purpose or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or phantom.

The Complaint of Erasmus.

Once (saith he) it was counted an Heresy when a Man repugned against the Gospel, or Articles of the Faith: Now he that dissenteth from Thomas Aquinas, is an Heretic; whatsoever doth not like them, whatsoever they understand not, that is Heresy. To speak Greek is Heresy, or to speak more finely than they do, that is with them Heresy. And thus much by the way concerning the Judgment of *Erasmus*.

Now to return, and to entreat something orderly of the Acts and Conflicts of *Luther* with his Adversaries. After that *Tecellius* the foresaid Frier, with his fellow Monks and fiery Fellows, had cried out with open mouth against *Luther*, in maintaining the Pope's Indulgences; and that *Luther* again, in defence of his cause, had set up Propositions against the open abuses of the same, marvel it was to see how soon these Propositions were sparkled abroad in sundry and far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of divers both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter encreasing between them, *Luther* was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwise he thought, which was in the Year of our Lord 1517.

Ex Parallel. Annot. the first.

Yet all this while *Luther* never thought of any alteration to come of any Ceremony, much less such a reformation of Doctrine and Ceremonies as afterward did follow. But only hearing that he was accused to the Bishop of *Rome*, he did write humbly unto him: in the beginning of which Writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of those his Pardon-mongers, which so excessively did pill and poll the simple people, to the great slander of the Church, and shame to his Holiness: and to proceeding, in the end of his writing thus he submitteth himself.

Wherefore (saith he) most holy Father, I offer my self prostrate under the feet of your Holiness, with all that I am, and that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in your speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be contented to die: For the Earth is the Lord's, and all the fulness thereof, who is to be blessed for ever. Amen. This was in the year of our Lord 1518.

The submission of Luther to the Pope.

Phil. 2. 10.

After that *Martin Luther*, provoked by *Tecellius*, had declared his mind in writing, lowly and humbly, and had set up certain Propositions to be disputed; not long after, among other Monks and Friars, steppeth up one *Silvester de Priore*, a Dominick Frier, who first began to

The raising of dialogue of Silvester Priore, against Luther.

K. Hen. 8. to publish abroad a certain impudent and railing Dialogue against him. Unto whom *Luther* answered again, first alleging the place of the Apostle; 1 Theff. 5. *That we must prove all things.* Also the place, Gal. 2. *That if an Angel from Heaven do bring any other Gospel than that we have received, be ought to be accursed.*

Item, He alleged the place of *Augustin* unto *Hierome*, where he said *Augustin* saith, *That he was wont to give this honour only to the Book of Canonical Scripture, that whosoever were the Writers thereof, he believeth them utterly not to have erred.* But as touching all other Mens Writings, were they never so holy Men, or learned, he doth not believe them therefore, because they so say, but in that respect as they do agree with the Canonical Scripture, which cannot err.

Item, He alleged the place of the Canon Law, *Clem. de Pœnit. & remis. C. Abusonibus.* Wherein he proved, *That these Pardon-fillers, in their sitting forth of the Pope's Indulgences, ought to go no further by the Law, than is enjoined them within the Letters of their Commission.*

And in the latter part of his Answer, thus *Luther* writeth to the Reader, *Let Opinions (saith he) remain Opinions, so they be not Tokes to the Christians. Let us not make Mens Opinions equal with the Articles of Faith, and to the doctrine of Christ and Paul. Moreover, I am ashamed (quoth he) to hear the common saying of these Divine School-Doctors, who holding one thing in the Schools, and thinking otherwise in their own Judgment, thus are wont severely among themselves, and with their privy Friends talking together, to say, Thus do we hold, and thus would we say being in the Schools: but yet (be it spoken here amongst us) it cannot be so proved by the Holy Scriptures, &c. Ex Paralip. Abb. Ulparg.*

Next after this Silvester, slept forth *Eckius*, and impugned the conclusions of *Luther*. Against whom encountered *D. Andreas Bodenstein, Archdeacon of Wittenberg*, making his Apology in defence of *Luther*.

Then was *Martin Luther* cited the 7th of August, by one *Hieronymus* Bishop of *Ascalon*, to appear at *Rome*. About which time *Thomas Cajetan*, Cardinal, the Pope's Legat, was then Lierat in the City of *Augusta*, who before had been sent down in Commission, with certain Mandates of Pope *Leo*, unto that City. The University of *Wittenberg* understanding of *Luther's* Citation, effusions directed up their Letters, with their publick Seal, to the Pope in *Luther's* behalf. Also another Letter they sent to *Carolus Militum* the Pop's Chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good *Frederick* ceased not for his part to sollicite the matter with his Letters and earnest Suit with Cardinal *Cajetan*, that the Cause of *Luther* might be freed from *Rome*, and removed to *Augusta*, in the hearing of the Cardinal. *Cajetan*, at the suit of the Duke, wrote unto the Pope: from whom he received this answer again the three and twentieth of the foresaid month of August, *That he had cited Luther* to appear personally before him at *Rome*, by *Hieronymus* Bishop of *Ascalon* Auditor of the Chamber: which Bishop diligently had done

that was commanded him: but *Luther*, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, did not only refuse to come, but also became more bold and stubborn continuing, or rather increasing in his former Herefy, as by his Writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the Cardinal should cite and call up the said *Luther* to appear at the City of *Augusta* before him; adjoining withal, the aid of the Princes of Germany, and of the Emperor, if need required: so that when the said *Luther* should appear, he should lay hand upon him, and commit him to safe custody, and after he should be brought up to *Rome*: and if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the Church again, or else he should be interdicted, with all other his Adherents, Abettors, and Maintainers, of whatsoever state or condition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, &c. Against all which Perious and Degrees, he willed him to extend the same Curse and Malediction (only the Person of the Emperor excepted) interdicting, by the Censure of the Church, all such Lands, Lordships, Towns, Tenements, and Villages, as should minister any harbour to the said *Luther*, and were not obedient unto the

'See of *Rome*. Contrariwise, to all such as shewed themselves obedient, he should promise full remission of all their Sins.

Likewise the Pope directeth other Letters also the same time to Duke *Frederick*, complaining with many grievous words against *Luther*.

The Cardinal thus being charged with Injunctions from *Rome*, according to his Commission, fenceth with all speed for *Luther* to appear at *Augusta* before him.

About the beginning of *October*, *Martin Luther* yielding his obedience to the Church of *Rome*, came to *Augusta* at the Cardinal's sending, (at the charges of the noble Prince Elector, and also with his Letters of Commendation) where he remained three days before he came to his speech; for so it was provided by his Friends, that he should not enter talk with the Cardinal, before a sufficient Warrant or safe Conduct was obtained of the Emperor *Maximilian*. Which being obtained, effoons he entred, offering himself to the speech of the Cardinal, and was there received of the Cardinal very gently: who, according to the Pope's commandment, propounded unto *Martin Luther* three things; or as *Sliden* saith, but two; to wit;

1. *That he should repent and revoke his Errors.*
2. *That he should promise, from that time forward, to refrain from the same.*
3. *That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the Church.*

When *Martin Luther* required to be informed wherein he had erred, the Legat brought forth the Extravagants of *Clement*, which beginneth, *Unigenitus*, &c. because that he, contrary to that Canon, had held and taught in his fifty eight Propositions, *That the Merits of Christ, are not the treasure of Indulgences or Pardons.* Secondly, The Cardinal, contrary to the seventh Proposition of *Luther*, affirmed, that Faith is not necessary to him that receiveth the Sacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the presence of four of the Emperors Council, having there a Notary, and Witneses present, *Luther* protested for himself, and personally, in this manner following.

Imprimis, I *Martin Luther*, a Frier Augustine, protest, *That I do reverence and follow the Church of Rome* in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come; and if any thing hath been, or shall be said by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as as tho it had never been spoken. But because the Cardinal hath acquired at the commandment of the Pope, three things of me to be observed:

1. *That I should return again to the knowledg of my self.*
2. *That I should beware of falling into the same again hereafter.*
3. *That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the Church of God.*

I protest here this day, That whatsoever I have said, seemeth unto me to be found, true, and Catholick; yet for the further proof thereof, I do offer my self personally, either here or elsewhere, publicly to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the Legat, I am ready also in writing to answer his Objections, if he have any against me: and touching these things, to hear the sentence and judgment of the Universities of the Empire, *Basil*, *Friburg*, and *Louvaine*. Hereof when they had received an answer in writing, they departed.

After this, *Luther* by and by prepareth an answer to the Legat, teaching, that the Merits of Christ are not committed unto Men: that the Pope's Voice is to be heard when he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: that the Pope may err, that he ought to be reprehended, *Act. 15.* Moreover he shewed, that in the matter of Faith, not only the General Council, but also every faithful Christian is above the Pope, if he leane to better Authority and Reason: that the Extravagant containeth untruths: that it is an infallible verity, that none is just: that it is necessary, for him that cometh to the receiving of the Sacrament, to believe: that Faith in the abolition and remission of sins, is necessary: that he ought not, nor might not decline from the verity of the Scripture: that he sought nothing but the light of the Truth, &c.

Luther obedient to the Sea of Rome

Luther appeared before Cardinal Cajetan.

Three things put to Luther by the Pope.

Protestation of M. Luther before the Cardinal.

The answer of Luther, with his Propositions to the Cardinal.

K. H. 8^s

Protest was
a Monster
noted in
Poets, which
could change
himself into
all Forms
and Likene-
sses.

Luther an-
swer to the
Cardinal.

But the Cardinal would hear no Scriptures, he disputed without Scriptures; he deviled Glosses and Expositions of his own head; and by Distinctions (wherewith the Divinity of the *Thomists* is full) like a very *Proteus* he avoided all things. After this, *Luther* being commanded to come no more in the presence of the Legate, except he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still, and would not depart. Then the Cardinal sent for *Joannes Stuppius*, Vicar of the Angustines, and moved him earnestly to bring *Luther* to recant of his own accord. *Luther* tarried the next day also, and nothing was said unto him. The third day moreover he tarried, and delivered up his mind in Writing: in which, first, 'he thanked him for his courtesie and great kindness, which he perceived by the words of *Stuppius*, toward him; and therefore was the more ready to gratifie him in whatsoever kind of Office he could do him service: confest moreover, that where he had been somewhat sharp and eager against the Pope's Dignity, that was not so much of his own mind, as it was to be ascribed to the importunity of certain which gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as he acknowledged his excess therein, so he was ready to shew more moderation in that behalf hereafter, and also promised to make amends for the same unto the Bishop, and that in the Pulpit, if he pleased. And as touching the matter of Pardons, he promised also to proceed no further in any mention thereof, so that his Adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But whereas he was prest to retract his sentence before defended; so far as he had said nothing but with a good Conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm Testimonies of the Scripture: therefore he humbly desired the determination thereof to be referred to the Bishop of Rome: for nothing could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the Church speaking, &c.

Pride will
have a fall.

Jeeps Dogs
All cover-all
like.

Who doth not see by this so humble and honest submission of *Luther*, but that if the Bishop of Rome would have been answered with any Reason, or contented with sufficient mean, he had never been touched any further of *Luther*? but the secret purpose of God had a further work herein to do: for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride should have a fall. Thus while the unmeasurable desire of that Bishop sought more than enough (like to *Elipse* Dog, coveting to have both flesh and shadow) not only he missed that he gaped for, but also lost that which he had.

But to the purpose of our matter again: this Writing *Luther* delivered to the Cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight. Which Letter or Writing the Cardinal did little regard. When *Luther* saw that he would give no answer nor countenance to the Letter; yet notwithstanding he remained after that the fourth day, and nothing was answered: the fifth day likewise was passed with silence, and nothing done. At the length, by the counsel of his Friends, and especially because the Cardinal had said before, that he had a Commandment to imprison *Luther* and *John Stuppius* the Vicar; after that he had made and set up his Appeal, where it might be seen and read, he departed, thinking that he had shewed such dangerous obedience long enough. *Luther*, a beholder and a doer of these things, recordeth the same, and sheweth the cause why he submitted himself to the Church of Rome: declaring also, that even those things which are most truly spoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. Some things he suppresseth and concealeth, which he supposed the Reader to understand, not without grief and sorrow. At length he protesteth, that he reverently and followeth the Church of Rome in all things, and that he setteth himself only against those, which, under the name of the Church of Rome, go about to set forth and commend *Babylon* unto us.

Luther obedi-
ent to the
Sec of Rome.

Another let-
ter to the
Legat.

Thus have you heard, how that *Luther*, being rejected from the speech and sight of *Cajetan* the Cardinal, after six days waiting, departed by the advice of his Friends, and returned into *Wittenberg*: leaving a Letter in writing to be given to the Cardinal: wherein he declared sufficiently, first his Obedience in his coming, the Reasons of his Doctrine, his submission reasonable to the Sec of Rome, his long waiting after he was repelled from the Cardinal's speech, the Charges of the Duke, and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this Letter to the Cardinal, he

left also an Appellation to the Bishop of Rome, from the Cardinal; which he caused to be affixed before his Departure.

After that *Luther* was thus departed and returned again into his Country, *Cajetan* writeth to Duke *Fredrick* a sharp and a biting Letter: in which first he signifieth unto him his gentle entertainment and good-will shewed to reduce *Luther* from his Error. Secondly he complaineth of the sudden departing of him, and of *Stuppius*. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious danger of *Luther's* Doctrine against the Church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the Duke, that as he tendereth his own Honour and Safety, and regardeth the Favour of the high Bishop, he will fend him up to Rome, or expel him out of his Dominions, so far as such a Penitence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long to be furthered.

To this Letter of the Cardinal the Duke answereth again at large, purging both *Luther* and himself's *Luther*, in that he following his Conscience, grounded upon the Word of God, would not revoke that for an Error, which could be proved no Error: and himself he excuseth thus; that where it is required of him to banish him his Country, or to fend him up to Rome, it would be little honestly for him so to do, and less Conscience, unless he knew just cause why he should so do: Which if the Cardinal would or could declare unto him, there should lack nothing in him which were the part of a Christian Prince to do. And therefore he desired him to be a means unto the Bishop of Rome, that Innocency and Truth be not oppressed before the crime, or error be lawfully convicted.

This done, the Duke sendeth the Letter of the Cardinal unto *Martin Luther*. Who answered again to the Prince; shewing first how he came obediently unto *Cajetan* with the Emperor's Warrant; and what talk there was between them: how *Cajetan* pressed him, against his Conscience and manifest Truth, to revoke their Errors. First, that the Merits of Christ's passion were not the Treasure of the Pope's Pardons. Secondly, that Faith was necessary in receiving the Sacraments. Albeit in the first he was content to yield to the Cardinal; in the second, because it touched a great part of our Salvation, he could not with a safe Conscience relent; but desired to be taught by the Scripture: or at least, that the matter might be brought into open Disputation in some free place of Germany, where the Truth might be discussed and judged of learned Men. The Cardinal not pleased with this, in great Anger cast out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his presence or speech: whereas he yet notwithstanding persisting in his Obedience to the Church of Rome, gave attendance, waiting upon the Cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

At last, when no Answer would come; after he had waited the space of five or six days, to his great detriment, and greater danger, by the perswasion of his Friends he departed. Whereat if the Cardinal were displeased, he had most cause to blame himself. And now whereas the Cardinal threatmeth me (saith he) not to let the Action fall, but that the process thereof shall be pursued at Rome, unless I either come and present my self, or else be banished your Dominions; I am not so much grieved for mine own cause, as that you should sustain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore seeing there is no place nor Country which can keep me from the Malice of my Adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my Country, whithersoever it shall please the Lord to lead me: thanking God, which hath counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the Glory of Christ's Name.

Here (no doubt) was the cause of *Luther* in great danger, being now brought to this strait, that both *Luther* was ready to fly the Country, and the Duke again was as much afraid to keep him; had not the marvellous Providence of God (who had this matter in guiding) here provided a Remedy where the power of man did fail, by stirring up the whole University of *Wittenberg*: who seeing the cause of Truth thus to decline, with a full and general consent addressed their Letters unto the Prince, in defence of *Luther* and of his Cause; making their humble suite unto him, that he of his Princely Honour would not suffer Innocency, and the simplicity of Truth, so clear as is the Scripture, to be foiled and oppressed by meer Violence of certain malignant Flatterers about the Pope: but

Luther ap-
peals from
the Cardinal
to the Pope.

The Letters
of Cajetan
to Duke
Fredrick.

The Duke
answer to
the Cardinal
for Luther's

Luther's let-
ter to Duke
Fredrick.

Luther ready
to be exiled

The cause
of Luther's
great dan-
ger.

The Universi-
ty of Witten-
berg writeth
to the Duke for
Luther's

that the Error first may be shewed and convicted, before the Party be pronounced guilty.

By the occasion of these Letters, the Duke began more seriously in his mind to consider the cause of *Luther*, and to read his Works, and also to hearken to his Sermons. Whereby (through God's holy working) he grew to knowledge and strength, perceiving in *Luther's* quarrel more than he did before. This was about the beginning of *December*, Anno 1518.

As this past on, Pope *Leo* playing the Lyon at *Rome*, in the mean time, in the Month of *November*, to stablish his seat against this defection which he feared to come, had sent forth new Indulgences into *Germany*, and all quarters abroad, with a new Edict, wherein he declared this to be the Catholick Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church of *Rome*, Prince of all other Churches, that Bishops of *Rome*, which are Successors of *Peter*, and Vicars of Christ, have this Power and Authority given to release and dispense, also to grant Indulgences available both for the living and for the dead, lying in the pains of Purgatory: and this Doctrine he charged to be received of all faithful Christian Men, under pain of the great Curse, and utter separation from all holy Church.

This Popish Decree and Indulgence, as a new Merchandise or Ale-take to get Money, being set up in all quarters of Christendom for the holy Fathers Advantage, came also to be received in *Germany* about the Month of *December*. *Luther* in the mean time, hearing how they were about in *Rome* to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain Appellation conceived in due form of Law, wherein he appealeth from the Pope to the general Council.

When Pope *Leo* perceived, that neither his Pardons would prosper to his mind, nor that *Luther* could be brought to *Rome*; to assay how to come to his purpose by crafty Allurements, he sent his Chamberlain *Carolus Militius* above-mentioned, (which was a *German*) into *Saxony* to Duke *Frederick*, with a golden Rofe, after the usual Ceremony accustomed every year to be presented to him, with secret Letters also to certain Noble Men of the Duke's Council, to solicit the Pope's cause, and to remove the Duke's mind, if it might be, from *Luther*.

But before *Militius* approached into *Germany*, *Maximilian* the Emperor deceased in the Month of *January*, Anno 1519. At what time two there were which stood for the Election: to wit, *Francis* the French King, and *Charles* King of *Spain*, which was also Duke of *Austria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*. To make this matter short, through the means of *Frederick* Prince Elector (who having the offer of the preferment, refused the same) the Election fell to *Carolus*, called *Carolus* the fifth, surnamed *Prudence*: which was about the end of *August*.

In the Month of *June* before there was a publick Disputation ordained at *Lyppia*, which is a City in *Misnia*, under the Dominion of *George* Duke of *Saxony*, Uncle to Duke *Frederick*. This Disputation first began through the occasion of *Joannes Eckius* a Friar, and *Andreas Carolostadius*, Doctor of *Wittenberg*. This *Eckius* had impugned certain Propositions or Conclusions of *Martin Luther*, which he had written the year before touching the Pope's Pardons. Against him *Carolostadius* wrote in defence of *Luther*. *Eckius* again to answer *Carolostadius*, set forth an Apology. Upon this began the Disputation, with safe conduct granted by Duke *George*, to all and singular persons that would refer to the same. To this Disputation came also *Martin Luther*, with *Philip Melancthon*, who not past a year before was newly come to *Wittenberg*; *Luther* not thinking then to dispute any matter, because of his Appellation above-mentioned, but only to hear what there was said and done.

First, before the entry into the Disputation it was agreed, that the Acts should be penned by Notaries, and after divulged abroad. But *Eckius* afterward went back from that, pretending, that the penning of the Notaries should be an hindrance and a stay unto them, whereby the heat of them in their Reasoning should the more languish, and their Vehemency abate. But *Carolostadius* without Notaries would not dispute. The sum of their Disputations was reduced to certain Conclusions. Amongst which, first came in question to dispute of *Free-Will*, which the Greeks call *αιδωτερον*:

That is, Whether a man have of himself any Election or purpose to do that which is good: or (to use the terms of the School) Whether a Man of congruence may deserve Grace, doing that which in him doth lie? Herein when the Question was to be discussed, what the Will of man may do of it self, without Grace: they through heat of contention (as the manner is) fell into other By-matters and Ambages little or nothing appertaining to that which *Carolostadius* proposed. *Eckius* affirmed, that the pure strength to do good is not in man's Will, but is given of God to man, to take Interest and Increase of man again, which but he seemed do deny. Then being asked of *Carolostadius*, whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God? To this he answered, the whole good work, but not wholly: granting, that the Will is moved of God; but to content, to be in man's power. Against this Reasoned *Carolostadius*, alledging certain places of *Austin*, and namely of *St. Paul*, which faith, *That God worketh in us both to will, and to perform*. And this sentence of *Carolostadius* seemed to overcome. *Eckius* for his assertion inferred certain Scriptures out of *Bernard*, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole Week lost about this contentious and sophistical Altercation between *Eckius* and *Carolostadius*.

Luther (as was said) came, not thinking at all to dispute; but having true liberty granted by the Duke, and under the Pope's Authority, was provoked, and forced against his Will, to dispute with *Eckius*. The matter of their Controversie was about the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. Here is first to be admonished, that *Luther* before had set forth in Writing this Doctrine: That they which do attribute the Preheminency to the Church of *Rome*, have no Foundation for them, but out of the Pope's Decrees, set forth not much past four hundred years heretofore: which Decrees he affirmed to be quite contrary to all ancient Histories, above a thousand years past, contrary also to the holy Scriptures, and unto the *Nine* Council.

Against this Assertion *Eckius* set up a contrary Conclusion; saying, That they which hold that the Supremacy and Preheminency of the Church of *Rome* above all other Churches was not before the time of Pope *Silvester* the first, do err, forasmuch as they, which succeeded in the See and Faith of *Peter*, were always received for the Successors of *Peter*, and Vicars of Christ in Earth.

This being the last of all the other Themes of *Eckius*, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against *Luther*, to bring him into more disquietude with the Bishop of *Rome*: wherein *Luther* himself much refused to dispute, alledging that matter to be more odious than necessary for that present time, and that also for the Bishop of *Rome's* sake, he had much rather keep silence in the same. Whereunto if he must needs be urged, he would the Fault should be understood of all men to be where it was, namely in his Adversaries which provoked him thereunto, and not in himself. *Eckius* again clearing himself, translateth all the Fault unto *Luther*, which first in his Treatise of *Indulgentius* Pope defended, that before Pope *Silvester's* time the Church of *Rome* had no place of Majority or Preheminence above other Churches: and also before the Cardinal *Cajetan* affirmed, That Pope *Pelagius* wrested many places of the Scripture out of their proper sense, unto his own affection and purpose. Wherefore the Faults herof (said he) to him rather is to be imputed, which ministred the first Occasion.

Thus *Luther* being egged and constrained to dispute, whether he would or no, the Question began to be propounded touching the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*; which Supremacy *Eckius* did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's Law. Master *Luther* on the other side denied not the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome* above other Churches, neither denied the same moreover to be Universal over all Churches; but only he affirmed it not to be instituted by God's Law. Upon this Question the Disputation did continue the space of five days. During all which season, *Eckius* very unbonestly and uncountercourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his Adversary into the hatred of the Auditors, and into danger of the Pope. The reasons of *Eckius* were these: *Forasmuch as the Church, being a civil Body, cannot be without*

K. Hen. 8.

God giveth his grace to all. Totum. Totaliter.

Phil 2.

Luther disputeth with Eckius. Luther's Assertion against the Pope's Supremacy.

The Assertion of Eckius for the Supremacy.

Disputation between Luther and Eckius, about the Pope's Supremacy.

His perispositione Abus vespere.

The Reasons of Eckius for the Supremacy.

New Indulgences set forth by Pope Leo. The Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

The Pope's Ale-take to pick mess Purdes.

Luther's appeal from the Pope, to a General Council.

Militius the Pope's Chamberlain sent to Duke Frederick.

The Death of Maximilian the Emperor.

Charles the fifth elected Emperor, by the means of Duke Frederick. The Disputation at Lyppia.

Luther's Apology to the Disputation.

Luther's coming to the Disputation. Melancthon now come to Wittenberg.

The question of Free-Will. aiδωτερον.

an head, therefore as it standeth with God's Law, that other civil Regiments should not be definite of their head: so is it by God's Law requisite, that the Pope should be the Head of the Universal Church of Christ. To this Martin Luther answered, That he confesseth and granteth the Church not to be headless so long as Christ is alive, who is the only Head of the Church; neither doth the Church require any other Head beside him, forasmuch as it is a spiritual Kingdom, and not earthly: And he alledged for him the place of Coloss. 1. Eckius again produceth certain places out of Hierome and Cyprian, which made very little to prove the Primacy of the Pope to hold by God's Law. As touching the Testimony of Bernard, neither was the Authority of that Author of any great force in this case, neither was the place alledged so greatly to the purpose.

Then came he to the place of St. Matthew, Tu es Petrus, &c. Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, &c. To this was answered, That this was a Confession of Faith; and that Peter there representeth the person of the whole Universal Church, as Austin doth expound it. Also that Christ in that place meant himself to be the Rock, as is manifest to collect both by his Words, and order of the Sentence, and many other conjectures. Likewise to the place of St. John, Pasce oves meas, Feed my Sheep. (Which words Eckius alledged to be spoken properly and peculiarly to Peter alone.) Martin answered, That after these Words spoken, equal Authority was given to all the Apostles, where Christ faith unto them; Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins sever ye remit, they are remitted, &c. By these Words (faith he) Christ, assigning to them their Office, doth teach what is to feed, and what he ought to be that feedeth.

After this, Eckius came to the Authority of the Council of Constance; alledging this amongst other Articles: De necessitate salutaris esse credere Romanum Pontificem Oecumenicum esse: That is, that it standeth upon necessity of our Salvation, to believe the Bishop of Rome to be Supreme Head of the Church: Alledging moreover, that in the same Council it was debated and discussed, that the general Council could not err. Whereunto Martin Luther again did answer discreetly, saying, That all the Articles which John Huic did hold in that Council, were not condemned for heretical, with much other matter more. Again, of what Authority that Council of Constance is to be esteemed, that he left to other men's judgments. This is most certain (said he) that no Council hath such Authority to make new Articles of Faith. Here Martin Luther began to be cried out of by Eckius and his Complices, for diminishing the Authority of general Councils: although indeed he meant nothing less, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the same. Yet was he called Heretic and Schismatic, and one of the Bohemian Faction, with many other terms more of reproachful contumely. Eckius then granted the authority of the Apostles to be equal: and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all Bishops therefore to be equal: For between Apostleship and Ministry (faith he) there is great difference. To conclude, Eckius in no case could abide that any creature should decline from any word or sentence of the Pope's Decrees, or the Constitutions of the Forefathers. To this again Luther answered, grounding himself upon the place ad Gal. 2. where St. Paul speaking of the principal Apostles, faith; And of them which seemed to be great, what they were before it maketh no matter to me, for God accepteth no Man's person: Nevertheless, that they were of some Reputation did avail nothing at all.

Eckius to this said, That as touching the Authority of the Apostles, they were all chosen of Christ, but were ordained Bishops of St. Peter. And whereas Luther brought in the Constitution of the Decree, which faith; Ne Romanus Pontifex Universalis Episcopus nominetur, &c. Tea, let not the Bishop of Rome be called Universal Bishop, &c. To this Eckius answered on this sort: That the Bishop of Rome ought not to be called Universal Bishop; yet he may be called (faith he) Bishop of the Universal Church. And thus much touching the Question of the Pope's Supremacy.

From this matter they came next to Purgatory, wherein Eckius kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the Pope hath in Purgatory; Eckius

turneth the scope of the Question, and proveth that there is Purgatory; and alledgeth for him the place of Macabees. Luther, leaning upon the Judgment of Hierome, affirmeth the Book of Macabees not to be Canonical. Eckius again replieth, the Book of Macabees to be of no less authority than the Gospels. Also he alledgeth the place, 1 Cor. 3. He shall be saved, yet so as it were by fire. Moreover, he inferred the place of Matthew 5. Agree thou with thine Adversary while thou art in the way with him, lest he commit thee to Prison, from whence thou shalt not escape till thou hast paid the uttermost Farthing, &c. To this he added also the place of the Psalms, We have passed through the Fire and Water, &c. How these places be wrested to Purgatory, let the Reader discern and judge. Then was inferred the Question of Indulgences, whereof Eckius seemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and so passed it over.

At last they came to the Question of Penance: touching which matter, the Reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, which went about to prove, that there be some manner of Pains of satisfaction: which thing Luther did never deny: but that for every particular Offence such particular Penance is exacted of God's Justice upon the repentant Sinner, as is in man's power to remit or release as pleaseth him; such Penance neither Luther, nor any true Christian did admit.

And thus have we the chief Effect of this Disputation between Luther and Eckius at Lyppsia, which was in the Month of July, Anno 1519.

About the beginning of the same year 1519, Ulrick Zuinglius came first to Zurich, and there began to teach. Who in the sixteenth Article in his Book of Articles, recordeth, that Luther and he both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write against the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I suppose we shall find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, this doth Sleidan testify, that in this present year, when Samson a Franciscan came with the Pope's Pardons to Zurich, Ulrick Zuinglius did withstand him, and declared his Chaffer and Pardons to be but a vain seducing of the people, to inveigle away their Money. Ex Sleid. lib. 1.

The next year ensuing, which was 1520, the Friars and Doctors of Louvain, and also of Colon, condemned the Books of Luther as heretical. Against whom Luther again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate Violence and malicious Impiety. After this, within few days flashed out from Rome the Thunderbolt of Pope Leo against the said Luther, notwithstanding, he so humbly and obediently before had revered both the person of the Pope, and assigned the authority of his See, and had also dedicated unto him the Book intitled, De Christiana libertate: that is, Of Christian Liberty. In which Book these two points principally he discussed and proveth;

1. That a Christian man is free, and Lord over all things, and subject to none.
2. That a Christian man is a diligent Underling and Servant of all men, and to every man subject.

Moreover, in the same year he set out a Defence of all his Articles, which the Pope's Bull had before condemned.

Another Book also he wrote to the Nobility of Germany, in the which Book he impugneth and shaketh the three principal Walls of the Papists: the first whereof is this:

1. Whereas the Papists say, that no temporal or prophane Magistrate hath any power upon the Spirituality, but these have power over the other.
2. Where any place of Scripture, being in controversy, is to be decided, they say, No man may expound the Scripture, or be Judge thereof, but only the Pope.
3. When any Council is brought against them, they say, That no man hath authority to call a Council, but only the Pope.

Moreover, in the fore said Book divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: That the Pope can trop no free Council; also what things ought to be handled in Councils: That the pride of the Pope is not to be suffered. What money goeth out of Germany yearly to the Pope, amounting to the Sum of three Millions of Florences. The true meaning of this Verse he expoundeth: Tu supplex ora: tu propterea, tuque labora. Wherein the three Estates, with their Offices

K. Hen. 8.
Mac. 12.

1 Cor. 3.

Math. 5.

Psal. 65.

The question of Indulgences.

The question of Penance.

When Ulrick Zuinglius came to Zurich.

Luther and Zuinglius began both at one time to write against the Pope.

Luther's Books condemned at Louvain and Colon.

Pope Leo's Bull against Luther.

Lutherus de Libertate Christiana.

Three Walls of the Papists.

The Book of Luther to the Nobility with the manner therein contained.

Hierome.
Cyprian.
Bernard.

Mat. 16.
Luther answered to the place of St. Matthew.

John 21.

The answer of Luther to the place of St. John, Pasce oves meas.

The authority of the Council of Constance.

Gal. 2.

Here is good Doctrine of Eckius.

The question of Purgatory.

The fourth day after his repair, a Gentleman named *Ulrich of Pappenheim*, Lieutenant-General of the Men at Arms of the Empire, was commanded by the Emperor before dinner to repair to *Luther*, and to enjoin him at four of the Clock in the afternoon to appear before the Imperial Majesty, the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates of the Empire, to understand the cause of his sending for: Whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was.

And after four a clock, *Ulrich of Pappenheim*, and *Caspar Sturm* the Emperor's Herald (who conducted *Master Luther from Wittenberg to Worms*) came for *Luther*, and accompanied him through the Garden of the Knights of the Rhodes place, to the Earl Palatine's Palace: and left the People that thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the Galleries, because they desired to behold *Luther*.

Thus standing before the Emperor, the Electors, Dukes, Earls, and all the Estates of the Empire assembled there, he was first advertised by *Ulrich of Pappenheim* to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then *John Eckius* above mentioned, who then was the Bishop of *Trier's* general Official, with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, then in Dutch, according to the Emperor's Commandment, said and proposed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

Martin Luther, the sacred and inviolable Imperial Majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the Estates of the Holy Empire, that thou shouldst be appeared before the Throne of his Majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two Points.

First, Whether thou confessest these Books here (for he shewed a heap of Luther's Books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues) and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?

Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to that thou hast written?

Then, before *Luther* repaired to answer, *Mr. Jerome Scorfus*, a Lawyer of *Wittenberg*, required that the Titles of the Books should be read. Forwith the foresaid *Eckius* named certain of the Books, and those principally which were imprinted at *Basil*: among the which he nominated his Commentaries upon the *Psalter*, his Book of *Good Works*, his Commentary upon the *Lord's Prayer*, and divers other which were not contentious.

After this, *Luther* answered thus in Latin and in Dutch.

'Two things are proposed unto me by the Imperial Majesty: First, Whether I will avouch for mine all those Books that bear my name. Secondly, Whether I will maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devised and published. Whereunto I will answer as briefly as I can.

'In the first, I can do none other than recognize those Books to be mine which lastly were named, and certainly I will never recant any clause thereof. In the second, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any thing comprised in them: so far as there be questions of Faith, and the Salvation of the Soul, (and this concerneth the Word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in Heaven or Earth, and the which we ought duly evermore to reverence) this might be accounted in me a rashness of Judgment, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I should pronounce any thing before I were better advised: considering I might recite something less than the matter importeth, and more than the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate that which I would speak. The which two things well considered, doth first before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ: wherein it is said, Whosoever shall deny me before Men, I will deny him before my Father. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech the Imperial Majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to deliberate: so that I may satisfy the Interrogation made unto me, without prejudice of the Word of God, and peril of mine own Soul,

Whereupon the Princes began to deliberate. This done, *Eckius* the Prolocutor pronounced what was their resolution, saying, 'Albeit, *Mr. Luther*, thou hast sufficiently understood by the Emperor's Commandment, the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to have any further respite given thee to determine; yet the Emperor's Majesty, of his meek clemency, granteth thee one day to meditate for thy answer, so that to-morrow at this instant hour thou shalt repair to exhibit thine Opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with a lively voice.

This done, *Luther* was led to his lodging by the Herald. But herein I may not be oblivious, that in the way going to the Emperor, and when he was in the Assembly of Princes, he was exhorted of other to be courageous, and manly to demean himself, and not to fear them that can kill the Body, but not the Soul; but rather to dread him that is able to send both Body and Soul to everlasting Fire.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence; *When thou art before Kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given to thee in that hour.*

The next day, after four a clock, the Herald came and brought *Luther* from his lodging, to the Emperor's Court, where he abode till six a clock, for that the Princes were occupied in grave Consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of People, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then after, when the Princes were set, and *Luther* entered, *Eckius* the Official began to speak in this manner:

'Yesterday at this hour the Emperor's Majesty assigned thee to be here, *Mr. Luther*, for that thou didst affirm those Books that we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to the Interrogation by us made, whether thou wouldst approve all that is contained in them, or abolish and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired; albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee wherefore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of Faith, every Man ought to be so prepared, that at all times, whensoever he shall be required, he may give certain and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, being counted a Man of such learning, and so long time exercised in Theology. Then go to, answer even now to the Emperor's demand, whose bounty thou hast proved in giving thee leisure to deliberate: Wilt thou now maintain all thy Books which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thyself?

The Official made this Interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. *Martin Luther* answered in Latin and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and Christian constancy; so as his Adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abated, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time to make his answer.

His Answer was this.

Most magnificent Emperor, and you most noble Princes, and my most gentle Lords, I appear before you here at the hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's Mercy, your most renowned Majesty, and your Graces and Honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesy, to attend this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of Justice and Verity. And if by ignorance I have not given unto every one of you your just Titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenance of the Court, offending against them; it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that only hath frequented Cloisters, and not courtly Civilities. And first, as touching my self, I can affirm or promise no other thing, but only this; that I have taught hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's Glory, and to the Salvation of Mens Souls.

Now as concerning the two Articles objected by your most excellent Majesty, Whether I would acknowledge those Books which were named, and be published in my name, and whether I would maintain and not revoke them: I have given a resolute answer to the first, in the which I persist,

E 3

W. Hen. 8.

Luther is exhorted to be courageous.

Mat. 10.

Eckius again propounded against Luther.

Mr. Luther answered for himself.

Luther gives account of his Faith before the Emperor.

Luther is brought before the Emperor. John Eckius propounded against M. Luther.

Hierome Scorfus.

M. Luther's answer.

Luther refused to revoke his Books.

Luther desired respite to answer.

K. Hen. 8. and shall persevere for evermore, that these Books be mine, and published by me in my name; unless it hath since happened, by some fraudulent misdealing of mine Enemies, there be any thing foisted into them, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledge nothing but that I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

He divideth
his works
into 3 parts.

Now to answer to the second Article; I beseech your most excellent Majesty, and your Graces, to vouchsafe to give ear. All my Books are not of one sort; there be some in which I have so simply and soundly declared and opened the Religion of Christian Faith, and of good Works, that my very Enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Christians. And truly the Pope's Bull (how cruel and tyrannous soever it be) judgeth certain of my Books inculpable: albeit the same, with severe sentence, thundereth against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemneth my Books: which Books if I should revoke, I might worthily be thought to neglect and transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be one alone that repugneth the publick confession of all people. There is another sort of my Books which containeth Invektives against the Papacy, and others of the Pope's Retime, which have with their pestiferous Doctrine, and pernicious Examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christianity. Neither can any deny or dissemble this, (whereunto universal experience and common complaint of all bear witness) that the Consciences of all faithful Men be most miserably intrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the Pope's Laws and Doctrines of Men. Also that the Goods and Substance of Christian People are devoured, especially in this noble and famous Country of Germany, and yet without order, and in most detestable manner are suffered still to be devoured, without all measure, by incredible tyranny: notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained to the contrary in their own proper Laws, as in the *Distin. 9. & 25. Augst. 1. & 2.* where they themselves have decreed, That all such Laws of Popes which be repugnant to the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reprov'd.

The Pope
proceedeth
contrary to
his own
Doctrine.

If then I should revoke these, I can do no other but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only Windows but wide Gates to their Impiety, which is like to extend more wide, and more licentious than ever it durst heretofore. And by the testimony of this my retraction, their insolent Kingdom shall be made more licentious, and less subject to punishment, intolerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established, especially if this be bruited, that I *Luther* have done this by the Authority of your most excellent Majesty, and the sacred Roman Empire. O Lord, what a cover or shadow shall I be then to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny!

The rest, or third sort of my Books, are such as I have written against certain and private singular persons, to wit, against such as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romish Tyranny, and to deface the true Doctrine and Religion which I have taught and professed. As touching these, I plainly confess, I have been more vehement than my Religion and Profession required. For I make my self no Saint, and I dispute not of my Life, but of the Doctrine of Christ.

And these I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this Recantation it will come to pass, that tyranny and impiety shall reign, supported by my means, and so shall they exercise cruelty against God's people more violently and ragingly than before.

He requireth
to be in-
structed, if
he have re-
ced.

John 18.

Nevertheless, for that I am a Man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my Books, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his Doctrine. Who being examined of his Learning before *Annas*, and having received a buffet of the Minister, said, *If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the Evil.*

If the Lord (who was perfect and could not err) refused not to have testimony given against his Doctrine, yea of a most vile Servant; how much the more than I, that am but vile corruption, and can of my self do nothing but err, ought earnestly to see and require if any will bear witness against my Doctrine.

Therefore I require, for God's Mercy, your most excellent Majesty, your Graces and right honourable Lordships, or whatsoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in

his Testimony, to convict my Errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the Prophets, or the Apostles, and I will be most ready, if I be so instructed, to revoke any manner of Error: yea, and will be the first that shall consume mine own Books and burn them.

I suppose hereby it may appear, that I have perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissensions which have risen throughout the whole World by reason of my Doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished. Concerning which divisions of Men's Minds what other Men do judge I know not; as touching my self, I conceive no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the Word of God: For such is the course and proceeding of the Gospel: Jesus Christ faith, *I came not to send Peace but a Sword; I came to set* Math. 10. *a Man at variance with his Father.*

And further, we must think, that our God is marvelous and terrible in his Counsels; lest perhaps that which we endeavour with earnest study to achieve and bring to pass (if we begin first with condemning of his Word) the same redound again to an huge Sea of Evil: and left the new reign of this young and bounteous Prince *Charles* (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope) be lamentable, unfortunate, and miserably begun.

I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by *Pharaoh*, the King of *Babylon*, and the Kings of *Israel*, who then most obscured the bright Sun of their Glory, and procured their own ruin, when by sage Counsels they attempted to pacify and establish their Governments and Realms, and not by God's Counsels: for it is he that intrappeth the wily in their Wilefulness, and subverteth Mountains before they be aware. Wherefore it is good, and God's Work, to dread the Lord.

I speak not this, supposing that to polittick and prudent heads have need of my Doctrine and Admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my Country, and offer my Duty or Service, that may tend to the advancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent Majesty, and your honourable Lordships; beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be condemned of you through the pursuit of my Adversaries. I have spoken.

These words pronounced, then *Eckius*, the Emperor's Prolocutor, with a stern countenance began, and said, That *Luther* had not answered to any purpose: neither behoved it him to call in question things in time past, concluded and defined by General Councils: and therefore they required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no?

Then *Luther*: Considering (said he) your Sovereign Majesty, and your Honours, require a plain answer; this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I believe not the Pope, neither his General Councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves) my Conscience is so bound and captivated in these Scriptures and Word of God which I have alledged, that I will not, nor may may not revoke any manner of thing; considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against Conscience. Hereupon I stand and rest: I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me.

The Princes consulted together upon this answer given by *Luther*: And when they had diligently examined the same, the Prolocutor began to reuel him thus:

Martin (said he) thou hast more immediately answered than befemed thy Person, and also little to the purpose. Thou dividest thy Books in three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast said maketh nothing to the Interrogation proposed: and therefore if thou hadst revoked those wherein the greatest part of thine Errors is contained, the Emperor's Majesty, and the noble clemency of others would have suffered the rest that be found to sustain no injury. But thou dost revive, and bringest to light again all that the General Council of *Constance* hath condemned, which was assembled of all the Nation of *Germany*, and now dost require to be convinced with Scriptures; wherein thou errest greatly. For what availeth it to renew

Dissensions
and Divi-
sions follow
the Doctrine
of Christ,
not for any
cause in the
Doctrine,
but in the
Adversary.

Man coun-
sell, without
God's Word
and his fear,
is unfortu-
nate.

Luther pro-
voked again
to submit
himself.

Luthers ab-
solute an-
swer.

Eckius again
replies.

The Popists
stand only
upon their
Church and
Councils.

disputation of things so long time past condemned by the Church and Councils, unless it should be necessary to give a reason to every Man of every thing that is concluded? Now where it is so, that this should be permitted to every one that gainstendeth the determination of the Church and Councils, and that he may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we shall have nothing certain and established in Christendom.

And this is the cause wherefore the Emperor's Majesty requeth of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy Works as Christian, or no?

Then *Luther*, turning to the Emperor and the Nobles, besought them not to force or compel him to yield against his Conscience, confirmed with the Holy Scriptures, without manifest Arguments alleged to the contrary by his Adversaries.

I have declared and rendered (said he) mine answer simply and directly, neither have I any more to say, unless mine Adversaries, with true and sufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolve my mind, and reveal mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied (as I said) by the Scriptures; neither may I, or can with a safe Conscience assent unto them. For as touching General Councils, with whose authority only they press me, I am able to prove, that they have both erred, and have desired many things contrary to themselves; and therefore the authority of them, he said, not to be sufficient, for the which he should call back those things, the verity whereof standeth so firm and manifest in the Holy Scripture, that neither of him it ought to be required, neither could he so do without impiety.

Whereunto the Official again answered, denying that any Man could prove the Councils to have erred. But *Luther* alleged that he could, and promised to prove it; and now night approaching, the Lords rose and departed. And after *Luther* had taken his leave of the Emperor, divers Spaniards comed and scoffed the good Man in the way going toward his lodging, hollowing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates were assembled, the Emperor sent to the whole Body of the Council a certain Letter, containing in effect as followeth.

The Emperor's Letter.

Our Predecessors, who truly were Christian Princes, were obedient to the Romish Church, which Martin Luther presently impugneth. And therefore in as much as he is not determined to call back his Errors in any one Point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honour, degenerate from the example of our Elders, but will maintain the ancient Faith, and give aid to the See of Rome. And further, we be resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his Adherents, by Excommunication, and by other means that may be devised, to extinguish his Doctrines. Nevertheless we will not violate our Faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for his safe return to the place whence he came.

The Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates of the Empire, sat and consulted about this sentence, on Friday all the afternoon, and Saturday the whole day, so that *Luther* had yet no answer of the Emperor.

During this time, divers Princes, Earls, Barons, Knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Priests, Monks, with other the Laity and common sort visited him. All these were present at all hours in the Emperor's Court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were Bills set up, some against *Luther*, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many supposed, and especially such as well conceived the matter, that this was subtilly done by his Enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infiging the safe conduct given him. The which the Roman Embassadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to pass.

The Monday following, before supper, the Archbishop of *Triers* advertised *Luther*, that on Wednesday next he should appear before him, at nine of the clock before dinner, and assigned him the place. On St. George's day, a certain Chaplain of the Archbishop of *Triers*, about supper-time,

came to *Luther*, by the commandment of the Bishop, signifying, that at that hour and place prescribed, he must the morrow after have access to his Master.

The morrow after St. George's day, *Luther* obeying the Archbishop's Commandment, entred his Palace, being accompanied thither with his said Chaplain, and one of the Emperor's Heralds, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Worms, with other his chief Friends: whereas Dr. *Veus*, the Marquis of *Bader* Chaplain, began to declare and protest in the presence of the Archbishop of *Triers*, *Joschin* Marquis of *Brandenburg*, George Duke of Saxony, the Bishops of *Auburg* and *Brandenburg*, the Earl George, John Bock of *Strauburg*, *Verdehomer* and *Pentiger*, Doctors, that *Luther* was not called to be conferred with, or to disputation, but only that the Princes had procured licence of the Emperor's Majesty, through Christian charity, to have liberty granted unto them to exhort *Luther* benignly and brotherly.

He said further, That albeit the Councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their Authority was not therefore abated, or at the least not so erred, that it was lawful for every Man to impugn their Opinions: inferring moreover many things of *Zachens* and the Centurion: Also of the Traditions, and of Constitutions, and of Ceremonies ordained of Men, affirming that all these were established to repress Vices, according to the quality of times; and that the Church could not be destitute of humane Constitutions. It is true (said he) that by the Fruits the Tree may be known; yet of these Laws and Decrees of Men, many good Fruits have proceeded: and St. *Martin*, St. *Nicholas*, and many other Saints have been present at the Councils.

Moreover, that *Luther's* Book would breed great tumult, and incredible troubles; and that he abused the common sort with his Book of Christian liberty, encouraging them to shake off their Yoke, and to confirm in them a disobedience; and that the World now was at another stay, than when the Believers were all of one Heart and Soul, and therefore it was requisite and behoveful to have Laws. It was to be considered, (said he) albeit he had written many good things, and (no doubt) of a good mind, as *de triplice Justitia*, and other matters, yet how the Devil now by crafty means goeth about to bring to pass, that all his Works for ever should be condemned. For by these Books which he wrote last, Men (said he) would judge and esteem him, as the Tree is known, not by the Blossom, but by the Fruit.

Here he added something of the noon Devil, and of the Spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying Arrow. All his Oration was exhortatory, full of rhetorical places of honesty, of utility of Laws, of the dangers of Conscience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this sentence in the Proem, Middle, and Epilogue of his Oration: that this admonition was given him of a singular good will, and great clemency. In the shutting up of his Oration he added menaces, saying, That if he would abide in his purposed intent, the Emperor would proceed further, and banish him from the Empire; perswading him deliberately to ponder, and to advise these and other things.

Martin Luther answered: Most noble Princes, and my most gracious Lords, I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good Wills, whence proceeded this admonition: For I know my self to be safe, as by no means I can deserve to be admonished of so mighty Estates.

Then he frankly pronounced, that he had not reproved all Councils, but only the Council of *Constance*; and for this principal cause, for that the same had condemned the Word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this Article proposed by *John Hus*: *The Church of Christ is the communion of the Predestinate*. It is evident (said he) that the Council of *Constance* abolished this Article, and consequently the Article of our Faith; *I believe the Holy Church Universal*: and said, that he was ready to spend Life and Blood, so he were not compelled to revoke the manifest Word of God; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than Men: And that in this he could not avoid the scandal or offence of Faith; for there be two manner of Offences, to wit, of Charity, and of Faith. The slander of Charity consisteth in manners and in life: the offences of Faith

K. Hen. 8.

Luther appears before the Archbishop of *Triers*.

Dr. *Veus* his Oration to M. *Luther*.

For the Authority of Councils.

This is (saith) of *Luther's* words, who denied any good fruits to come of their Laws.

Psal. 90.

M. *Luther* answereth to *Veus*.

The Council of *Constance* condemned the Word of God.

Scandal of Faith and Charity.

General Councils have erred, and have been contrary to themselves.

The Emperor's Letter against *Luther*.

Confutations upon the Emperor's Letter.

Great refusal to M. *Luther*.

K. Hen. 8. and Doctrine consist in the Word of God; and as touching this last, he could escape it no manner of ways; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a stone of offence. If Christ's Sheep were fed with pure Pasture of the Gospel; if the Faith of Christ were sincerely preached, and if there were good Ecclesiastical Magistrates who duly would execute their office; we should not need (saith he) to charge the Church with Mens traditions. Further, he knew well we ought to obey the Magistrates and higher Powers, how unjustly and perversely soever they lived: We ought also to be obedient to their Laws and Judgment: all which he had taught (saith he) in all his Works: adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all Points, so that they enforced him not to deny the Word of God.

These words finished, **Luther** was bid stand aside, and the Princes consulted what answer they might give him. This done, they called him into a Parlour, whereas the fore-said Doctor **Pane** repeated his former matters, admonishing **Luther** to submit his Writings to the Emperor, and to the Princes Judgment.

Luther answered humbly and modestly, that he could not, neither should permit that Men should say he would stand to their trial, that he was contented to suffer his Writings to be discussed, considered, and judged of the simplest, so that it were done with the authority of the Word of God, and the holy Scripture: and that the Word of God made so much for him, and was so manifest unto him, that he could not give place, unless they could confound his Doctrine by the Word of God. This lesson (saith he) he learned of **S. Augustine**, who writeth, *That he gave this honour only to those Books which are called Canonical, that he believed the same only to be true. As touching other Doctors, albeit in holiness and excellency of Learning they passed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the Touchstone of God's Word.* Further (saith he) **S. Paul** giveth us a lesson, writing to the **Thessalonians**, *Prove all things, follow that is good.* And to the **Galathians**, *Thou an Angel should descend from Heaven, if he preach any other Doctrine, let him be accursed, and therefore not to be believed.*

Finally, he meekly besought them not to urge his Conscience, captivated in the bands of the Word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the fame excellent Word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and specially to the Emperor's Majesty, requiring their favour, that he might not be compelled to do any thing, in this matter, against his Conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

As **Luther** had thus ended his talk, **Joschimus** Elector, Marquis of **Brandenburg**, demanded if his meaning was thus, that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture? Yea truly, right noble Lord (quoth **Luther**) or else by ancient and evident reasons. And so the Assembly brake, and the Princes repaired to the Emperor's Court.

After their departure the Archbishop of **Triers**, accompanied with a few of his Familiars, namely **John Eckius** his Official, and **Cochlem**, commanded **Luther** to repair into his Parlour. With **Luther** was **Hieronymus Scarffius**, and **Nicholas Ambrosius**, for his assistants. Then the Official began to frame an Argument, like a Sophist and Canonist, defending the Pope's cause: that for the most part at all times Holy Scriptures have engendred Errors, as the Error of **Helvidius** the Heretic, out of that place in the Gospel, where it is expressed; *Joseph knew not his Wife till she was delivered of her first Child.* Further, he went about to overthrow this Proposition, that the Catholick Church is the Communion of Saints.

Martin Luther and **Hierom Scarffius**, reproved (but modestly) these Follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which **Eckius** brought forth as things not serving to the purpose. Sometime **Cochlem** would come in with his five Eggs, and laboured to persuade **Luther** to desist from his purpose, and utterly to refrain thenceforth to write or teach, and so they departed.

About evening the Archbishop of **Triers** advertised **Luther** by **Ambrosius**, that the Emperor's Promise made unto him was prolonged two days, and in the mean season he would confer with him the next day, and for that cause he would send **Pentinger**, and the Doctor of **Bade**, which was **Vane**, the morrow after to him, and he himself would also talk with him.

The Friday after, which was **St. Mark's** day, **Pentinger**, and the Doctor of **Bade**, travelled in the forenoon to persuade **Luther**, simply and absolutely to submit the judgment of his Writings to the Emperor and Empire. He answered, he would do it, and submit any thing they would have him, so they grounded upon authority of holy Scripture; otherwise he would not consent to do any thing; for God said by his Prophet, (saith he) *Trust ye not in Princes, nor in the Children of Men, in whom there is no health.* Alas, *Cursed be he that trusteth in Man.* And seeing that they did urge him more vehemently, he answered; We ought to yield no more to the judgment of Men, than the Word of God doth suffer. So they departed, and prayed him to advise for better answer; and said, they would return after dinner.

And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They prayed him, that at the least he would submit his writing to the judgment of the next General Council. **Luther** agreed thereto, but with this condition, that they themselves should present the Articles collected out of his Books to be submitted to the Council in such sort as notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the Council, should be authorized by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

They then leaving **Luther**, departed, and reported to the Archbishop of **Triers**, that he had promised to submit his Writings in certain Articles to the next Council, and in the mean space he would keep silence; which **Luther** never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces, could be induced to deny or submit his Books to the judgments of Men (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of the Scripture) unless they could prove by sacred Scripture, and apparent reasons to the contrary.

It chanced then by the special Grace of God, that the Archbishop of **Triers** sent for **Luther**, thinking presently to hear him. And when he perceived otherwise then **Pentinger**, and the Doctor of **Bade** had told him, he said that he would for no good, but that he had heard himself speak: for else he was even now going to the Emperor, to declare what the Doctors had reported.

Then the Archbishop entreated **Luther**, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this Conference **Luther** concealed nothing from the Archbishop; affirming, that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who, after they had called him under safe conduct, attempting him with new Commandments, had condemned his Opinion, and approved the Pope's Bull.

Moreover the Archbishop, bidding a Friend of his draw nigh, required **Luther** to declare what Remedy might be ministered to help this. **Luther** answered; That there was no better Remedy than such as **Garnaliet** alledged in the fifth Chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*, as witnesseth **St. Luke**, saying; *If this counsel, or this work, proceed of Men, it shall come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it.* And so he desired that the Emperor might be advertised to write the same to the Pope, that he knew certainly if this his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea within two years.

The Archbishop enquired of him what he would do, if certain Articles were taken out of his Books, to be submitted to the General Council. **Luther** answered, so that they be not those which the Council of **Constance** condemned. The Archbishop said, I fear they will be the very same: but what then? **Luther** replied, I will not, nor I cannot hold my peace of such, for I am sure by their Decrees the Word of God was condemned: therefore I will rather lose head and life, than abandon the manifest Word of my Lord God.

Then the Archbishop, seeing **Luther** would in no wise give over the Word of God to the judgment of Men, gently bad **Luther** farewell; who at that instant prayed the Archbishop to intreat the Emperor's Majesty to grant him gracious leave to depart. He answered he would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the Emperor's pleasure.

Within a small while after, **John Eckius** the Archbishops Official, in the presence of the Emperor's Secretary, who had been **Maximilian's** Chancellor, said unto **Luther** in his lodging, by the commandment of the Emperor: that since he had been admonished diversely of the Imperial Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, and that notwithstanding he would not return to unity and concord,

Solicitation to cause Luther to yield.

Luthers condition.

False witness.

The providence of God.

Familiar talk between the Archbishop and Luther.

Luthers prophecy out of Gamaliel, Acts 5.

Luthers constancy.

The Princes consulted about Martin Luther.

The Word of God only true.

1 Thel. 5. Gal. 5.

False Arguments for the Pope.

Mat. 11.

K. Hen. 8.
Luther sent
home from
the Council.

concord, it remained that the Emperor, as Advocate of the Catholick Faith, should proceed further: and it was the Emperor's Ordinance, that he should within 21 days return boldly under safe conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the mean while he stirred no Commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther hearing this, answered very modestly, and christi- anly; Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass, the name of the Lord be blessed. He said further, he thanked most humbly the Emperor's Majesty, and all the Princes and Estates of the Empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted him safe conduct to come and return. Finally he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred Word of God, and confonancy of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was wretched to suffer all chances for the Imperial Majesty, as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach; referring nothing to himself, but the only Word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end: humbly recommending him to the Emperor's Majesty, and to all the Princes and other Estates of the sacred Empire.

The morrow after, which was April 26, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and other his bene- volent Friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten of the clock he departed from Worms, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him; ha- ving space of time limited unto him (as is said) for 21 days and no more. The Emperor's Herald Casper Sturm fol- lowed and overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded by the Emperor to conduct him safely home.

The usual Prayer of, Martin Luther.

Confirm (O God) in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the Work, that thou hast begun in us, to thy Glo- ry: So be it.

Ex bishop. Philip. Melanctib. Ex Sleidano, Ex Parali. Abb. Vjsperg. Et ex Cassi. Pincero.

Luther in his
journey
wrote to
the Emperor
and Nobles
of Germany

Martin Luther thus being dismissed of the Emperor, according to the promise of his safe conduct made (as you have heard) departed from Worms towards his Country, April 26, accompanied with the Emperor's Herald, and the rest of his company, having only one and twenty days to him granted for his return, and no more. In the which mean space of his return he writeth to the Emperor, and to other Nobles of the Empire, re- peating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good will and favour, which as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole Church Universal, may be heard with indifference and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of holy Scrip- ture: signifying moreover, that whensoever they shall please to lend for him, he shall be ready at their command- ment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear, &c.

The Doctors
of Paris
condemned the
Books of
Luther.

During the time of these doings, the Doctors and School- men of Paris were not behind with their parts, but to shew their cunning, condemned the Books of Luther, extract- ing out of the same, especially out of his Book *De Capti- vitate Babylonica*, certain Articles as touching the Sacra- ments, Laws, and Decrees of the Church, equality of Works, Vows, Contrition, Absolution, Satisfaction, Purgato- ry, Free-will, Privileges of the Holy Church, Councils, Pun- ishment of Hereticks, Philosophy, School-divinity, and other more. Unto whom Philip Melanctibon maketh an- swer, and also Luther himself, albeit pleasantly and jest- ingly.

Philip Me-
lanctibon an-
swereth the
Parisians.

Luther con-
tinued by the
Emperor.

It was not long after this but Charles the new Emperor, to purchase favour with the Pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his Empire) provideth and directeth out a so- lemn Writ of Outlawry against Luther, and all them that take his part; commanding the said Luther, wheresoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his Books burn- ed. By which Decree, proclaimed against Luther, the Em- peror procured no small thanks with the Pope: inasmuch that the Pope, ceasing to take part with the French Kings, joined himself wholly to the Emperor. In the mean

time Duke Frederick, to give some place for the time to the Emperor's Proclamation, conveyed Luther a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain Noblemen who he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him at that oc- casion. There Luther being close and out of company, wrote divers Epistles, and certain Books also unto his Friends; among which he dedicated one to his company of *Augustine* Friars, entitled, *De abroganda Missa*: Which Friars the same time being encouraged by him, began to lay down their private Masses. Duke Frederick fearing lest that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the censure and judgment of the whole University of *Wittenberg* to be asked in the matter; committing the doing thereof to four; *Justus Jonas*, *Philip Melanctib. Nic. Ambsdorffius*, *Job. Dulsius*.

M. Luther
appears be-
fore a whole

Luther
Books, De A-
postata.
V. c. ad
A. m. 1521.

The M. G.
last down
first a W. 1.
1521.

The minds of the whole University being searched, it was shewed to the Duke, that he should do well and easily, by the whole advice of the Learned there, to command the use of the Mass to be abrogate, though his Dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true Doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly overcometh the bet- ter part. Neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the Doctrine taught, but to the Adversaries, which wil- lingly and wickedly kick against the Truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults, therefore, we ought not to succumb from that which we know is to be done, but constantly meet the Word of God in defence of God's Truth, howsoever the Word of God esteem us, or rage against it. Thus shewed they their Judgment to Duke Frederick.

The Judg-
ment of the
University
of Witten-
berg, against
the Mass.

It hapned moreover about the same year and time, that Anno King Henry also, pretending an occasion to impugn the 1521. Book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, wrote against Luther. In which Book,

1. He reproveh Luther's Opinion about the Pope's Pardons.
2. He defendeth the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.
3. He laboureth to retel all his Doctrine of the Sacra- ments of the Church.

King Henry
wrote a
great Var-
ious Letters

This Book albeit it carried the King's Name in the Title, yet it was another that ministered the motion, and ther that framed the file. But whosoever had the labour of this Book, the King had the thank and also the reward. For consequen- tly upon the same, the Bishop of Rome gave to the said King Henry, for the file against Luther, the file and title of *Defen- der of the Christian Faith*, and to his Successors for ever.

King Henry
made Decla-
ration of the
Faith by
the Pope

Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, Pope Leo, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, thorow the Emperor's aid, the Ci- ties of *Harna*, *Placentia*, and *Milan*, he sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great Gifts that God had bestowed upon him: 1. That he, being banished out of his Country, was restored to *Florence* again with Glory. 2. That he had deserved to be called Apostolick. 3. That he had driven the Frenchmen out of *Italy*. After he had spoken these words, he was stricken with sudden Fever, and died shortly after, being of the age of 47 years: albeit some suspect that he died of poison. Successor to whom was P. Adrian the 6th.

The death of
Leo in the
midst of his
triumph.
Pope Adrian
the sixth.

Schoolmaster sometime to Charles the Emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his Papacy. During whose small time these three especial things were incident; A great Pestilence in Rome, wherein above 100000 were consumed. The loss of *Rhodes* by the Turk. And 3. the capital War which the said P. Adrian, with the Emperor, and the *Venetians* and the *Kof England*, did hold against *France* the French King. This P. Adrian was a German born, brought up at *Louvain*; as in learning he exceeded the common sort of Popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other Popes have bin. And yet like a right Pope, nothing degenerating from his See, he was a mortal enemy against *Martin Luther*, and his Par- takers. In his time, shortly after the Council of Worms was broken up, another Meeting or Assembly was appointed by the Emperor at *Nuremberg*, of the Princes, Nobles, and States of Germany, Anno 1522.

A great Pe-
stilence in
Rome.

Adrian a
German
Pope, and
not un-
learned.

P. Adrian a
great enemy
to Luther.

A Diet of
the Princes
kept at Nu-
remberg.

Unto this Assembly the said Adrian sent his Letters in manner of a Brief, with an instruction also unto his Legat *Cherogatus*, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to alledg against Luther, before the Princes there assembled. His letter with the instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed over with a fair shew and colour

Painted pre-
sences ought
to be exa-
mined.

K. Hen. 8. colour of painted zeal and religion, and bear resemblance of great truth and care of the Church, able to deceive the outward ears of them which are not inwardly in true Religion instructed: I thought therefore to give the Reader a sight thereof, to the intent that by the experience of them he may learn hereafter in cases like to be prudent and circumspect, in not believing over- rashly the smooth talk or pretended persuasions of Men, especially in Church-matters, unless they carry with them the simplicity of plain truth, going not upon terms, but grounded upon the Word and revealed Will of God, with particular demonstrations, proving that by the Scripture which they pretend to persuade. First, the Letter of this Pope, conceived and directed against Luther, proceedeth in this effect:

Pope Adrian the Sixth, to the Renowned Princes of Germany, and to the Peers of the Roman Empire, greeting and Apollitical Benediction.

The example of Pope Adrian's Letter sent to the Princes of Germany.

If these Pastors care anything for the Sheep, it is only for the Wool.

Rather a new railer up of the old Doctrine of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles.

Terms without truth.

Roll called good, and good evil.

1 Cor. II.

Right honourable Brethren, and dear Children, greeting and Apollitical benediction. After that we were first promoted (through God's Divine Providence) to the Office of the Sea Apollitick, he which hath so advanced us is our Witness, how we, both day and night revolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more than how to satisfy the parts of a good Pastor, in attending the health and cure of the Flock, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular Sheep through the whole universal Flock, so infected, so sick, or so far gone astray, whom our desire is not to recover, to seek out, and to reduce into the Lord's Fold again. And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastoral function, our care hath always been, as well by our Messengers, as by our daily Letters, how to reclaim the minds of Christian Princes from these intestine Wars and Dissensions among themselves to Peace and Concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their Strength and Armor against the common Enemies of our Faith. And to declare this not only in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expences we have burdened our selves, to extend our subsidy and relief to the Soldiers of Rhodes for defence of themselves, and of the Christian Faith, against the Turkish Tyranny, by whom they were besieged.

And now to bend our care from these foreign matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home, we bear, to the great grief of our heart, that Martin Luther, a new railer up of old and damnable Heresies, first after the fatherly Advertisements of the Sea Apollitick, a new railer up of old and damnable Heresies, first after the fatherly Advertisements of the Sea Apollitick, then after the Sentence also of Condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best Learned, and of sundry Universities also, and lastly, after the Imperial Decree of our well-beloved Son Charles, Elect Emperor of the Romans, and Catholic King of Spain, being denounced through the whole Nation of Germany, yet hath neither been by Order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his maddest begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and condemning all Christian Charity and Godliness, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the World with new Books, fraught full of Errors, Heresies, Contumelies and Sedition, (whether upon his own head, or by the help of other) and to infect the Country of Germany, and other Regions about, with this Pestilence, and endeavours still to corrupt simple Souls and manners of Men, with the Poison of his pestiferous Tongue. And (which is worst of all) hath for his Fanciers and Supporters, not of the Vulgar sort only, but also divers Personages of the Nobility; inasmuch that they have begun also to invade the Goods of Priests, (which perhaps is the chief ground of this Star begun) contrary to their Obedience which they owe to Ecclesiastical and Temporal Persons, and now also at last have grown unto Civil War and Dissension among themselves. Which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soon perceive with your selves, and consider. For altho the Apostle hath told us before, That Heresies must needs be, that they which be tried may be made manifest, &c. yet was there never time so inconvenient to raise up Heresies, or so necessary for the repressing thereof when any such are raised, as now: For whereas the Devil, the perpetual Enemy of Mankind, roaring in the shape of a Lion, by the power of the Turks doth continually invade the Flock of Christ; how can we then resist the violent In-

vasions of him oppressing us without, so long as we nourish at home the same Devil, under the colour of a wily Dragon, sowing such Heresies, Discords, and Seditions among our selves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these foreign Adversaries, yet were that but labour lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our Enemies without, and at home with Heresies and Schisms to be divided.

We remember, before the time of our Papacy, when we were in Spain, many things we heard then of Luther, and of his perverse Doctrine. Which Rumors and Tidings, altho of themselves they were grievous to be heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that Country, where we our self, after the Flesh, took our first beginning: But yet this comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or else for the foolishness thereof being so manifest, this Doctrine would not long hold; replying thus with our self, that such pestiferous (a) Plants, translated from other Countries to Germany, would never grow up to any proof in that ground, which was wont to be a weeder out of all Heresies and Infidelity. But now since this evil Tree (whether by God's judgment correcting the Sins of the People, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so enlarged and spread his branches so far; you therefore, both Princes and People of Germany, must this consider and provide, lest you, which at the first springing up of this Evil might peradventure be excused, as no doers thereof, now, through this your overmuch sufferance, might be found inexcusable, and seem to consent to that which you do not resist.

Here we omit and pass over, what Enormity, and more than Enormity that is, that such a great and so devout a Nation should by one Friar, (who railing against the Catholic Faith and Christian Religion, which he before professed, playeth the Apostata, and hath lied to God) be now seduced from that way, which first (b) Christ our Redeemer and his blessed Apostles have opened unto us; which so many Martyrs, so many holy Fathers, so many great Learned Men, and also your own Fore-fathers, and old Ancestors have always hitherto walked in; as the only Luther had all wit and cunning; as he the only now first hath received the Holy-Ghost, (as the Hereick Montanus used to boast of himself) or as the Church (from which Christ our Saviour promised himself never to depart) hath erred hitherto, always in dark shadows of Ignorance and Perdition, till now it should be illuminate with new resplendent beams of Luther. All which things there is no doubt, but to such as have judgment will seem ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant minds; and to other, which being weary of all good Order, do gaze fill for new Changes, may breed matter and occasion of such Mischief, as partly your selves have experienced already. And therefore do you not consider (O Princes and People of Germany) that these be but Prefaces and Prelambles to these Evils and Mischief which Luther, with the Self of his Lutherans, do intend and purpose hereafter? (c) Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, first begun by the Lutherans to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an Invention to spoil your Goods, which they have long intended? Or do you think that these Sons of Iniquity do tend to any other thing, than under the name of Liberty to supplant Obedience, and so to open a general (d) License to every Man to do what him listeth? And suppose you that they will any thing regard your Commandments, or esteem (e) your Laws, which

that they never had any Advocates and Mediators but Christ alone, and that they never sold the merits of Christ's passion for money: In the same way doth Luther now walk, whereas the Pope now hath devised a new way to walk in for Money, with an hundred other new Devices, new Sects, and new Ordinances, which the old Fathers never knew.

(f) The Doctrine of Luther hath been preached in Germany above these forty years, and yet is there never a Prince, nor Magistrate, nor Citizen in Germany, God be praised, which by the Doctrine of Luther it work by one half-penny; whereas by the Pope, good reckoning hath been made, that Germany hath been won by three millions of Florins by the year. Out of the Territory of the Bishop of Mentz, amounteth to the Pope, for the Archbishop's pale, twenty six thousand Florins. In the Council of Basil it was openly declared, that nine millions of Gold were gathered in the time of Pope Martin, and translated to Rome. Now let the Princes of Germany consider this.

(g) The preaching of Christian liberty of the Soul breaketh no Civil Order touching the outward obedience of the Body. But the Pope would have the Souls of Men in his bondage, and therefore he cannot abide this inward liberty of the Spirit to be touched, for that were against the Pope's Power and Profit, which were in himself intolerable. (h) This is no good consequence; Luther burned the Pope's thinking Decretals, ergo he will not stick also to burn the Books of the Civil Law.

Who soweth evil heresies, but he which will not let the Scripture take place

(a) He meaneth the Doctrine of John Hus translated into Germany.

(b) Christ and his Apostles taught us, that we are saved by faith only in the Son of God; is the same doth Luther preach, and the Pope denieth. Holy Martyrs and Fathers in the old time ministered the communion in both kinds to the people, and taught that Faith was necessary in receiving the Sacrament; is the same doth Luther affirm, and the Pope denieth. The old Princes and Fathers was this,

K. Hen. 8.

so contemptuously vilipend the holy Canons and Decrees of the Fathers, yea, and the most holy Councils also, (to whose Authority the Emperor's Legats have always given room and place) and not only vilipend them, but also with a diabolical audacity have not feared to rend them in pieces, and set them on a light fire? They which refuse to render due obedience to Priests, to Bishops, yea, to the high Bishop of all, and which daily before your own faces make their Boastings of Church-Goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of Lay-men's Goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave? Finally, to conclude, (f) how can you hope that they will more spare you, or hold their murdering hands from your Throats, which have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lord's Anointed, which are not to be touched? Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable Calamity will as length redound upon your Goods, your Houses, Wives, Children, Dominions, Possessions, and these your Temples which you hallow and reverence, except you provide some speedy Remedy as the Church, ^g gaining the same.

phenomies of *Thistis* Supper, and of the Incest of *Oedipus*, the worshipping of an Affes Head. In much like sort doth the Pope here lay unto Luther Riots, Rebellions, and all Mischief he can devise, not because they are true; but because he would have the World so to believe.

Wherefore we exhort your Fraternities, Nobilities, and Devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for Christian Charity and Religion, (for which Religion your Fore-fathers oft-times have given their blood to uphold and encrease the same) and notwithstanding require you also, in virtue of that obedience (g) which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St. Peter, and to his Vicar here on Earth, that setting aside all other quarrels and dissensions among your selves, you confer your helping hands every Man to quench this publick Fire, and endeavour and study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the said Martin Luther, and all other Fanciers of these Tumults and Errors, to better conformity and trade both of Life and Faith.

(g) Obedience to God, and to St. Peter, and to his Vicar, do not well match together by the Scripture; for the obedience to the Creator is one, and the obedience to the Creature is another.

And if they who be infected, shall refuse to hear your Admonitions; yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same contagion be not corrupted. He to whom all secrets of Men are open, doth know how we both for our Nature, and also for our pastoral Office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remit than to revenge. But when this pestiferous Cancer cannot with simple and gentle Medicines be cured, more sharp Salves must be proved, and fiery Scarrings. The purrified Members must be cut off from the Body, lest the sound parts also be infected. So God did cast down into Hell the Schismatical Brethren. (h) Dathan and Abiram. And him that would not obey the Authority of the Priest, God commanded to be punished with death. So Peter, Prince of the Apostles, denounced sudden death to Ananias and Saphira, which lied unto God. So the old and godly Emperors commanded (i) Jovinianus and Priscilianus, as Hereticks, to be beheaded. So St. Hierom writeth Vigilantius, as an Heretic, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the Spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our Predecessors in the Council of (k) Constance condemn to death John Hus and his Fellow Hierom, which now appeareth to revive again in Luther. The worthy (l) acts and examples of which Forefathers, if you in these doings were, (seeing otherwise ye cannot) shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful Clemency shall effsoon relieve his Church; which, being now sore vexed of Infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally directed upon you, as being the most pious and most populous Nation that we have in Christendom.

(h) Lethe Pope follow the Word of God, as Meier did, be feat of God exactly as Meier was; and then let Luther be punished as Da. condemn to death John Hus and his Fellow Hierom, which now appeareth to revive again in Luther. The worthy (l) acts and examples of which Forefathers, if you in these doings were, (seeing otherwise ye cannot) shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful Clemency shall effsoon relieve his Church; which, being now sore vexed of Infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally directed upon you, as being the most pious and most populous Nation that we have in Christendom.

upon Luther his great Enemy, as Peter did upon Ananias and Saphira?

(i) If Jovinianus, Priscilianus, and Vigilantius were proved Hereticks; so was Luther never.

(k) Your Fathers in the Council of Constance did kill the Prophets of God, and you make up their Graves. But thanks be unto God, which hath given such light unto the World, to understand your cruel Impety in killing John Hus, which you thought should never be expied.

(l) You have well imitated your Forefathers already, in burning so many Lutherans; and yet how have you prospered against the Turkish Infidels the space of these forty years?

Wherfore upon the blessing of Almighty God, and of blessed Saint Peter, which here we send unto you, take courage unto you, as well against the false Dragon, as the strong Lion, that both these, that is, as well the inward Heretics, as the foreign Enemies, by you being overcome, you may purchase to your Honours an immortal Victory, both here and in the World to come. This we give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withal, either in Money or Authority, we will not fail to support you therewith, yea, and to bestow our Life also in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our Sheep to us committed. Other things as touching the matter of Luther, we have directed purposely for the same unto your Assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our truly Legat.

The false Dragon represents the Pope and the strong Lion the Turks.

The false Dragon here teacheth that it is time to begin this.

Datum Rom. apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Picatoris, die 25. Novemb. Anno 1522; Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

By this Letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle Reader, to note and understand, what either wily persuasions, or strength of authority could devise against Luther, here not to have lacked. If plausible terms, or glossing sentences, or outward facing and bracing could have served, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seem apparently a pithy Epistle. But if a Man should require the particulars or the specialities of this Doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tried by God's Word, there is no substance in it, but only words of office, which may seem well to serve for waste Paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said Letter unto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest Man's strength with all his policy bent against Luther, the more mayest thou consider the Almighty Power of God; in defending the cause of this poor Man against so mighty Enemies.

Now hear further what Instructions the said Pope Adrian sent to his Legat Cheregatus, how and by what reasons to move and inflame the Princes of Germany to the destruction of Luther and his Cause, and yet was not able to bring it to pass.

Instructions given by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his Legat, touching his proceedings in the Diet of Norimberg, how and by what persuasions to incense the Princes against Luther:

I N *prima*, you shall declare to them the great grief of our Heart for the prosperity of Luther's Sect, to see the innumerable Souls, redeemed with Christ's Blood, and committed to our pastoral Government, to be turned away from the true Faith and Religion into perdition by this occasion; and that especially in the Nation of Germany, being our native Country, which hath ever been heretofore, all these few years past, most faithful and devout in Religion; and therefore our desire to be the greater that this Perilence should be stopped betime, lest the same happen to that Country of Germany, which happened of late to Bohemia. And us for our part, there shall be no lack to help forward what we may. As likewise we desire them to endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to move, which here we direct unto you to be declared to them.

First, the (c) honour of God, which before all other things, ought to be preferred, whose honour by these Heresies is greatly defaced, and his Worship not only diminished, but rather wholly corrupted. Also the Charity toward (e) the our Neighbour, by which Charity every Man is bound to reduce his Neighbour out of error; otherwise God will surely require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perill.

The first cause to stir Men against Luther.

The second cause to stir Men against Luther.

the Son of God, whom the Father hath sent. Now examine (good Reader) whether more extollet the honour of Christ, the Doctrine of Luther, or the Doctrine of the Pope. Luther lendeth us only to Christ; the Pope lendeth us to other Patrons and Helpers. Luther's Doctrine tendeth wholly to the glory of Christ; The Pope's Doctrine, if it be well weighed, tendeth to the glory of Man. Luther cleaveth only to the Scriptures; the Pope leaneeth to the Canons and Councils of Men.

The

Pope Adrian's railing Letter to the Princes of Germany concerning Luther.

The second cause, to move them against *Luther*, is the Infamy of their Nation; which being counted before time always most Christian, now by the Sectaries of *Luther* is evil spoken of in all other Quarters.

The third cause is the respect of their own Honour, which notoriously will be disfrained, if they, which most excel in Nobility and Authority among the *Germans*, shall not bend all their power to expel these Heretics; First, for that they shall appear to be degenerate from their Progenitors, who, being present at the Condemnation of *John Hus* and other Heretics, are said some of them with their own hands to have led *John Hus* to the Fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approved with their Authority the Imperial Edict set forth of late in condemnation of *Martin Luther*. (a) Now except they shall follow the execution of the same, they shall be noted inconstant, or may be thought to favour the same, seeing it is manifest, that they may easily exterminate him if they were disposed.

(a) This Edict of the Emperor above touch'd, was devis'd and set out, not knowing to divers of the Princes there, and seemeth chiefly to be brought about by the Pope and his Flatterers about him. Look more hereof in the Story of Sileidan. lib. 3.

The fourth Cause. The fourth Cause is the Injury wrought by *Luther* to them, their Parents, and Progenitors, forasmuch as their Fathers, Progenitors, and themselves also have always holden the same Faith which the Catholick Church of *Rome* hath appointed: contrary to the which Faith *Luther* with his Sectaries now doth hold, saying, that many things are not to be believed which their forefaid Ancestors have holden to be of Faith. It is manifest therefore, that they be condemned of *Luther* for Infidels and Heretics, and so consequently, by *Luther's* Doctrine, all their Fore-elders and Progenitors which have deceased in this our Faith, be in Hell; for Error in Faith importeth Damnation.

The fifth Cause. The fifth Cause to remove them, is, that they should well advise and consider the end wherunto all these *Lutherians* do tend: which (b) is, that under the shadow of Evangelical Liberty, they may abolish all Superiority and Power. For altho at the first beginning they pretended only to ad-mul and repress our Power Ecclesiastical, as being falsely and tyrannously usurped against the Gospel: yet forasmuch as liberty is their only Foundation and Pretence; by the which Liberty the Secular Power and Magistrates cannot bind men by any Commandments, be they never so just or so reasonable, (c) to obey them under pain of mortal Sin: it is manifest that their Scope is to infeeble and infringe, as much or more, the Secular State also, altho covertly they pretend to save it: to the end, that when the Secular Princes shall believe this their working not to be directed against them, but only against the usurped Domination of the Church and Church-men; then the Laity (which commonly hath been always against men of the Church) holding with them, shall suffer the Churchmen to be devoured. Which done, no doubt but (d) they will afterward practise the like upon the Secular Princes and Potestates, which now they attempt against our Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

them, resisteth God. So is not the usurped power of the Pope. (e) If the Pope doth say, that no precepts of Magistrates do oblige under pain of mortal sin, he saith not true; if he say *Luther* so teacheth, he believeth *Luther*; who teacheth all men to be subject unto Magistrates, no man more. (f) Who so considereth the Doctrine of *Luther*, *De libertate Christiana*, shall find this to be a false slander. For how is it like that he meaneth any Rebellion, who, describing a Christian, calleth him a Servant and an Underling to all men.

The sixth Cause. The sixth cause to move and perfwade them against *Luther*, is this, for them to consider the Fruits which follow that Sect: as Slanders, Offences, Disturbance, Robberies, Murders, (e) Seditions, Diffentions, which this Sect hath, and daily doth fit up through whole *Germany*: Also Blasphemies, slanderous Words, Scoffings, (f) Jests and bitter Taunts, which are ever in their Mouths; against which, unless that they shall find a present Remedy, it is to be feared lest the Defolation of God's Wrath will fall upon *Germany*, being so divided; or rather upon the Princes of *Germany*, who, having the Sword given of God into their own Hands, *Seckis* a valiant man, and a great favourer of *Luther*, did war against the Archbishop of *Triers*, for withholding two certain persons from judgment, which should have appeared, and by his means did not. (g) As for slanderous words and bitter taunts, with what face can the Pope charge *Luther*, being himself so impudent and bitter, as in this his present Letter is manifest to be seen? wherein he saith himself in his own colours what he is.

Hands for the suppression of Malefactors, suffer such Enormities among their Subjects. *Curst is he* (saith the Prophet) *which doth the work of the Lord negligently, and holdeth back his Sword from the Blood of evil doers.* Jeremiah 28.

The seventh reason is, that the Princes should consider how *Luther* useth the same way of seducing the People of *Christ*, as hath the venomous Viper *Mahumet* practised in deceiving so many thousands of Souls, in permitting to them the liberty of those things which Fleish desireth, and afterward in exempting them from such things as be more sharp in the Law; but that *Luther* a little more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceive more effectually: For (g) *Mahumet* giveth License to have many Wives, and to divorce and marry other at their pleasure. This *Luther*, to draw unto him the favour of Nuns, Monks, and Priests, such as be lascivious in fids, preacheth that Vows of perpetual Continency be unlawful, and much less to be obligatory: and therefore permitteth unto them that they may marry; forgetting by the way what the Apostle writeth of young Widows, saying; *That when they wax wanton against Christ, then will they marry, having condemnation, because they have made void their first Faith*, 1 Tim. 5.

decline from the Word of God, and stretch up another Law, to doth the Pope. He killeth and flayeth the contrary part, to doth the Pope. He holdeth Salvation by Works of the Law, so doth the Pope; and if *Mahumet* give liberty of fids, so doth not *Luther*, but the Pope both taketh it, and also dispenseth with the same. *Mahumet* would not have his Religion reasoned upon; no more will the Pope. Briefly, as the Sect of *Mahumet* is divided into many sundry sorts of Religion, and of religious men: so hath the Sect of the Pope his Priests, Monks, Nuns, Hermits and other swarms of an infinite variety.

These and other such like Reasons being opened and laid before them, you shall then in our name exhort the fore-said Princes, Prelates and People, to awake and employ their diligence how to gainst: first the injury of these *Lutherians* toward God, and toward his holy Religion; Secondly, their Villany toward the whole Nation of the *Germans*, and their Princes, and especially the shameful Contumely towards their Fathers and Elders, whom in effect they condemn to Hell. In consideration whereof you shall call upon them to remember themselves, and to proceed effectually to the execution of the Apostolical Sentence, and of the Emperor's Edict; giving pardon to them that will amend and acknowledge their fault: the other, which obstinately persist in their error, punishing with the Rod of discipline severity, according to the Decrees of the Cautious and Laws of the Church, that by their example such as stand may remain in Faith, and they, which are fallen may be reduced.

And if any shall object again, that *Luther* was condemned by the Apostolick See before he was heard, and that his Cause ought first to have been heard and adjudged before he was convicted. You shall answer, that those * things which pertain to Faith are to be believed for their own authority, and not to be proved. Take away (saith *Ambrose*) Arguments where Faith is sought: there the Fishers, not the Philosophers, must be believed. Truth it is, and we grant no less, but that lawful defence and hearing ought not to be denied in such Cases, where question is of the Fact, whether it were done or not, as whether he spake, preached, writ, or not? But where the matter is of God's Law, or in cause of the Sacraments, there must we always stand to the authority of Holy Fathers, and of the Church.

Now all things almost, wherein *Luther* dissenteth from other, are removed before by divers Councils: neither ought those things to be called into question, which have been defined before by general Councils, and the Universal Church, but ought to be received by Faith. For else he doth injury to the Synod of the Church, who so bringeth again into controversy things once rightly discussed and settled. Otherwise what certainty can there be amongst men, or what end shall there be of contending and disputing, if it shall be lawful for every lewd and presumptuous person to decline from the things which have been received and ratified by the consent, not of one, nor of a few, but of so many Ages, so many wise Heads, and of the Catholick Church, which God never permitteth to err in matters unto Faith appertaining? And how can it otherwise be chosen, but that all must be full of disturbance, offences, and confusion, unless the things which have been once, yea, many

K. Hen. 8.

The fifth Cause.

(g) If the Doings and properties of *Mahumet* be rightly considered, none should be found so apply to resemble him, as the Pope himself. He

Doings and properties of *Mahumet* be rightly considered, none should be found so apply to resemble him, as the Pope himself. He

* Here the Pope agreeth rightly with *Mahumet*, for he will not have his Religion reasoned upon, no more will the Pope have his.

Grant this to the Pope, and he may play the Lord of Strife, and do what he listeth.

K. Hen. many times by right Judgment constituted, be observed of all men as inviolable? Wherefore seeing *Luther* and his fellows do condemn the Councils of holy Fathers, do burn the holy Canons, do confound all things at their pleasure, and do disquiet the whole World, what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbors of the publick peace?

E. D. 59. Further, this you shall say unto them, that we confesse our selves, and deny not, but that God suffereth this Persecution to be inflicted upon his Church for the sins of men, especially of Priests and Prelates of the Clergy. For certain it is, *That the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that he cannot save; but our sins have divided between God and us, and therefore he hideth his face from us that he will not hear us.* The Scripture testifieth, *That the sins of the People do issue out from the fins of the Priests.* And therefore (*saith St. Chrysostom*) *Christ, going about to cure the sick City of Hierusalem, first entred into the Temple, to correct the sins of the Priests like a good Physician, which first beginneth to cure the Disease from the very root.* We Know that in this (*b*) holy See here have been many abominable things of long time wrought and practised: as Abuses in matters spiritual, and also Excesses in life and manners and all things turned cleane contrary. And no marvel if the Sicknes (*c*) first beginning at the Head, that is, at the high Bishops, have descended afterward to inferior Prelates. All we (that is, Prelates of the Church) have declined every one after his own way; *Neither hath there been one*

(*b*) And how then can this be called an holy See, where so many abominable impieties, and manifold Excesses, both in spiritual matters, and also in external Life, are seen and practised? such Ambition in the Prelates; such pride in the Pope, such avarice in the Court; and finally where such corruption is of all things, as you your selves do here confesse, and cannot deny?

Calixtus himself could never prophecie more truly.

(*c*) Truly it is, that the sicknes hath begun in the head, that is, at the very triple Crown: and therefore the sicknes being great, and having need of a sharp Physician, God hath sent *Luther* unto the Pope (as *Erasmus* writeth of him) as a meet Physician to cure his Disease; yet he refuseth to be healed,

that hath done good, no not one. Wherefore need it is, that all we give glory to God, and that we humble our Souls to him, considering every one of us from whence he hath fallen; and that every one do judge himself before he be judged of God in the Rod of his Fury. For the redress whereof you shall inmate unto them, and promise in our behalf, that in us shall be lacking no diligence of a better Reformation, first beginning with our Court; that like as the contagion first from thence descended into all like as the contagion first from thence descended into all the inferior parts; so Reformation and Amendment of all that is amiss, from the same place again, shall take his beginning. Whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that we see the whole World so desirous of the same. We our selves (as you know) never fought this Dignity, but rather coveted, if by otherwise might, to lead a private life, and in a quiet State to serve God: And also would utterly have refused the same, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our Election, and misdoubting of some Schism to follow after, urged us to take it. And thus took we the Burthen upon us, not for any Ambition of Dignity, or to enrich our Friends and Kinsfolks, but only to be obedient to the Will of God, and for Reformation of the Catholick Church, and for relief of the Poor, and especially for the Advancement of Learning and learned Men, with such other things moe, as appertaineth to the charge of a good Bishop and lawfull Heir of *St. Peter*. And tho all Errors, Corruptions, and Abuses be not straightways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The Sore is great, and far grown, and is not single, but of manifold Maladies together compacted, and therefore to the curing thereof we must proceed by little and little, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, lest while we intend to amend all, we delivroy all. *All sudden mutations in a Common-wealth (saith Aristotle) are Perilous: and he that wringeth too hard, straineth out Blood.* Prov. 30.

You proceed slowly by little and little, that nothing still is from. Sudden mutations be not for the Popes purpose: but the Lord promisseth to come suddenly when he is not looked for.

And whereas in your last Letters you write, that the Princes complain, how this See hath been and is prejudicial to their Ordinances and Agreements. Hereunto you shall thus answer: That such Excesses, which have been done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who always have nullified these Derogations; and therefore bid

them so assure themselves, that though they had required no such matter, we of our own accord would have reformed the same; partly for that it is good, right and reason, that every one have that which is due unto him; and partly also that the said noble Nation of *Germany* shall have by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in us shall lie to do for them.

And as touching the Proceffes which they desired to have removed away a *Rota*, and to be referred down to the Parties, you shall signifie unto them, that we will gratifie them herein as much as honestly we may. But because our Auditors are now presently absent from the City, by reason of the Plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those Proceffes. As soon as they shall return (which we hope will be shortly) we shall do in the Princes favour what reasonably we may.

Rota is some office in the Court or Chancery of Rome.

Further; Whereas we understand, that there be many such flourishing Wits in *Germany*, and many well learned men, which are not seen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the Apostolical Provisions, Dignities, and Promotions are bestowed upon Taplers, and Dancers, and unfit persons: we will therefore that you inquire out what those learned men are, and what be their Names, to the intent that when any such Vacation of Benefices in *Germany* doth fall, we of our own voluntary motion may provide for them accordingly. For why? we consider how much it is against God's Glory, and against the health and edification of Souls, that Benefices and Dignities of the Church have so long time been bestowed upon unworthy and unable persons.

The Pope flattereth his advantage. And why then have you elected the Church so long with these Apostolical Provisions, and yet do not redress the same?

As touching the Subsidy for *Hungarian*, we send no other Information to you, but that which we gave you at your departure; save only that we will you to extend your diligence therein, as we also will do the like, in soliciting the matter with the Princes and Cities of *Italy*, that every one may help after his Ability. *Ex Orb. Gratian.*

These Popish Suggestions and Instructions of the Pope himself against *Luther*, I thought, Christian Reader, to set before thine Eyes, to the intent thou mayst see here (as in a Pattern, and go no further) all the Crimes, Objections, Exclamations, Sulpicions, Accusations, Slanders, Offentions, Contumelies, Rebukes, Untruths, Cavillations, Railings, whatsoever they have devised, or can devise, invent, articulate, denounce, infer, or surmise against *Luther* and his teaching. They cry, Heresie, Heresie; but they prove no Heresie. They cry, Councils, Councils; and yet none tangrefireth Councils more than themselves. If Councils go always with Scripture, then *Luther* goeth with them: If Councils do jarr sometime from the Scripture, what Heresie is in *Luther* in standing with Scripture against those Councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any Councils, save only the Council of *Constance*. They inflame Kings and Princes against *Luther*, and yet they have no cause wherefore. They accuse him for teaching Liberty. If they mean the Liberty of the Flesh, they accuse him falsely: If they mean the Liberty of the Spirit, they teach wickedly which teach contrary: And yet when they have all said, none live so licentious as themselves. They pretend the Zeal of the Church, but under that Church lieth their own private Welfare, and Belly-cheer. They charge *Luther* with Disobedience, and none are so disobedient to Magistrates and Civil Laws, as they. They lay to his Charge Oppression and spoiling of Lay-men's Goods: And who spoileth the Lay-men's Livings so much as the Pope? For Probation whereof, let the Pope's Accounts be cast, what he raketh out of every Christian Realm. Briefly, turn only the Names of the Persons, and instead of *Luther's* Name, place the Name of the Pope, and the effect of this Letter above prefixed, shall agree upon none more aptly, than upon the Pope himself, and his own Sectaries. Now to proceed further in the Procefs of this forsaide matter, let us see what the Princes again for their parts answer to these forsaide Suggestions and Instructions of Pope *Adrian*, sent unto them in the Diet of *Noremburg*, in the Cause of *Luther*: the Answer of whom here followeth under-written.

Luther cried out, write out any such cause.

Liberty of Flesh, Liberty of Spirit.

Turn only the names of the persons and all the accusations; of the Princes against the Lutherans agree chiefly unto themselves.

The Answer of the noble and reverend Princes, and States of the sacred Roman Empire, exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador.

The answer of the Princes of Germany, to the Pope's Letter, and Instructions.

The noble and renowned Prince Lord *Ferdinandus*, Lieutenant to the Emperor's Majesty, with other reverend Princes in Christ, and mighty Princes Electors, and other States and Orders of this present Assembly of the Roman Empire in *Noremburg* convened, have gratefully received, and diligently perused the Letters sent in form of a Brief, with the Instructions also of the most holy Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *Adrian* the high Bishop of the holy and universal Church of *Rome*, presented unto them in the cause of *Luther's* Faction.

Pope Adrian a German born.

By the which foresaid Letters and Writings whereas first they understand his Holiness to have been born, and to have had his native Origine and Parentage out of this noble Nation of *Germany*, they do not a little rejoice. Of whose equegious Vertues and Ornaments, both of mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years: by reason whereof they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of Election, to the high top of the Apostolical Dignity and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same: praying also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and perpetual glory of his name, and for health of Souls, and incolumity of the universal Church, that God will give his Holiness long continuance of felicity: Having no misdoubt, but that, by such a full and contenting election of such a Pastor of the universal Catholick Church, great profit and commodity will ensue. Which thing to hope and look for, his Holiness openeth to them an evident declaration in his own Letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastoral Function, in studying for the health of the Flock to him committed: and especially in converting the minds of Christian Princes from War to Peace. Declaring moreover, what subsidy and relief his Holiness hath sent to the Souldiers of *Rhodes*, &c. All which things they perpending with themselves, conceive exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputing and trusting that this concord of Christian Princes will be a great help and stay to the better quieting of things now out of frame; without which neither the state of the Common-wealth, nor of Christian Religion, can be rightly redressed, and much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks repressed.

Can any good thing come out of Rome?

Wherefore the excellent Prince, Lord Lieutenant to the Emperor's Majesty, with the other Princes Electors, and Orders of this present Assembly, most heartily do pray, that his Holiness will persevere in this his purpose and diligence, as he hath virtuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved, how the disagreeing hearts of Christian Princes may be reduced to quiet and peace; or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domestical dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, whereby all Christians may join their powers together, with the help of God, to go against the Turk, and to deliver the People of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage. Whereunto both the noble Prince Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes of *Germany*, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

The Pope much grieved for the profectious of Luther.

And whereas by the Letters of his Holiness, with his Institution also exhibited unto them by his Legat, they understand that his Holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of *Luther's* Sect, whereby innumerable Souls, committed to his charge, are in danger of perdition, and therefore his Holiness vehemently desireth some speedy Remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary Reasons and Causes, whereby to move the German Princes thereunto; and that they will tender the execution of the Apostolick Sentence, and also of the Emperor's Edict set forth touching the suppressing of *Luther*. To the Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes and States do answer, that it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his Holiness; and also they do lament as much for these impieties and perils of Souls, and inconveniences which grow in the Religion of Christ, either by the Sect of *Luther*, or any otherwise. Further, what help or counsel shall lie in them for the extirpating of Errors and decay of Souls health, what their moderation can do, they are

willing and ready to perform; considering how they stand bound and subject, as well to the Pope's Holiness, as also to the Emperor's Majesty. But why the Sentence of the Apostolick See, and the Emperor's Edict against *Luther*, hath not been put in execution hitherto, there hath been (said they) causes great and urgent, which have led them thereto: as first, in weighing and considering with themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the People of *Germany* have always had this persuasion, and now by reading *Luther's* Books are more therein confirmed, that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this Nation of *Germany* by the Court of *Rome*; and therefore if they should have proceeded with any rigor in executing the Pope's Sentence, and the Emperor's Edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, this to be done for subverting the verity of the Gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances, wherupon great Wars and Tumults (no doubt) would have ensued: which thing of the Princes and States there hath been well perceived by many Arguments. For the avoiding whereof, they thought to use more gentle Remedies, serving more opportunely for the time.

Again, whereas the reverend Lord Legat (said they) in the name of the Pope's Holiness, hath been instructed, to declare unto them, that God suffereth this Perfection to rise in the Church for the sins of Men, and that his Holiness doth promise therefore to begin the Reformation with his own Court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same: Also, whereas his Holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, doth testify in his Letters, that he himself did always mislike that the Court of *Rome* should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the Concordates of the Princes, and that his Holiness doth fully purpose in that behalf, during his Papacy, never to practise the like, but so to endeavour, that every one, and especially the Nation of the *German*, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said Nation his peculiar favour: who seeth not by these premises, but that this most holy Bishop omitteth nothing which a good Father, or a devout Pastor may or ought to do to his Sheep? Or who will not be moved hereby to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults; namely, seeing his Holiness so intendeth to accomplish the same in deed, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begun?

And thus undoubtedly both the noble Lord Lieutenant, and all other Princes and States of the Empire, well hope that he will, and pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of Souls, and to the tranquillity of the publick State. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other Articles also, which the secular Princes (aligned purposely for the same) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the Ecclesiastical and Secular Estates, nor any true extirpation of this Tumult and Errors in *Germany*, that can be hoped. For partly by long Wars, partly by reason of other grievances and hindrances, this Nation of *Germany* hath been so wasted and consumed in Money, that uneth it is able to sustain it self in private Affairs, and necessary upholding of Justice within it self; much less then to minister aid and succour to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to the *Croatians*, against the Turk. And whereas all the States of the sacred Roman Empire do not doubt, but the Pope's Holiness doth right well understand how the German Princes did grant and condescend for the many of Annates to be levied to the See of *Rome* for term of certain years, upon condition that the said Money should be converted to maintain War against the Turkish Infidels, and for defence of the Catholick Faith: and whereas the term of these years is now expired long since, when as the said Annates should be gathered, and yet that money hath not been so bestowed to that use, whereto it was first granted. Wherefore if any such necessity should now come, that any publick helps or contributions against the Turk, should be demanded of the German people, they would answer again, Why is not that money of Annates, reserved many years before to that use, now bestowed and applied? and so would they refuse to receive any more such burthens for that cause to be laid upon them.

R. Hen. 8.

Causes why the Princes have not proceeded by the Pope's Sentence against Luther. Grievances received by the Court of Rome.

The Pope answered with his own words.

Grievances of the Germans complained off to the Pope. Vide infra.

Anathas falsely pretended of the Pope, to maintain War against the Turk.

Wherefore

K. Hen. 8. Wherefore the said Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes and degrees of the Empire, make earnest petition, that the Pope's Holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend the premises, and surcease hereafter to require such Annates, which are accustomed after the death of Bishops and other Prelates, or Ecclesiastical Persons, to be paid to the Court of Rome, and suffer them to remain to the Chamber of the Empire, whereby Justice and Peace may be more commodiously administered; the tranquility of the publick State of Germany maintained, and also by the same due helps may be ordained and disposed to other Christian Potentates in Germany, against the Turks, which otherwise without the same is not to be hoped for.

Remedy of Reformation. **A General Council in Germany required.** **An Interim before the Council.** **Writings and Printed Books a time full spent.** **The Office of Preaching tempered.** **Preachers limited within certain bounds.** **Against selling and printing of ungodly Libels.** **Famous Libels be such Books as calumniate the Line of any person, bearing no name of the Author thereof.** **For Priests or religious Men that marry.**

Item, Whereas the Pope's Holiness doth seem to be informed, what way were best to take in redressing these Errors of the Lutherans. To this the Lord Lieutenant, with other Princes and Nobles do answer, that whatsoever help or counsel they can devise, with willing hearts they will be ready thereunto. Seeing therefore the State, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, is far out of frame, and have so much corrupted their ways; and seeing not only of Luther's part, and of his Sect, but also by divers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in; much requisite and necessary it is, that some effectual Remedy be provided, as well for redress of the Church, as also for repressing the Turks tyranny. Now what more present or effectual Remedy can be had, the Lord Lieutenant, and other Estates and Princes do not see, than this, that the Pope's Holiness, by the consent of the Emperor's Majesty, do summon a free Christian Council in some convenient place of Germany, as at *Strasbourg*, or at *Mentz*, or at *Colen*, or at *Metz*, and that with as much speed as conveniently may be, so that the Congregation of the said Council be not deferred above one year: in which Council it may be lawful for every person that there shall have interest, either Temporal or Ecclesiastical, freely to speak and consult, to the glory of God and health of Souls, and the publick wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint, whatsoever Oath or other Bond to the contrary notwithstanding; yea, and it shall be every good Mans part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment, without all fraud or guile. And as touching by what ways these Errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the mean time, until the Council be set, the foresaid Lord Lieutenant, with the other Princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as *Luther*, and certain of his Followers, be within the Territory and Dominion of the noble Duke *Frederick*, the said Lord Lieutenant and other States of the Empire shall labour the matter with the aforementioned Prince, Duke of *Saxony*, that *Luther* and his followers, shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said mean space: neither do they doubt but that the said noble Prince of *Saxony*, for his Christian piety, and obedience to the Roman Empire, as becometh a Prince of such excellent vertue, will effectually condescend to the same.

Item, The said Lord Lieutenant and Princes shall labour so with the Preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their Sermons teach or blow into the Peoples ears such matter whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or to be induced into error; and that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy Gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and Christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture, being approved and received of Christ's Church, abtaining from all such things which are better unknown than learned of the people, and which to be subtly searched, or deeply discussed, is not expedient. Also, that they shall move no contention of disputation among the vulgar sort: but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall referre to the determination of the Council to come.

Item, The Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats within their Dioceses, shall assign godly and learned Men, having good judgment in the Scripture, which shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such Preachers; and if they shall perceive the said Preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing inconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such sort as no Man shall justly complain the truth of the Gospel to

impeached. But if the Preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lawfulness, then shall they be reformed and punished by the Ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same convenient.

Furthermore, the said Princes and Nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth during the foresaid time, no new Book shall be printed, especially none of these famous Libels, neither shall they privately or apertly be sold. Also order shall be taken amongst all Potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or imprint any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet Men appointed for the same: so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abroad. Thus by these means they hope well, that the Tumults, Errors, and Offences among the people, shall cease, especially if the Pope's Holiness himself shall begin with an order, and due reformation, in the foresaid grievances above mentioned, and will procure such a free and Christian Council, as hath been said, and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted, for all such as be honest and good Men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that General Council, so shortly and now ready at hand to come. Finally, as concerning Priests which contract Matrimony, and religious Men leaving their Cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the Apostolical Legat, the foresaid Princes do consider, that forasmuch as in the Civil Law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the Canonical Constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their Benefices and Privileges, or other condign Censures; & that the said Ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular Powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall add their help and favour to the maintenance of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and shall direct out their publick Edicts and Precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said Ordinaries in their Ecclesiastical Cognition, upon such Transgressors to be administered.

To conclude, The redoubted Prince Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes, Estates, and Orders of the publick Empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech that the Pope's Holiness, and the reverend Lord his Legat will accept and take all the premises to be no otherwise spoken and meant, than of a good free, sincere, and a Christian mind. Neither is there any thing that all the foresaid Princes, Estates, and Nobles, do more wish and desire, than the maintenance and prosperous estate of the holy Catholick Church of Rome, and of his Holiness. To whose wishes desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves not ready and obsequious, as faithful Children. *Ex Orth. Gratian.*

Thus hast thou, loving Reader, the full discourse, both of the Pope's Letter, and of his Legat's Instructions, with the Answer also of the States of Germany to the said Letter and Instructions to them exhibited in the Diet of *Nuremberg*. In the which Diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation was taken, first touching the Grievances of Germany, which they exhibited to the Pope, then concerning a General Council to be called in Germany, also for printing, preaching, and for Priests Marriage, hath been likewise declared, &c.

The occasion of this matter, moved against Priests Marriage, came first by the Ministers of *Strasbourg*, which about this time began to take Wives, and therefore were cited by the Bishop of *Strasbourg* to appear before him at a certain day, as violators of the Laws of Holy Church, the Holy Fathers, the Bishops of Rome, and of the Emperor's Majesty, to the prejudice both of their own order of Priesthood, and Majesty of Almighty God: but they referred their cause to the hearing of the Magistrates of the same City; who, being Suiters for them unto the Bishops, laboured to have the matter either released, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Long it were to recite all the Circumstances following upon this Diet or Assembly of *Nuremberg*, how their Decree was received of some, of some neglected, of divers diversely wrested and expounded. *Luther* writing his Letters upon the same Decree, to the Princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof: that whereas the Preachers were commanded to preach the pure Gospel, after the Doctrine

of the Church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the Doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*, or *Scotus*, or such other late School-writers, but after the Doctrine of *Hilarie*, *Cyprian*, and *Austen*, and other ancient Doctors, and yet the Doctrine of the said Ancients no farther to be received, but as it should agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, As concerning new Books not to be sold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the Text of the Bible, and Books of the Holy Scripture might be printed notwithstanding, and published to all Men.

And as for the prohibition of Priest's Marriage, he writeth to the Princes, and desireth them to bear with the weakness of Men; declaring that branch of their Decree to be very hard; which tho it stand with the Pope's Law, yet it accordeth not with the Gospel, neither conduceth to good manners, nor to honesty of Life, &c.

An hundred
grievances
of the Ger-
mans against
the Pope.

Furthermore, Whereas in the same Session of *Noremburg*, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of an hundred, and exhibited to the Bishop of *Rome*, they were tedious likewise to insert them all: yet to give some taste of a few I judg it not unprofitable; to the intent that the World may see and judg, not only what abuses and corruptions, most monstrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the Holy Church of *Rome*: but also may understand, with what hypocrisy and impudence the Pope taketh upon him so grievously to complain upon *M. Luther* and other: when in all the universal Church of Christ, there is none so much to be blamed all manner of ways, as he himself, according as by these hainous complaints of the German Princes, here following, against the Pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances, may right well appear. Which grievances being collected by the Princes of *Germany* at *Noremburg*, to the number of an hundred, I with might be fully and at large set forth to the studious Reader, whereby might appear the subtil sleights and intolerable frauds of that pretended Church. But forasmuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I have thought good to exhibit some part thereof for example, as giving only a certain taste, whereby thou mayest more easily conceive, what to think and esteem of all the residue, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

Certain Grievances and Oppressions of Germany, against the Court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the Council of Noremburg, to the number of an hundred, whereof certain specialties here follow.

Forbidden thing
of marriage
in divers de-
grees, not
forbidden by
Gods Law.

Amongst other burdens and grievances, this is not least to be regarded, that many things are prohibited by Mens constitutions, and many things exacted, which are not prohibited or commanded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obstacles of Matrimony invented and brought in, whereby Men were forbid to marry in cases of Kindred, which stand upon divers degrees: as upon affinity, publick honesty, spiritual kindred, kindred by Law, and kindred in Blood, &c. And likewise in forbidding the use of Meats, which God hath created for Mans necessity, and taught by the Apostles indifferently to be received with thanksgiving. By these, and many other humane constitutions, Men are yoked in bondage, until by money they obtain some dispensation of those Laws, at their hands which made them: so that Money shall make that lawful for rich Men, which is clearly prohibited unto the poor. By these snares of Mens Laws and Constitutions, not only great sums of Money are gathered out of *Germany*, and carried over the Alps, but also great iniquity is sprung up among Christians: many offences and privy hatreds do rise, by reason that poor Men do see themselves intangled with these snares, for no other cause, but for that they do not possess the Thorns of the Gospel; for so Christ doth often call Riches.

Times of
Marriage re-
strained, and
after releas-
ed for Mo-
ny.

The like practice also is to be seen in the times restrained from Marriage, by the Heads of the Church of *Rome*, from the *Sepuagesima Sunday*, somewhat before Lent: when as notwithstanding both the Clergy and the Seculars in the mean time will live licentiously, and that

openly in the face of all the World. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a Man shall presume so to do upon his own liberty, without compounding. But otherwise if there be any hope of Money, then that which was before unlawful, is now made lawful for every Man to do freely. And this is also another drawing Net, whereby great sums of Money are dragged out of the Germans purses. Whereupon also hangeth another grievance as great as this; that in fixing out a Dispensation, the state of the poor and of the rich is not indifferently weighed: For where the rich escapeth many times for little or nought, and goeth clear away, the poor Man shall be sure to pay for the shot.

Mark
8.

A complaint for selling Remission of Sins for Money.

But especially the burden and grievance of the Pope's Indulgences and Pardons are most importable: whereas the Bishops of *Rome*, under pretence of building some Church in *Rome*, or to war against the Turks, do make out their Indulgences with their Bulls: perfwading and promising to the simple people strange and wonderful benefits of remission à pena & culpa, that is, from all their sins and punishment due for the same, and that not in this life only, but also after this life, to them that be dead burning in the fire of Purgatory. Through the hope and occasion whereof, true piety is almost extinct in all *Germany*, while every evil disposed person promitteth to himself, for a little Money, licence and impunity to do what him listeth: whereupon followeth Fornication, Incest, Adultery, Perjury, Homicide, Robbing, and Spoiling, Rapine, Usury, with a whole flood of all Mischiefs, &c.

A complaint against the Immunities of Clergy-men.

Item, Whosoever he be that hath received any Ecclesiastical Orders, great or small, thereby he doth contend to be freed from all punishment of the secular Magistrature, how great offence soever he do: neither doth he unadvisedly presume thereupon, but is maintained in that liberty to sin, by the principal Estates of the Clergy. For it hath often bin seen, that whereas by the Canonical Laws, Priests are forbidden to marry, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chastity of Matrons, Virgins, and of the Wives, Daughters, and Sisters of the Lay-men: and through their continual instance and labour, partly with Gifts and Rewards, and flattering words, partly by their secret confessions (as they call them) as it hath been found by experience, they bring to pass that many Virgins and Matrons, which otherwise would be honest, have been overcome and moved to sin and wickedness: and it hath oftentimes, that they do detain and keep away the Wives and Daughters from their Husbands and Fathers, threatening them with Fire and Sword, that do require them again. Thus through their raging Lust, they heap and gather together innumerable Mischiefs and Offences. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiously, without punishment, they daily offend in Robberies, Murder, accusing of Innocents, Burning, Rapine, Theft, and counterfeiting of false Coin, besides a thousand other kinds of mischiefs, contrary and against all Laws both of God and Man, not without great offence of others, trusting only upon the freedom and liberty of sin, which they usurp unto themselves by the privilege of their Canons. For whereas they once perceive that it is lawful for them to do what they list without controulment, then they do not only condemn the Civil Magistrates, but also their Bishops and Superiors, whatsoever they either command or forbid them to do.

The licen-
tiousness of
priests.

And moreover, to the intent they may be the more maintained in their mischief and wickedness, contrary to all reason and equity, it is partly forbidden the Archbishops and Bishops to condemn these Malefactors openly, except they be first degraded, which must be done with sumptuousness and pomp: whereby it hath very seldom, that those appointed naughty Packs, do receive condign punishment. Besides that, the Bishops are so bound by their Chapters, that they dare not punish any person which hath taken Orders, by the Canonical Laws, be the punishment never so light or small. By reason whereof, the matter so falleth out, that through this unequal partiality between the Laity and the Clergy, great hatred, discord, and dissention

K. Hen. 8.

is sprung and risen. It is also not a little to be feared, that if the Clergy, which are the cause of this grievance, and of other mischiefs (which daily they do proceed to perpetrate) have not like Laws, equal Judges, and like Punishment, their offensive Life will move and stir up some great Tumults and Sedition amongst the common People, not only against the Clergy themselves, but also against the Superiours and Magistrates, for that they leave so notorious Offences unpunished.

Be it thought to be subject to the same punishments as are the Lay-people.

Wherefore Necessity and Justice doth require, that the said prejudicial Privileges of the Clergy should be abrogate and taken away, and in their place it be provided, ordained, and decreed, That the Clergy, of what order or degree soever they be, shall have like Laws, like Judgment and Punishment as the Laity have: so that they shall pretend no prerogative or freedom in like offence, more than the Laymen; but that every one of the Clergy offending, under the Judge where the offence is committed, shall be punished for his fact, according to the measure and quality of his offence, in such like manner as other Malefactors are, with the punishment appointed by the common Laws of the Empire. Which thing (without doubt) will please the true Ministers of the Church, such as are honest and learned, and they will not think their Power and Authority thereby in any case diminished. By this means it shall be brought to pass, that such as are of the Clergy only by name, and otherwise naughty wicked Men, through the obedience due unto their Magistrates, shall be compelled to live more honestly; and all sedition and privy hatred between them and the Laity shall be put away; and finally, thereby the Laity shall be more moved and stirred to love and reverence such of the Clergy as be of a sound Life.

Complaint of Excommunication abused.

Excommunication abused in the church of Rome.

Item, At Rome and in other places many Christians are excommunicate by the Archbishops, Bishops, or by their Ecclesiastical Judges, for prophane causes, through the desire and covetousness of Money and Lucre. The Consciences of Men, which are weak in faith thereby are burdened and brought unto desperation. And finally, for Money and Lucre, a matter of no importance is made to tend to the destruction both of Body and Soul, contrary to the Law both of God and Man; forasmuch as no Man ought to be excommunicate but only for Heresy, or for some heinous fact perpetrate; not to be counted as separate from the Christian Catholick Church, as the Scriptures do witness. Therefore the Princes, Nobles, States, and Laity of the Sacred Empire, desire and require the Pope's Holiness, that as a faithful Christian, and loving Father, he will remove the said Burden of Excommunication, used both in the See of Rome, and also in the Sees of all other Archbishops and Ecclesiastical Judges; and finally decree, that no Man shall hereafter be excommunicate, but only for a manifest convicted Crime of Heresy: For it is too wicked a thing, that faithful Christians, for every light offence touching any temporal goods or gain, or for any other worldly matter, but only for obstinacy of Heresy, or some great enormity, should be excluded from Almighty God, and the Catholick Congregation.

The Church burdened with a number of Holy-days.

The number of Holy days to be diminished.

Moreover, the common People are not a little oppressed with the great number of Holy-days, for that there are now so many Holy-days, that the Husbandmen have scarcely time to gather the Fruits of the Earth, which they have brought forth with so great labour and travel, being often in danger of Hail, Rain, and other Storms; which Fruits notwithstanding, if they were not letted with so many Holy-days, they would gather and bring home without any loss. Besides that, upon these Holy-days innumerable Offences are committed and done, rather than God honoured or worshipped. Which thing is so manifest, that it needeth no witness. For that cause the Estates of the Sacred Empire think it best, and most profitable for the Christian Commonwealth, that this great number of Holy-days should be diminished, which ought rather to be celebrated in spirit and verity, than with the external Worship, and be better kept with abstinence from Sin.

Suspending and hallowing of Church-yards gainful to the Pope, and chargeable to the People.

Furthermore, if it happen that two or more do fight without any weapon in a Church-yard, only with their fists, or by the hair, that there be never so little blood shed by and by the Clergy have recourse to Interdictment, and do not suffer any more Christian Burials there to be done, before that all the Citizens with great pomp and expences do cause it to be consecrated and hallowed again, with no less charge than when at the first, of a prophane place, it was hallowed for Burial: all which things do redound to the charges and costs of the Laity. And tho the Churches or Chapels be never so little which are so hallowed, yet the Suffragans do burden and oppress the simple poor Household-ers, be they never so bare or needy, with superfluous expences, and require moreover gifts of the People, which is not for their ease to give.

Hallowing of Church-yards abused for Money.

Also the Suffragans have invented, that no other but only themselves may baptize Bells for the Lay-people: Whereby the simple People, upon the affirmation of the Suffragans, do believe, that such Bells so baptized will drive away evil Spirits and Tempests. Whereupon a great number of God-fathers are appointed, especially such as are rich, which at the time of baptizing, holding the Rope wherewithal the Bell is tied, the Suffragan speaking before them, as is accustomed in the baptizing of young Children, they all together do answer, and give the name to the Bell. The Bell having a new Garment put upon it, as is accustomed to be done unto the Christians; after this they go unto sumptuous Banquets, wherunto also the Gossips are bidden, that thereby they might give the greater reward; and the Suffragans, with their Chaplains and other Ministers, are sumptuously fed. Yet doth not this suffice, but that the Suffragan also must have a reward, which they do call a small gift or present: whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that even in small Villages a hundred Florins are consumed and spent in such Christenings. Which is not only superfluous, but also contrary unto Christian Religion, a seducing of the simple People, and meer Extortion. Notwithstanding the Bishops, to enrich their Suffragans, do suffer these things, and others far worse. Wherefore such wicked and unlawful things ought to be abolished.

Baptizing of Bells.

Bells wear Coats, & question whether these Gossips that christen Bells may marry together by the Canon Law? Spoiling of the People by baptizing of Bells.

Complaint against Officials, and other Ecclesiastical Judges.

The Officials also of Archbishops for the most part are unlearned and unable Men; besides that, Men of evil conditions, taking thought for nothing but only for Money. Also how corruptly they live, and continue in notorious crimes and transgressions, it is daily seen. Whereby the Laity, whom they ought to correct and punish for their Offences, and instruct in Christian Godliness, are not in any point by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their Offences. Besides this, the Laity are miserably robbed and spoiled of their Goods by these light and vile Officials, in whose Consciences there is no spark of Christian Pity and Godliness, but only a wicked Desire and Covetousness. Which thing the Archbishops and Bishops, if they were indeed such as they are called, that is to say, the Pastors and Shepherds of Christ, without doubt they would no longer suffer or commit Christ's Flock to wicked and offensive Pastors to be fed and nourished.

Against Officials.

How the Ecclesiastical Judges do annex certain special Causes, being Lay-matters, unto their own jurisdiction, and will by no means release the same.

Whensoever any Causes are pleaded in Judgment before an Ecclesiastical Judge, either for ravishing of Virgins, or for Children unlawfully born out of Wedlock, or for Servants Wages, or any other matters concerning Widows, the Ecclesiastical Judges being called upon by the Superiours of the Laity which do contend, they will neither defer that Judgment, nor by any means will be entreated to remit them to their ordinary Jurisdiction.

Lay-matters brought into the spiritual Court for Money.

The Gain that riseth to the Clergy by false Slanders and Rumors.

Seeking
matters
brought to
the spiritual
Court for
gain and
lucre.

IT happeneth oftentimes that Men and Women, through tinisher and false Reports and Slanders, are brought before the Official or Ecclesiastical Judge, as Men guilty, and shall not be declared innocent before they have cleared themselves by an Oath; which Purgation so made, they are restored again to their former estimation. And albeit that the Damages and Costs ought to be repayed again unto such as be so falsely accused, yet notwithstanding the Innocents themselves are forced to pay two gilderns and a quarter for their Letters of Absolution. And this is the cause why that the Officials and other Ecclesiastical Judges do so greedily follow the Action of such unlawful, false and slanderous Accusations, challenging the hearing thereof only unto themselves; which thing (no doubt) redoundeth to the great and most singular hurt and detriment of all Men: For oftentimes it happeneth, that Women fall together in contention, through anger, hatred, or some other affection, do speak evil or slander one another, and outrage so much, that the one oftentimes accuseth the other, either of Adultery or Witchery. Which thing being brought before the Official, the which through her anger had so slandered the other, is forced by an Oath to excuse and purge her self, that whatsoever injurious or slanderous word she had spoken, came not of any deliberate purpose or intent, but through wrath and displeasure. In like manner the other, which is accused either of Adultery or Sorcery, is commanded by her Oath to declare her Innocency, that she is not guilty of those facts. So that it is evident unto all Men, that in such cases, whether they be guilty or not guilty, they must swear, if they will keep their good name and fame. Whereby not only the unlawful lucre of Gain and Money is sought, but also wilful Perjury forced, and the Secular Power and Judges letted from the punishment thereof, so that contrary to all reason Offences do remain unpunished.

Complaint against spiritual Judges, taking Secular Causes from the Civil Magistrate.

The two Kings
of temporal
Causes unto
the spiritual
Court for
gain of mo-
ney.

Albeit there be many Causes so indifferent to both Jurisdictions, that they may be pleaded and punished as well by the Civil Magistrate as Ecclesiastical Judge; notwithstanding it happeneth oftentimes, that when as the Civil Magistrates would exercise their Office and Jurisdiction in this behalf, they are so bidden and letted by the Ecclesiastical Judges, under pain of Excommunication. Which thing if it should long continue and be suffered, the Ecclesiastical Judges would shortly take away all manner of Causes from the Civil Magistrate, and his Jurisdiction; which is intolerable, and derogatory both unto the Emperor's Majesty, and other States of the Empire. And albeit that by the Common Laws manifest Perjuries, Adulteries, Witchcrafts, and such other like, may indifferently be punished by Ecclesiastical or Civil Judges for the time being, so that prevention in this behalf taketh place; notwithstanding the Ecclesiastical Judges go about to usurp unto themselves and their Jurisdiction all such manner of Causes: which Burden and Grievance the Civil Jurisdiction and Power ought not to suffer.

A Complaint against Ecclesiastical Judges, intermeddling with Causes of the Secular Court, but will not suffer their Causes once to be touched of the other.

The Clergy
may deal in
Civil Causes,
but the Civil
Magistrate
must not
deal in theirs.

Moreover, the Ecclesiastical Judges say, that in such cases it is lawful for them to take prophane matters into their hands, if the Civil Magistrate be found negligent in executing of Justice: but contrariwise, they will not suffer that the like Order should be kept with them, neither will they permit that in Ecclesiastical Matters any Man may complain unto the Civil Magistrate for lack of Justice, and require the administration of Justice at his hand. Albeit, they do define all Laws generally common, and determine how the Canon Laws may help and assist the Civil, and contrariwise the Civil Laws the Canon.

Complaint against certain Misorders of Cathedral Churches, for using double Punishment for one Offence against the Law.

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FOrasmuch as it is forbidden both by God's Law and Man's, that any Man should be beaten with two Rods, that is to say, to be punished with two kinds of Torments; worthily therefore do all wise Men detest and abhor the odious Statutes of divers Cathedral Churches, whereby Murderers, both Men and Women, and other, as well light as grievous Offenders, have been hitherto vexed and tormented: for hitherto it hath been accustomed, that such as were guilty of Murder, and such other Crimes, (which they call Causes reserved unto the Bishops) after they had made their Auricular Confession, were compelled (to their great ignominy and shame) to do penance in the sight of all the People: which Penance were not so much to be disallowed, bearing some semblance of the Institution of the Primitive Church, if so be it these busy Officials (being contented therewith) would not extort more and greater Sums of Money than were right and lawful, and so punish those Offenders with double punishment; wherewithal it is to be marvelled how many are offended and grieved. How wicked a thing this is, and how far it differeth from Christ's Institution, we will refer it to every good Conscience to judge.

Certain Oc-
ders or Ca-
thedral
Churches
reprovable.

Complaint of Officials for maintaining unlawful Usury.

Furthermore, the Officials, being allured through the greedy and unsatiable desire of Money, do not only not forbid unlawful Usuries and Gains of Money, but also suffer and maintain the same. Moreover, they taking a yearly Stipend and Pension, do suffer the Clergy and other religious Persons unlawfully to dwell with their Concubines and Harlots, and to beget Children by them. Both which things how great offence, and detriment they do bring, both unto Body and Soul, every Man may plainly see (so that it need not to be rehearsed) except he will make himself as blind as a Mole.

Officials tak-
ing Pension
of Priests for
keeping Con-
cubines.

Complaint of Officials permitting unlawful cohabitation with other, when the Husband or Wife are long absent.

Furthermore, where it so happeneth (as it doth oftentimes) that either the good Man, or the good Wife, by means of War, or some other Vow, hath taken in hand some long Journey, and so tarrieth longer than serveth the appetite of the other, the Official, taking a reward of the other, giveth license to the Party to dwell with any other Person, not having first regard, or making inquisition whether the Husband or Wife, being absent, be in health or dead. And because these their doings should not be evil spoken of, they name it a Toleration of Sufferance, not without great offence to all Men, and to the great contempt of holy Matrimony.

Complaint of Canons in Cathedral Churches, which have their Bishop sworn unto them before he be chosen.

This is also unlawful and plainly wicked, that the Canons of Cathedral Churches, in whole hand the principal part of Ecclesiastical Judgments, Synods, and Censures do consist, and the Canons of other Collegiate Churches, which have power and authority to chuse their Superior and Bishop, will chuse none to their Bishop, except he bind himself first with an Oath, and plainly swear, yea, and oftentimes is bound by Bond and Instruments, sealed with their Seals, to them and their Ecclesiastical Judges, that in no matter, be it never so grievous, intolerable, or dishonest, he shall be against them: and if it happen at any time that they do offend, they may do it also without punishment for him.

The practice
in Chapters
of Cathedral
Churches
to make the
Bishops
sworn unto
them.

Complaint

K. Hen. 8.

Complaint against Incorporations or Impropriations, and other piling of the People by Church-Men.

The inconvenience of Impropriations.

Many Parish-Churches are subject unto Monasteries, and to the Parsons of other Churches, by means of Incorporations, (as they call them) or otherwise, which they are bound also, according to the Canon Laws, to foresee and look unto by themselves, when as they do put them forth unto others to be governed, referring for the most part unto themselves the whole Stipend of the Benefits and Tithes; and moreover aggravate and charge the same with so great Penfions, that the Hiring-Priests, and other Ministers of the Church, cannot have thereupon a decent and competent living. Whereby it cometh to pass, that these Hiring-Priests (for that they must needs have whereupon to live) do with unlawful exactions miserably spoil and devour the poor Sheep committed unto them, and consume all their subsistence. For when as the Sacraments of the Altar and of Baptism are to be administered, or when the first, the seventh, the thirtieth, and Year-day must be kept; when Auricular Confession cometh to be heard, the Dead to be buried, or any other Ceremony whatsoever about the Funeral is to be done, they will not do it freely, but extort and exact so much Money, as the miserable Communality is scarce able to disburse: and daily they do increase and augment these their Exactions, driving the simple poor People to the payment thereof, by threatening them with Excommunication, or by other ways compelling them to be at charge: which otherwise through poverty are not able to maintain Obsequies, Year-minds, and such other like Ceremonies, as to the Funerals of the Dead be appertaining.

Buying and selling of Burials complained of.

Gain gotten by selling Burial.

It is ordained by the Pope's Canon, That Burial in the Church should be denied only unto them which being known to be manifest and notorious Offenders, have departed this life without receiving of the Sacrament. But the Clergy, notwithstanding those Decrees, will not suffer such as by chance are drowned, killed, slain with Fall or Fire, or otherwise by chance have ended their lives, (albeit it be not evident that they were in deadly Sin) to be buried in the Churches, until such time as the Wives, Children, or Friends of those Men so dead, do with great Sums of Money purchase and buy the Burial of them in the Church-yard.

Chaste and continent Priests compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.

Concubines permitted for Priests, and how they are compelled to pay tribute for them.

Also in many places the Bishops and their Officials do not only suffer Priests to have Concubines, so that they pay certain Sums of Money, but also compel continent and chaste Priests, which live without Concubines, to pay Tribute for Concubines, affirming that the Bishop hath need of Money: which being paid, it shall be lawful for them either to live chaste, or to keep Concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every Man doth well understand and know.

These, with many other Burthens and Grievances more, to the number of an hundred, the Secular States of Germany delivered to the Pope's Legate; having (as they said) many more and more grievous Grievances besides these, which had likewise much need of redress: but because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves (they said) with these aforesaid hundred, referring the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity: steadfastly trusting and hoping, that when those hundred Grievances already by them declared, should be abolished, the other would also decay and fall with them. Of the which aforesaid Grievances and Complaints here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the Emperor at the Council of Worms; but because no redress thereof did follow, therefore the Secular States of Germany thought good to exhibit the same now again, with divers more annexed therunto, to *Cherogatus*, the Pope's Legat in this present Assembly of Nuremberg, desiring him to present the same to Pope *Adrian*. This was about the year of our Lord 1523. Which being done, the Assembly of Nuremberg brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year following.

The Diet of Nuremberg began anno 1523, and brake up Anno 1523.

In this mean time Pope *Adrian* died. After him succeeded Pope *Clement* the Seventh, who the next year following, which was Anno 1524, sent down his Legate, Cardinal *Campeius*, unto the Council of the German Princes assembled again at Nuremberg, about the Month of March, with Letters also to Duke *Frederick*, full of many fair Petitions and sharp Complaints, &c. But as touching the Grievances above-mentioned, no word nor message at all was sent, neither by *Campeius*, nor by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of against *Luther*, either for suppression of the Liberty of the Gospel, or for upholding of the Pope's Dignity, the Pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the Princes: but where any redress was to be required for the publick wealth of Christian People, or touching the necessary reformation of the Church, herein the Pope neither giveth ear nor answer.

The death of Pope Adrian. Pope Clement the Seventh. Cardinal Campeius the Pope's Legate sent into Germany. The Pope only looketh to his own dignity, but publick Reformation never toucheth.

And thus having discoursed such matters occurrent between the Pope and Princes of Germany, at the Synod of Nuremberg, let us now proceed, returning again to the Story of *Luther*, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept sequestered and solitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain Nobles in Saxony, because of the Emperor's Edict above mentioned. In the mean time, while *Luther* had thus absented himself out of Wittenberg, *Andreas Carlostadius*, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in Causes of Religion, had stirred up the People to throw down Images in the Temples, besides other things more. For the which cause *Luther*, returning again into the City, greatly misliked the order of their doings, and reproveth the rashness of *Carlostadius*, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that Pictures and Images ought first to be thrown out of the Hearts and Consciences of Men; and that the People ought first to be taught, that we are saved before God, and please him only by Faith; and that Images serve to no purpose: This done, and the People well instructed, there was no danger in Images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary (he said) as tho he would maintain Images to stand or to be suffered: but that this ought to be done by the Magistrate, and not by force, upon every private Man's head, without order and authority. *Ex Joan. Steid. lib. 3.*

Carlostadius is called down Images in Wittenberg.

Luther misliked to throw out of Images by the People's hands.

Ex Joan. Steid. lib. 3.

Furthermore, *Luther* writing of *Carlostadius*, affirmed, that he also joined with the sentence of them, which began then to spread about certain parts of Saxony, saying, that they were taught of God that all Wickedness being utterly suppressed, and all the wicked doers slain, a new full perfection of all things must be set up, and the Innocent only to enjoy all things, &c.

The cause disliked by Luther permitted Images to stand.

The cause why *Luther* so stood against that violent throwing down of Images and against *Carlostadius*, seemeth partly to rise of this, by reason that Pope *Adrian*, in his Letters sent to the Princes and States of Germany, doth grievously complain and charge the Sect of *Luther* for Sedition and Tumults, and Rebellion against Magistrates, as subverters and destroyers of all Order and Obedience, as appeared by the words of the Pope's Letter before expressed: therefore *Martin Luther*, to stop the mouth of such slanderers, and to prevent such sinister suspitions, was enforced to take this way which he did, that is, to proceed as much as he might by Order and Authority.

Two things to be noted in Luther one bearing with Images.

Wherein are to be noted by the way two special points touching the doctrine and doings of *Martin Luther*, especially for all such who in these our days, now abusing the name and authority of *Luther*, think themselves to be good *Lutherans*, if they suffer Images still to remain in Temples, and admit such things in the Church, which themselves do wish to be away.

The first is, the manner how and after what sort *Luther* did suffer such Images to stand: For although he assented not, that the vulgar and private Multitude tumultuously by violence should rap them down; yet that is no argument now for the Magistrate to let them stand.

And tho he allowed not the Ministers to stir up the People by forcible means to promote Religion; yet that argueth not those Magistrates to be good *Lutherans*, which may and should remove them, and will not.

The second Point to be noted is, To consider the cause why that *Luther* did so stand with standing of Images, which cause was Time, and not his own Judgment: for albeit in Judgment he wished them away, yet Time so served not these-

thereunto then, as it serveth now: For then the Doctrine of Luther first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet known whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow; but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the Pope hearing of the doings of Caroloftadius in Wittenberg, and of other like, took his ground thereby to charge the Sect of Luther with sedition, uproars, and diffolute liberty of Life. And this was the cause why Luther compelled then by necessity of time to save his Doctrine from slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the Pope, (as ye have heard) was so much offended with Caroloftadius and others, for their violence used against Images. For otherwise had it not been for the Pope's Accusations, there is no doubt but Luther would have been as well contented with abolishing of Images, and other Monuments of Popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the Friars Augustines for abrogating of private Masses. And therefore as Luther in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered; so the like excuse perhaps will not serve the overmuch curious imitation of certain Lutherans in this present Age now; which, considering only the fact of Luther, do not mark the purpose of Luther, neither do expend the circumstances and time of his doings: being not much unlike to the ridiculous Imitators of King Alexander the Great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his virtues, but they would also counterfeite him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides. But to these living now in the Church, in another age than Luther did, it may seem (after my mind) sufficient to follow the same way after Luther, or to walk with Luther to the Kingdom of Christ, tho they jump not also in every footstep of his, and keep even the same pace and turnings in all points as he did.

Luther not so become contemned for one little blemish.

Commendation of Martin Luther's Doctrine. Cyprian so much delighted in reading of Tertullian, that whosoever he called for his Book, he had reach him his Master.

The conflict between Luther and Zuinglius is not in effect of Doctrine.

And contrarywise, of the other sort, much less are they to be commended, which running as much on the contrary thing, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stooping of Luther in the Sacrament, therefore they give clean over the reading of Luther, and fall almost in utter contempt of his Books. Whereby is declared, not so much the niceness and curiosities of these our days, as the hindrance that cometh thereby to the Church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned Writers, able to instruct in matters of Doctrine; yet in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith is to be opened to our Confidence; and where the Soul, wrestling for death and life, standeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be found of Martin Luther, among all the other variety of Writers, that St. Cyprian was wont to say of Tertullian *Da magistrum*, Give me my Master. And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and dissented from Zuinglius in this one matter of the Sacrament; yet in all other states of Doctrines they did accord, as appeared in the Synod holden at Marpurg, by Prince Philip Landgrave of Hesse, which was in the year of our Lord 1529. where both Luther and Zuinglius were present, and conferring together, agreed in these Articles:

1. On the Unity and Trinity of God. 2. In the Incarnation of the Word. 3. In the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. 4. In the Article of Original sin. 5. In the Article of Faith in Christ Jesus. 6. That this Faith cometh not of Man, but by the gift of God. 7. That this Faith is our Righteousness. 8. Touching the extreme Word. 9. Likewise they agreed in the Articles of Baptism. 10. Of good Works. 11. Of Confession. 12. Of Magistrate. 13. Of Monastic Traditions. 14. Of Baptism of Infants. 15. Lastly, concerning the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper: This they did believe and hold; first, that both the kinds thereof are to be ministered to the People according to Christ's institution; and that the Mass is no such work for the which a Man may obtain grace both for the Quick and the Dead. Item, that the Sacrament (which they call of the Altar) is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Item, that the spiritual manducation of his Body and Blood is necessary for every Christian Man. And furthermore, that the use of the Sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the Word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirm Consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy-Ghost, &c. Ex Paral. Abbat. Ursp.

In all these Summs of Doctrine above recited, Luther and

Zuinglius did consent and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's Supper, but that in the principal points they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, What is the material substance of the Sacrament, which our outward Senses do behold and feel? they will both confesse Bread, and not the Accidents only of Bread. Further, if the question be asked, whether Christ be there present? they will both confesse his true presence to be there, only in the manner of presence they differ. Again, ask, Whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the Sacrament is to be worshipped? they will both deny it, and judg it Idolatry. And likewise for Transubstantiation, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, they both do abhor, and do deny the same: as also the Communion to be in both kinds administered, they do both assent and grant.

Only their difference is in this, concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my Body, &c. which words Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter standeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the Body and Blood of Christ truly to be in the Bread and Wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. *Udricus Zuinglius*, with *Joannes Oecolampadius*, and other more, do interpret these words otherwise; as to be taken not literally, but to have a spiritual meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words, *This is my Body*, is thus to be expounded: This signifieth my Body and Blood. Ex *Joan. Sleid. lib. 5.* With Luther contented the Saxons, with the other side of Zuinglius went the *Helvetians*. And as time did grow, to the division of these opinions increased in fides, and spread in farther Realms and Countries: the one part being called, of Luther, *Lutherans*; the other having the name of *Sacramentaries*. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion, both the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentaries* do accord and agree, that the Bread and Wine there present is not transubstantiate into the Body and Blood of Christ, (as is said) but is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood.

But heretofore sufficient, touching this division between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*. In which division, if there have been any defect in *Martin Luther*, yet is that no cause why either the Papists may greatly triumph, or why the Protestants should despise Luther: For neither is the Doctrine of Luther touching the Sacrament so gross, that it maketh much with the Papists; nor yet so discrepant from us, that therefore he ought to be exploded. And tho a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made, (as some have gone about to do) yet let us give to Luther a moderate interpretation; and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worse than they be, and let us bear, if not with the manner, yet at least with the time of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we should seem to differ in Charity more (as *Bucer* said) than we do in Doctrine. But of this hereafter more (Christ willing) when we come to the History of *John Frisli*.

They which write the Life of Saints, use to describe and extoll their holy Life and godly Vertues, and also to set forth such Miracles as are wrought in them by God. Whereof there lacketh no plenty in *M. Luther*, but rather time lacketh to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having such haste to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seem to be, for one Man, and a poor Friar, creeping out of a blind Cloister, to be set up against the Pope, the Universal Bishop, and God's mighty Vice in Earth: to withstand all his Cardinals, yea, and to sustain the malice and hatred almost of the whole World being set against him; and to work that against the said Pope, Cardinals, and Church of Rome, which no King nor Emperor could ever do, yea, durst never attempt, nor all the learned Men before him could ever compass. Which miraculous work of God I recount nothing inferior to the miracle of *David* overthrowing great *Goliath*. Wherefore if Miracles do make a Saint, (after the Pope's definition) what lacketh in *Martin Luther*, but Age and Time only, to make him a Saint? who standing openly against the Pope, Cardinals, and Prelates of the Church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having Emperors and all the Kings of the Earth against him; who teaching and preaching Christ the face of nine and twenty years, could without touch of all his enemies,

R. Hen 8.

Luther and Zuinglius agree in the preference, only in the manner of the preference they differ.

How and wherein Luther and Zuinglius differ in the doctrine of the Lords Supper. Luther's opinion is in the Sacrament. Zuinglius's opinion is the Sacrament.

Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 5.

Lutherans, Sacramentaries.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Ursp.

Lutherans and Zuinglians differ more in Charity than in Doctrine.

A notable miracle of God to overthrow the Pope by a poor Friar.

...mies, so quietly in his own Country where he was born, die and sleep in peace. In the which *Martin Luther*, first to stand against the Pope was a great Miracle; to prevail against the Pope, a greater; so to die untouched, may seem greatest of all, especially having so many Enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing less miraculous, to consider what manifold dangers he escaped besides: as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to destroy him by poison, yet was it so the will of God, that *Luther* had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the Peril.

K. Hen. 8.
Three mirac-
cles noted in
Luther.

*Martin Lu-
ther miracu-
lously pre-
served.*

*Martin Lu-
ther when
mighty in
Prayer.*

A miracu-
lous work of
the Lord in
delivering a
young Man
out of the
Devil's dan-
ger by Chri-
stian Prayer.

Ex Phil. Me-
landih. in
erat. funeral.
Ex Hieron.
Wellerus.
Luther over-
came all his
temptations
with covet-
ousness.

His Lu-
ther how
long he lived
and caught.

The Sick-
ness
at Luther.

Another time, as he was sitting in a certain place upon his Stool, a great Stone there was in the Vault over his head where he did sit; which being said miraculously so long as he was sitting, as soon as he was up, immediately fell upon the place where he sat, able to have crush'd him all in pieces, if it had light upon him.

And what should I speak of his Prayers, which were so ardent unto Christ, that (as *Melancthon* writeth) they which stood under his Window where he stood praying, might see his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with such power he prayed, that he (as himself confesseth) had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he lived, the Pope should not prevail in his Country; after his death (said he) let them pray who could.

And as touching the marvellous works of the Lord, wrought here by Men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the Learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young Man about *Wittenberg*, who, being kept bare and needy by his Father, was tempted by a way of Sorcery to bargain with a Devil, or a Familiar (as they call him) to yield himself body and soul into the Devil's power, upon condition to have his wish satisfied with Money. So that upon the same an Obligation was made by the young Man, written with his own blood, and given to the Devil: this case you see how horrible it was, and how damnable; now hear what followed. Upon the sudden wealth and alteration of this young Man, the matter first being noted, began afterward more and more to be suspected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought unto *Martin Luther* to be examined. The young Man, whether for shame or fear, long denied to confess, and would be known of nothing; yet God so wrought, being stronger than the Devil, that he uttered unto *Luther* the whole substance of the cause, as well touching the Money, as the Obligation. *Luther* understanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable state of the Man, willed the whole Congregation to pray, and he himself ceased not with his prayers to labour; so that the Devil was compelled at the last to throw in his Obligation at the window, and bad him take it again unto him. Which Narration, if it be so true, as certainly it is of him reported, I see not the contrary, but that this may well seem comparable with the greatest miracle in Christ's Church that was since the Apostles time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his Prayers, so in his Sermons; God gave him such a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him thought every one his own Temptation severely to be noted and touched. Whereof, when signification was given unto him by his Friends, and he demanded how that could be; mine own manifold temptations (said he) and experiences are the cause thereof. For this thou must understand (good Reader) that

Luther from his tender years was much beaten and exercised with spiritual Conflicts, as *Melancthon* in describing his Life doth testify. Also *Hieron. Wellerus*, Scholar and Disciple of the said *Martin Luther*, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard *Luther* his Master thus report of himself, That he had been assailed and vexed with all kinds of temptations, saving only one, which was in Covetousness; with this Vice he was never (said he) in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.

And hitherto concerning the Life of *Martin Luther*, who lived till the year of his age sixty three, continued writing and preaching about twenty nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of *Melancthon* be these:

In the year of our Lord 1546, and the 17th of February, Dr. *Martin Luther* sicked a little before Supper of his accustomed Malady, to wit of the oppression of humors in the orifice or opening of the Stomach, whereof I remember I have seen him oft diseased in this place. This Sicknes took

him after Supper, with the which he vehemently contending, required feces into a By-chamber, and there he rested on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increased: And as Dr. *Jonas* was lying in his Chamber, *Luther* awaked, and prayed him to rise, and to call up *Ambrose* his Childrens Schoolmaster, to make fire in another Chamber. Into the which when he was newly entred, *Albert* Earl of *Mansfield*, with his Wife, and divers others, (whose names in these Letters for haste were not expressed) at that instant came into his Chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, Feb. 18. he commended himself to God with this devout Prayer:

The Prayer of *Luther* at his death.

*M*T heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou hast manifested unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; I have taught him, I have known him, I love him as my Life, my Health, and my Redemption; whom the Wicked have persecuted, maltreated, and with injury afflicted. Draw my Soul to thee.

The Prayer
of Luther at
his death

After this he said as ensueth, thrice: I commend my Spirit into thy hands, thou hast redeemed me, O God of Truth: God so loved the World, that he gave his only Son, that all those that believe in him should have life everlasting: John 3.

Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, unto whom so faithfully he commended his Spirit; to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed Society of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles in the Kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost. Let us now love the memory of this Man, and the Doctrine that he hath taught. Let us learn to be modest and meek: let us consider the wretched Calamities and marvellous Changes, that shall follow this Misfall and doleful Chance. I beseech thee, O Son of God, crucified for us, and resurrected *Emmanuel*, govern, conserve, and defend thy Church. *Hec Melancthon.*

Fredericus Prince Elector died long before *Luther*, in the year of our Lord 1525; leaving no issue behind him, for that he lived a single life, and was never married: wherefore after him succeeded *John Fredericus* Duke of *Saxony*.

The death of
Duke Freder-
rick.

Mention was made a little before of the Ministers of *Strasbourg*, which because of their marriage were in trouble, and cited by the Bishop to appear before him, and there to be judged, without the precinct of the City of *Strasbourg*; whereas there had been a contrary order taken before between the Bishop and the City, that the Bishop should execute no judgment upon any, but under some of the Magistrates of the said City of *Strasbourg*. Whereupon the Senate and the Citizens taking into their hands the cause of these married Ministers, in defence of their own Right and Liberties, wrote (as is said) to their Bishop of *Strasbourg*, and caused the Judgment thereof a while to be stayed. By reason whereof the matter was brought at length before Cardinal *Campeius*, Legate, sent by Pope *Clement* to the Assembly of *Nuremberg*, Anno 1524.

The chief doer in this matter was one *Thomas Murnerus*, a Franciscan Friar, who had commenced a grievous complaint against the Senate and City of *Strasbourg*, before the said Cardinal *Campeius*. Wherefore the Senate, to purge themselves, sent their Embassadors, thus clearing their cause, and answering to their accusation: That they neither had been nor would be any Let to the Bishop, but had signified to him before by their Letters, that whatsoever he could lay against those married Priests, conform to the Law of God, they would be no stay, but rather a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action. But the Senate herein was not a little grieved, that the Bishop, contrary to the Order and Compact which was taken between him and them, did call the said Ministers out of the Liberties of their City; for so it was between them agreed, that no Ecclesiastical Person should be adjudged but under some Judge of their own City. But now contrary to their said agreement, the Bishops called those Ministers out of their Liberties; and so the Ministers, claiming the Right and Privilege of the City, were condemned, their cause being neither heard nor known. And now if the Senate should shew themselves any thing more sharp or rigorous unto those Ministers, claiming the Right of the City, the People, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would rise up in some commotion against them in the quarrel and defence of their Franchises and Liberties.

The dispute
between the
Senate of
Strasbourg
and Cardinal
Campeius, a
short narra-
tion of the
Ministers

Murnerus a
Friar, an ac-
cuser of mar-
ried Minis-
ters. - - -
The Senate
of Strasbourg
purge them-
selves to Car-
dinal Cam-
peius.

The Bishop
of Strasbourg
breaketh the
Agreement
made, and
the Liberty
of the City.

And

And where it is objected, that they receive Priests and men of the Clergy into the Freedom and Protection of their City: to this they answered, That they did nothing herein, but that which was correspondent to the ancient usage and manner of the City before: and moreover, that it was the Bishops own request and desire made unto them so to do.

To this the Cardinal again, advising well the Letters of the Bishop, and the whole order of the matter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right well understood by the Letters sent, that the Ministers indeed (as the Embassadors said) were called out from the Freedom and Liberties of the City, and yet no order of Law was broken therein; forasmuch as the Bishop (said he) had there no less power and authority, than if he were his own Vicar Delegate, and therefore he desired them, that they would assist the Bishop in punishing the foresaid Ministers, &c.

After much other talk and reasoning, on both Parties, wherein the Ambassadors argued in defence of their Freedom, that the Judgment should not be transferred out of the City: Among other Communication, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the City of *Strasbourg* were many, yea, the most part of the Clergy, which lived viciously and wickedly with their Strumpets and Harlots, whom they kept in their Houses, to the great offence of the People, shame to Christ's Church, and pernicious Example of others; and yet the Bishop would never once stir to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore if the Senate (said the Ambassadors) should permit the Bishop to extend his Cruelty and Extremity against these married Ministers, for not observing the Bishop of Rome's Law, and leave the other notorious Whoremasters, which break the Law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtless it would redound to their great danger and peril, not only before God, but also among the Commons of their City, ready to rise upon them.

To this *Campeius* answered, What Composition or Bargain was betwixt the Bishop and them, he knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, and needed no great Tryal in Law of proving and confessing, and therefore they were sequestered and abandoned from the Communion of the Church, *ipso facto*. As for the other sort of them, which keep Harlots and Concubines, altho (said he) it be not well done, yet doth it not excuse the enormity of their Marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the Bishops of Germany, for Money to wink at Priests Lemans, and the same also was evil done indeed: And further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same: but yet nevertheless it is not sufferable that Priests therefore should have Wives. And if Comparison should be made (said he) much greater offence it were, a Priest to have a Wife, than to have and keep at home many Harlots. His Reason was this; for they that keep Harlots (said he) as it is naught that they do, so do they acknowledge their sin: the other perfwade themselves that they do well, and so continue still without Repentance, or Conscience of their Fact. All men (said he) cannot be chaste, as *John the Baptist* was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for Priests, professing Chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no, not the Greeks themselves, which in Rights be differing from us, do give this Liberty to their own Priests to marry: wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the Bishop in this behalf.

Whereunto the Ambassadors replied again, saying, That if he would first punish the Whoremasters, then might the Senate assist him the better in correcting the other: but the Cardinal was still instant upon them, that first they should assist their Bishop, and then if the Bishop would not punish Whoredom, he would come thither himself and see them punished accordingly.

This Cardinal *Campeius*, how he was sent by Pope Clement the sixth to the second Assembly or Dyet of *Norrenberg*, Anno 1524, and what was there done by the said Cardinal, is before signified. After this Council of *Norrenberg*, immediately followed another Sitting at *Ratisbone*, where were present *Ferdinandus*, *Campeius*, the Cardinal of *Salzburg*, the two Dukes of *Bavaria*, the Bishops of *Trent* and *Ratisbone*; also the Legats of the Bishops, *Bamberg*, *Spire*, *Strasbourg*, *Augsburg*, *Constance*, *Basil*,

Erfing, *Passawe*, and *Brixim*. By whom in the said Assembly it was concluded;

K. Hen. 8.

That forasmuch as the Emperor, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned by his publick Edit set forth at Worms, the Doctrine of Luther for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed upon in both the Assemblies of *Norrenberg*, that the said Edit should be obeyed of all men; they likewise, as the request of Cardinal *Campeius*, do will and command the foresaid Edit to be observed through all their Fines and Precincts: That the Gospel, and all other holy Scriptures, should be taught in Churches according to the Interpretation of the ancient Forefathers: That all they which receive any old Heresie before condemned, or teach any new thing consensuall, either against Christ, his blessed Mother, and holy Saints, or which may breed any occasion of Sedition, are to be punished according to the Tenour of the Edit aforesaid: That none be admitted to preach without the Licence of his Ordinary: That they which be already admitted, shall be examined how, and what they preach: That the Laws which *Campeius* is about to set forth for Reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the Sacraments, in the Mass, and all other things, there shall be no Innovation, but all things to stand as in fore-time they did: That all they which approach to the Lord's Supper without Confession and Absolution, or do eat Flesh on days forbidden, or which do run out of their Order; also Priests, Deacons, and Sub-deacons, that be married, shall be punished: That nothing shall be printed without consent of the Magistrate: That no Book of Luther, or any Lutheran shall be printed or sold: That they of their Jurisdiction, which study in the University of *Wittenberg*, shall every one repair home within three Months after the publishing hereof, or else turn to some other place free from the Infection of Luther, under pain of confiscating all their Goods, and losing their Inheritance: That no Benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any Student of that University. Item, That certain Inquisitors sit for the same, be appointed to enquire and examine the Premises. Item, lest it may be said, that this Faction of Luther taketh his origin of the corrupt Life of Priests, the said *Campeius*, with other his Assistants in the said Convocation of *Ratisbone*, charged and commanded, that Priests live honestly, go in decent Apparel, play not the Merchant, hunt not the Taverners, be not covetous, nor take money for their Ministration; such as keep Concubines to be removed: the number also of Holy-days to be diminished, &c.

These things would *Campeius* have had Enacted in a full Council, and with the consents of all the Empire: but when he could not bring that to pass, by reason that the minds of divers were gone from the Pope; he was faine therefore to give the same ratified in this particular Conventicle, with the Assents of these Bishops above rehearsed.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, which fully may be seen in the Commentaries of *John Sleiden*, it remaineth next after the Story of *Martin Luther*, somewhat to adjoyn likewise touching the History of *Zuinglius*, and of the *Helvetians*. But before I come to the explication of this Story, it shall not be inconvenient, first to give some little touch of the Towns, called *Pages*, of these *Helvetians*, and of their League and Confederation first begun amongst them.

The History of the *Helvetians* or *Switzers*, how they first recovered their Liberty, and after were joyned in League together.

THE *Helvetians*, whom otherwise we call *Switzers*, are divided principally into thirteen Pages. The Names of whom are *Tigurini*, *Bernotens*, *Lucernates*, *Uriani*, *Suicerfes*, *Unterwaldii*, *Tugiani*, *Glarantii*, *Basilienses*, *Soloduri*, *Friburgi*, *Scasufiani*, *Appenzelenses*. Furthermore, to these be added seven other Pages, albeit not with such a full Bond as the other be, together conjoined; which be these: *Rheti*, *Leptontii*, *Seduni*, *Veragri*, *Sangalli*, *Mullusiani*, *Rotensenses*. Of these thirteen confederate Pages above recited, these three were the first, to wit, *Urania*, *Suicerfes*, and *Sivani*, or (as some call them)

Popish doctrines made at the Council of Ratisbone.

Campeius' misled of his purpose in Germany.

How the Helvetians came free, and joyned together in league. Ex Chron. Helvetic. Ex Schaff. Munit. Conf. mag. lib. 2. Ex Com. Joan. Sleiden. lib. 2.

The answer of Campeius to the Ambassadors. The Pope. Besides he lawless, and can break no order whatsoever they do.

The Ambassadors Reply against the Cardinal.

Holy Matrimony punished, which Whoredom escape.

Campeius answereth.

Ipso facto, that is, upon the very doing of the act, without any further judgement or tryal by the Law.

A fit reason for a carnal Cardinal; better it is to have many Conventicles than one Wife.

Touche the Greek Church this Cardinal receives untruly. The Answer: Ratisbon.

The Assembly or Dyet at Ratisbone.

them) *Unterwaldii*, which joyned themselves together. If credit should be given to old Narrations, these three Pages or Valleys * first suffered great Servitude and Thralldom under cruel Rulers or Governors: insomuch that the Governour of *Sylvania* (a) required of one of the Inhabitants a yoke of his Oxen; which when the Townsmen denied to give him, the Ruler sent his servant by force to take his Oxen from him. This when the Servant was about to do, cometh the poor man's Son, and cutteth off one of his Fingers, and upon the same avoided. The Governour hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

At another time in the said *Sylvania*, as the good man of the Houle was absent abroad, the Governour which had then the rule of the Town, entering into the Houle, commanded the Wife to prepare for him a Bath, and to let him have his pleasure of her. Whereunto the being unwilling, deferred the Bath as long as she might, till the return of her Husband. To whom then the making her complaint, so moved his mind, that he, with his Axe or Hatchet which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous Ruler and slew him.

Another example of like violence is reported of the Ruler of *Suicia* and *Sylvania*, who, surprised with the like Pride and Didain against the poor Underlings, caused his Cap to be hanged upon a Pole, charging and commanding by his Servant, all that passed by to do obedience to his Cap. Which when one named *William Tell* refused to do, the Tyrant caused his Son to be tied, with an Apple (set upon his Head, and the Father with a Cross-bow, or a like Instrument, to shoot at the Apple. After long refusing, when the woful Father could not otherwise chuse, being by force constrained, but must level at the Apple; as God would, he mist the Child, and struck the Mark. This *Tell* being thus compelled by the Tyrant to shoot at his Son, had brought with him two Shafts; thinking that if he had struck the Child with one, the other he would have let drive at the Tyrant. Which being understood, he was apprehended and led to the Ruler's Houle: but by the way escaping out of the Boat between *Urania* and *Brun*, and passing through the Mountains with as much speed as he might lay in the way secretly as the Ruler should pass, where he discharged his Arrow at the Tyrant and slew him.

And thus were these cruel Governours utterly expelled out of these three Valleys or Pages afore said; and after that such order was taken by the Emperor *Henricus* the seventh, and also by the Emperor *Lodovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, that henceforth no Judge should be set over them, but only of their own Company, and Town-dwellers. *Ex Seb. Munster. Cosmog. lib. 3.*

It followed after this, in the year of our Lord, 1315, that great Contention and War fell between *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, and *Ludovick* Duke of *Bavaria*, striving and fighting the space of eight years together about the Empire. With *Ludovick* held the three Pages afore said; who had divers Conflicts with *Lupoldus*, Brother to the aforementioned *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, fighting in his Brother's quarrel. As *Lupoldus* had reared a mighty Army of twenty thousand Footmen and Horsemen, and was come to *Egrie*, so to pass over the Mountains to subdue the Pages; he began to take advice of his Council, by what way or passage best he might direct his Journey towards the *Switzers*. Whereupon as they were busie in consulting, there stood a Fool by, named *Kune de Stucken*, which hearing their advice, thought also to shoot his Bolt withal, and told them, that their Council did not like him: For all you (quoth he) confide how we should enter into yonder Country; but none of you giveth any counsel how to come out again after we be entered. And in conclusion, as the Fool said, so they found it true. For when *Lupoldus* with his host had entered into the Streights and Valleys between the Rocks and Mountains, the *Switzers* with their Neighbours of *Urania* and *Sylvania*, lying in privy wait, had them at such advantage, and with tumbling down Stones from the Rocks, and sudden coming upon their Backs in blind Lanes, did so incumber them, that neither they had convenient standing to fight, nor room almost to fly away. By reason whereof a great part of *Lupoldus* Army there, being inclosed about the place called *Morgarten*, lost their lives, and many in the fight were slain. *Lupoldus* with them that remained, retired and escaped to *Turgota*. This Battel was fought Anno

1315, the sixteenth day of November.

After this, the Burgers of these three Villages, being continually vexed by *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, for that they would not acknowledge him for Emperor, assembled themselves in the Town of *Urania*, Anno 1316, and there entered a mutual League and Bond of perpetual Society and Conjunction, joyning and swearing themselves, as in one Body of a Common-wealth, and publick Administration together. After that came to them *Lucernates*, then *Tugani*, after them the *Tigurines*, next to whom followed *Bornates*, the last almost of all were the *Basiliens*, then followed after the other seven Pages above recited.

And thus have ye the Names, the Freedom, and Consideration of these *Switzers*, or Cantons, or Pages of *Helvetia*, with the Occasions and Circumstances thereof, briefly expressed. Now to the purpose of our Story intended, which is to declare the success of Christ's Gospel and true Religion received among the *Helvetians*: also touching the Life and Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, and order of his Death, as here ensueth.

The Ails and Life of Zuinglius: and of receiving the Gospel in Switzerland.

IN the tractation of *Luther's* Story, mention was made before of *Uldricus Zuinglius*, who first abiding at *Glaronna*, in a place called then our Lord's *Ermitage*, from thence removed to *Zurich* about the year of our Lord 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the Minster among the Canons or Priests of that Close; using with them the same Rites and Ceremonies during the space of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great travel, and no less dexterity. And because Pope *Leo* the same year had renewed his Pardons again through all Countries (as is above declared) *Zuinglius* zealously withstood the same, detecting the Abuses thereof by the Scriptures, and of other Corruptions reigning then in the Church, and so continued by the space of two years and more, till at length *Hugo* Bishop of *Constance* (to whose Jurisdiction *Zurich* then also did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his Letter to the Senate of the said City of *Zurich*, complaining grievously of *Zuinglius*; who also wrote another Letter to the Colledge of Canons, where *Zuinglius* was at the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new Teachers which troubled the Church, and exhorted them earnestly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. And forasmuch as both the Pope and the Emperor's Majesty had condemned all such new Doctrine by their Decrees and Edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no such new Innovations of Doctrine, without the common consent of them to whom the same did appertain. *Zuinglius* hearing thereof, rewereth his cause to the judgment and hearing of the Senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his Faith. And for so much as the Bishop's Letter was read openly in the Colledge, *Zuinglius* directed another Letter to the Bishop again, declaring that the said Letter proceeded not from the Bishop, and that he was not ignorant who were the Authors thereof; desiring him not to follow their sinister Counsels: for that Truth (said he) is a thing invincible, and cannot be refuted. After the same tenour certain other of the City likewise wrote unto the Bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the Gospel: requiring moreover, that he would forbear no longer the filthy and infamous life of Priests, but that he would permit them to have their lawful Wives, &c. This was in the year of our Lord 1522.

Besides this, *Zuinglius* wrote also another Letter to the whole Nation of the *Helvetians*, admonishing them in no case to hinder the passage of sincere Doctrine, nor to infer any molestation to Priests that were married. For as for the Vow and Coaction of their single life, it came (saith he) of the Devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore whereas the said *Helvetians* had such a Right and Custom in their Towns and Pages, that when they received any new Priest into their Churches, they used to premonish him before to take his Concubine, lest he should attempt any misuse with their Wives and Daughters: he exhorted them that they would no less grant unto them to take their Wives in honest Matrimony, than to take Concubines and Harlots, against the Precept of God.

Thus

The first Lesson has been the three Pages.

Zuinglius reading the Scriptures at Zurich. *Zuinglius* against the Pope's Pardons.

Zuinglius writing to the Senate of Zurich. The Bishop of Constance complained against *Zuinglius*.

Zuinglius writing to the Helvetians. Priests Marriage.

An old use of the Helvetians to premonish their Priests to take Concubines.

R. Hen. 8. * Note that the Pages in Switzerland are for the most part free in Valleys. (a) Exhortation in his letters.

Example of true Chastity in a Matron.

A lusty jolly parricide.

Example of singular tyranny.

Will. Tell.

Pride and Tyranny well rewarded.

Ex Seb. Munster. Cosmog. lib. 3.

A Fool's bold forebodings rise the mark.

Zwingli on e-
dicted by Ad-
versaries.

Disputation
at Zurich
by Zwingli
and
Sole.

Jo. F. Faber
Baptista
Joan. Zwingli
Ex. from
Sole. lib. 3.

Sixty seven
Articles of
Zwingli.

John Faber
reformer's Dis-
putation.

The Atten-
tion of Zu-
rich made
up against
Disputation.
The Gospel
preached
received at
Zurich.
Traditions
of Men also
lib. 3.

Conf. insti-
tutes in the
Council of
Lucerna.

Thus as Zwingli continued certain years, labouring in the Word of the Lord, offence began to rise at this new Doctrine, and divers stepped up, namely the Dominick Friars on the contrary side, to preach and inveigh against him. But he, keeping himself ever within the Scriptures, protested that he would make good by the Word of God that which he had taught. Upon this, the Magistrates and Senate of Zurich sent forth their Commandment to all Priests and Ministers within their Dominion, to repair to the City of Zurich against the nine and twentieth day of January next ensuing (this was Anno 1523) there every one to speak freely, and to be heard quietly touching these Controversies of Religion, what could be said: directing also their Letters to the Bishop of Constance, That he would either make his repair thither himself, or else send his Deputy. When the day appointed came, the Bishop's Vicegerent, which was Joannes Faber, was also present. The Council first declaring the cause of this their Frequency and Assembly (which was for the Disputation newly risen about matters of Religion) required, that if any there had to object or infer against the Doctrine of Zwingli, he should freely and quietly declare and utter his mind.

Zwingli had disposed his matter before, and contrived all his Doctrine in a certain order of places, to the number of sixty seven Articles: which Articles he had published also abroad before, to the end that they which were disposed, might report thither the better prepared to the Disputation. When the Council had finished that which he would say, and had exhorted others to begin: then Faber, first entering the matter, began to declare the cause of his sending thither, and afterward would persuade, that this was no place convenient, nor time fit for the discussing of such matters by Disputation, but rather that the Cognition and Tractation thereof belonged to a General Council, which, he said, was already appointed, and now near at hand. Notwithstanding Zwingli still continued urging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to say or to dispute, he would openly and freely utter his mind. To this he answered again, That he would confute his Doctrine by Writing. This done, with a few other words on both sides had to and fro, when no man would appear there to offer any Disputation, the Assembly brake, and was discharged. Whereupon the Senate of Zurich incontinent caused to be proclaimed through all their Dominion and Territory, that the Traditions of Men should be displaced and abandoned, and the Gospel of Christ purely taught out of the Old and New Testament. Anno 1523. ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 3.

When the Gospel thus began to take place, and to flourish in Zurich and certain other places of Helvetia, the year next following, Anno 1524, another Assembly of the Helvetians was convened at Lucerna, where this Decree was made on the contrary part: That no man should deride or condemn the Word of God, which had been taught now above a thousand and four hundred years heretofore: nor the Mass to be scorned, wherein the Body of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the Comfort both of the quick, and the dead.

That they who are able to receive the Lords Body at Easter, shall confess their sins in Lent to the Priests, and do all other things, in the use and manner of the Church requireth.

That Rights and Customs of holy Church be kept.

That everyone obey his own proper Pastor and Curate, and receive the Sacraments of him, after the manner of holy Church, and pay him his yearly Duties.

That honour be given to Priests.

Item, to abstain from Flesh-eating on Fastings-days, and in Lent to abstain from Eggs and Cheese.

That no opinion of Luther be taught privily or openly, contrary to the received Determination of holy Church; and that in Taverns and at Table no mention be made of Luther, or any new Doctrine.

That Images and Pictures of Saints in every place be kept inviolate.

That Priests and Ministers of the Church be not compelled to render account of their Doctrine, but only to the Magistrate.

That due Aid and Supperation be provided for them, if any Communion do happen.

That no person deride the Reliques of the Holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of St. Anthony.

Finally, That all the Laws and Decrees set forth by the Bishop of Constance, be observed.

These Constitutions whosoever shall transgress, let them be presented to the Magistrate, and Overseers to be set over them that shall so transgress.

After these things concluded thus at Lucerna, the Cantons of Helvetia together direct their publick Letter to the Tigurinus or men of Zurich; wherein they may much lament and complain of this new broached Doctrine which hath set all men together by the ears, through the occasion of certain rash and new fangled Heads which have greatly disturbed both the State of the Church, and of the Common-wealth, and have scattered the Seeds of Discord, whereas before time all things were well in quiet. And although this Senate said they, ought to have been looked to betime, so that they should not have suffered the Glory of Almighty God, and of the blessed Virgin, and other Saints to be dishonoured, but rather should have bestowed their Goods and Lives to maintain the same; yet notwithstanding they required them now to look upon the matter, which otherwise would bring to them Detraction both of Body and Soul: as for example, they might see the Doctrine of Luther, what Fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar People now (said they) could not be holden in, but would burst forth to all Licence and Rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient Proofs of late; and like is to be feared also among themselves, and all by the occasion of Zwingli, and of Leo Juda, which so took upon them to expound the Word of God after their own Interpretation, opening thereby whole Doors and Windows to Discord and Diffension. Albeit of their Doctrine they were not certain what they did teach; yet what inconvenience followed upon their Doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all Fasting was laid down, and all days are alike to eat both Flesh and Eggs, as well one as another: Priests and religious persons both Men and Women brake their Vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying; God's Service was decayed, singing in the Church left, and Prayer ceased; Priests grew in contempt, Religious Men were thrust out of their Cloisters; Confession and Penance were neglected; so that men would not stick to presume to receive at the holy Altar, without any Confession made to the Priest before. The holy Mass derided and scorned; our blessed Lady, and other Saints blasphemed; Images plucked down and broken in pieces, neither was any honour given to the Sacrament. To make short, men now were grown unto such a Licence and Liberty, that uneth the Holy Ghost could be faith within the Priest's hands, &c.

The Disorder of all which things as it is of no small importance, so it was, said they, to them so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their part to suffer the same no longer. Neither was this the first time (they said) of this their complaining, when in their former Assembly they sent unto them before the like Admonition, writing to them by certain of the Clergy, and craving their aid in the same, which seeing it is so, they did now again earnestly call upon them touching the Premises, desiring them to surcease from such doings, and to take a better way, continuing in the Religion of their old Ancestors which were before them. And if there were any such thing, wherein they were grieved and offended against the Bishop of Rome, the Cardinal, Bishops, or other Prelates, either for their Ambition in heaping, exchanging and selling the Dignities of the Church, or for their oppression in pillaging men's Purfes with their Indulgences, or else for their usurped Jurisdiction and Power, which they extend too far, and corruptly apply it to matters external and political, which only ought to serve in such cases as be spiritual: if these and such other Abuses were the causes, wherewith they were so grievously offended, they promised that, for the Correction and Reformation thereof, they would also themselves joyn their diligence and good will thereto, so far as themselves also did not a little mislike therewith, and therefore would confer their Councils together with them, how and by what way such Grievances might best be removed.

To this effect were the Letters of the Helvetians written to the Senate and Citizens of Zurich. Whereunto the Tigurines made their Answer again the one and twentieth day of March, the same year, in manner as followeth,

K. Hen. 8.

The Letter
of the Hel-
vetians to
the Tigu-
rines.

Zwingli
and Leo Ju-
da were
Preachers at
this time in
Zurich.

K. Hen. 8.

An Answer again of the Tigrines, to the Letter afore-
said.

** The Letter of the Tigrines, answering again the letter of the Electors.*
 I first, * declaring, how their Ministers had laboured and travelled among them, teaching and preaching the Word of God unto them the space now of five years. Whole Doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard the same before. But after that they understood and perceived the scope of that Doctrine only to tend to this, to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the Pillar and Refuge of our Salvation, which gave his Life and Blood for our Redemption, and which only delivered us also final Misers from eternal death, and is the only Advocate of Mankind before God; they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receive to wholesome and joyful message.

** It will be hard for any Man to judge which is the true Doctrine. For the whole end and scope of the Pope's Doctrine, tendeth to sit up the honour and wealth of Man, as may appear by the Doctrine of Supremacy, of Conscience, of the Mass, of the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. All which do tend to the magnifying of Priests like as Purgatory, Obsequies, Pardons, and such other serve for their profit. Contrariwise, the teaching of the Protestants, as well touching Justification, original Sin, as also the Sacraments and Invocation, and all other such like, tend only to the setting up of Christ alone, and taking down of Man.*

The holy Apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the Gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (said they) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the Word of God, setting aside Mens Doctrines and Traditions dissident from the same.

Whatsoever Luther or any other Man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the Persons, why the Doctrine which they teach, should be either evil or well-judged upon, but only for that it agreeth with, or disagreeeth from the Word of God: for that were but to go by affection, and were prejudicial to the Authority of the Word of God, which ought to rule Man, and not to be measured by Man.

And if Christ only be worshipped, and Men taught solely to repose their confidence in him; yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any Saint else, receive any injury thereby, who being here in Earth, received their Salvation only by the Name of him.

And whereas they charge their Ministers with wresting the Scripture after their own interpretation, God had shined up such Light now in the hearts of Men, that the most part of their City have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same: so that their Preachers cannot so wind the Scriptures awry, but that they thickly be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should fear any Sects or Factions in them; but rather such Sects are to be objected to those, who for their gain and dignity, writ the Word of God after their own Affections and Appetites.

And whereas they, and other, have accused them of Error, yet was there never Man that could prove any Error in them: Altho divers Bishops of Constance, of Basil, of Curiake, with divers Universities besides: Also they themselves have been sundry times desired so to do; yet to this present day neither they, nor ever any other so did; neither were they, nor any of all the foresaid Bishops, at their last Assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repair unto them, save only the *Schaffhusians* and *Sangallians*. In the which foresaid Assembly of theirs, all such as were then present, considering thoroughly the whole case of the matter, concended together with them.

And if the Bishops haply will object again, and say, that the Word of God ought not so to be handled of vulgar people; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the Bishops Office, to provide that the Sheep should not go astray; and most convenient it were that by them they should be reduced into the way again; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the Fathers and to Councils: therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should hear and learn, not what Man doth determine, but what Christ himself doth command in the Scripture. Neither have their Ministers given any occasion

of this division; but rather it is to be imputed to such, which for their own private lucre and preferments, contrary to the Word of the Lord, do seduce the people into Error, and grievously offending God, do provoke him to plague them with manifold Calamities. Who, if they would renounce the greediness of their own gain, and would follow the pure Doctrine of his Word, seeking not the Will of Man, but what is the Will of God, no doubt but they should soon fall to agreement.

* As for the eating of Flesh and Eggs; altho it be free to all Men, and forbidden to none by Christ; yet they have set forth a Law to restrain such intemperance and uncharitable offence of other.

** It will be the Pope's Law then, that no Man should eat Flesh, or Eggs, nor any other white meat; wherein it may seem to be verified which St. Paul doth prophesy, 1 Tim. 4. In the latter days certain shall depart from the Faith, hearkning to the Doctrine of Devils, forbidding to marry, and to eat, &c.*

And as touching Matrimony, God is himself the Author thereof, who hath left it free for all Men. Also Paul willeth a Minister of the Church to be the Husband of one Wife.

And seeing that Bishops for Money permit their Priests to have Concubines, which is contrary both to God's Law, and to good example; why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawful Matrimony which he hath ordained, as to resist God in forbidding the same? The like is to be said also of Women vowing chastity; of whom this they judge, and suppose, that such kind of Vows and coacted Chastity, are not available nor allowed before God: and seeing that Chastity is not all Mens gift, better it were to marry, (after their judgments) than filthily to live in single life.

As for Monasteries, and other houses of Canons, they were first given for relief only of the poor and needy; whereas now they who inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live of their own Patrimony in such sort, as many times some one of them hath so much, as well might suffice a great number. Wherefore it seemeth to them not inconvenient, that those goods should be converted again to the use of the poor: Yet nevertheless they have therein such moderation, that they have permitted the inhabitants of those Monasteries to enjoy the possessions of their goods, during the term of their natural Life, lest any should have cause of just complaint.

Ornaments of Churches serve nothing to God's Service; but this is well agreeing to the Will and Service of God, that the poor should be succoured. So Christ commanded the young Man in the Gospel that was rich, not to hang up his Riches in the Temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

The Order of Priesthood they do not condemn; such Priests as will truly discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they do magnify. As for the other Rabble, which serve to no publick Commodity, but rather damnify the Commonwealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, and their livings put to better use, they doubted not but it were a service well done to God. Now whether the singing and Prayers of such Priests be available before God, it may be doubted, forasmuch as many of them understand not what they say, or sing, but only for hire of Wages do the same.

As for secret Confession, wherein Men do detect their sins in the Priests ear, of what virtue this confession is to be esteemed, they leave it in suspense. But that confession, whereby repenting sinners do fly to Christ, our only Intercessor, they recount not only to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled Consciences. As for satisfaction, which Priests do use, they reckon it but a practice to get Money, and the same to be not only erroneous, but also full of impiety. True penance and satisfaction is, for a Man to amend his life.

The Orders of Monks, come only by the invention of Man, and not by the institution of God.

And as touching the Sacraments, such as be of the Lord's Institution, neither do they despise, but receive with all reverence, neither do suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise than becometh; but to use rightly according to the precept rule of God's Word. And so with the like reverence they use the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according as the Word prescribeth,

** It will be the Pope's Law then, that no Man should eat Flesh, or Eggs, nor any other white meat; wherein it may seem to be verified which St. Paul doth prophesy, 1 Tim. 4. In the latter days certain shall depart from the Faith, hearkning to the Doctrine of Devils, forbidding to marry, and to eat, &c.*

Priests Matrimony.

Vows of chastity not agreeing to God's Law.

Monasteries, first given to the poor, but now serve to feed the rich.

Ornaments of Churches better bestowed upon the poor.

Good Priests not to be contented, the rabble of them to be diminished.

Confession to be valued, confession to Christ.

The Order of Monks, The use of Sacraments.

No injury to Saints, if Christ only be worshipped.

Whose they that wrest the Scripture?

Error many times objected where none can be proved.

Bishops neither will feed the Flocks, nor yet suffer them to feed themselves.

not, as many do abuse it, to make of it an Oblation and a Sacrifice.

False-
carriers.

And if the Messengers sent to them of the Clergy, in their Letters mentioned, can justly charge them with any hindrance, or any error, they will be ready either to purge themselves, or to satisfy the offence. And if they cannot, then reason would that these Messengers of the Clergy should hereafter look better to their doings, and to their Doctrine, and to cease from such untrue slanders and contumelies.

The only
way of true
reformation
is that the
Word of
God only be
preached.
The Pope
cannot abide
the preach-
ing of the
Word, and
Wily.

Finally, Whereas they understand by their Letters how detestable they are to have the Pope's Oppressions and Exactions, and usurped Power abolished, they are right glad thereof and joyful, supposing that the same can by no means be brought to pass, except the Word of God only and simply be received. For otherwise, so long as Mens Laws and Constitutions shall stand in force, there will be no place of Reformation. For by the preaching of God's Word, their estimation and dignity must needs decay: and that they well perceive, and therefore by all means do provide how to stop the course of the Word: and because they see themselves too weak to bring their purpose about, they fly to the aid of Kings and Princes. For the necessary Remedy whereof, if they shall think good to join their consent, there shall nothing be lacking in their behalf, what they are able either in counsel or goods to do in the matter: declaring moreover, that this should have been seen to long before. Which being so, they prayed and desired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expound that which they did write. As for their own part, they required nothing else more, than peace both between them and all Men. Neither was it ever their intent to stir any thing that should be prejudicial against their League and Band agreed upon between them. But in this cause which concerneth their eternal Salvation, they can do no otherwise but as they have done, unless their error by learning might be proved and declared unto them.

The Tigurines
will be
induced by
the Scrip-
tures.

Wherefore, as they did before, so now they desire again, that if they think this their Doctrine to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture, they will gently shew and teach them their error, and that before the end of the month of May next ensuing: for so long they will abide waiting for an answer, as well from them, as from the Bishop of *Constance*, and also from the University of *Basil*. And thus much containeth the Answer of the *Tigurines* unto the Letter of their other Colleagues of *Helvetia*.

The Bishop
of Constance
answereth
the Tigurines
by writing.

In the mean time, as this passed on, and the month of May, above mentioned, was now come, the Bishop of *Constance* with the advice of his Council about him, did answer the *Tigurines*, as he was requested of them to do, in a certain Book first written, and afterward printed; wherein he declareth what Images and Pictures those were, which the prophane Jews and Gentiles in the old-time did adore, and what Images these be which the Church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is between those Idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these Images of the Christians. The conclusion hereof was this: that whereas the Scripture speaketh against Images, and willett them not to be suffered, that is to be understood of such Images and Idols, as the Jews and Idolatrous Gentiles did use: yet nevertheless such Images and Pictures as the Church hath received, are to be used and retained.

A Popish
distinction
between the
Images of
Gentiles &
Images of
the Christi-
ans. Ex Jo-
Seldliba.

From this he entrench next into the discourse of the Mals, where he proveth, by divers and sundry Testimonies, both of the Pope's Canons and Councils, the Mals to be a Sacrifice and Oblation.

The Book of
the Bishop of
Constance
written to the
Senate of
Zurich, in
defense of the
Mals and Images.

This Book being thus compiled and written, he sent it unto the Senate of *Zurich*, about the beginning of *June*, willing and exhorting them by no manner of means to suffer their Images, or the Mals to be abrogated; and shortly after he published the said Book in print, and sent it to the Priests and Canons of the Minister of *Zurich*, requiring them to follow the custom of the Church received, and not to suffer themselves otherwise to be persuaded by any Man.

The answer
of the Ti-
gurines to
the Bishops
Book.

The Senate again, answering to the Bishop's Book, about the mid of *August*, did write unto him: first, declaring that they had read over and over again his Book with all diligence: The which Book, so far as the Bishop had divulged abroad in print, they were therefore right glad,

because the whole World thereby might judge between them the better. After this, they explained unto him the Judgment and Doctrine of their Ministers and Preachers: and finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scripture, convinced his Opinion, and proved the Doctrine of his Book to be false. But before they sent their Answer to him, about the 13th day of *June*, they commanded all the Images, as well within the City as through their Dominions, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few months after an Order was taken in the said City of *Zurich*, between the Canons of the Church and City, for disposing the Lands and Possessions of the College.

h. Hen. 8

Images abo-
lished with-
in all the
Dominions
of Zurich.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance, that happened among the *Helvetians* upon this new alteration of Religion; but briefly, to contract, and to run over the chief Specialities of the matter, here is first to be noted, that of the *Helvetians* which were confederate together in the 13 pages, chiefly, fix there were which most disdained and malign'd this Religion of the *Tigurines*: to wit, *Lucernates*, *Urians*, *Suitenses*, *Unterwaldians*, *Tugians*, *Friburgenses*; these in no case could be reconciled. The rest flew themselves more favourable. But the other, which were their Enemies, conceived great grudge, and raised many slanderous reports and false rumors against them, and laid divers things to their charge: as, first, for refusing to join their consent to the publick League of the other Pages with *Franceis* the French King: then for dissenting from them in Religion: and thirdly, for refusing to stand to the Popish Decree made the Year before at *Ratisbone*, by *Ferdinandus*, and other Bishops above mentioned. They laid moreover to their accusation, for aiding the *Vuolsuenses* their Neighbours, against *Ferdinandus* their Prince; which was false. Also for joining league secretly with other Cities, without their knowledge; which was likewise false.

Certain Pa-
ges or Towns
of the Sui-
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plained a-
gainst the
Tigurines.

False matter
of accusa-
tion laid a-
gainst the
Tigurines by
the other
Pages.

What slan-
derous
rumors can
do.

The Tigurines
answer
again to the
complaint
of the Pages

Item, That they should intend some secret Conspiracy against them, and invade them with War; which was untrue as the rest. Many other quarrels besides they pretended against the *Tigurines*, which were all false and railing slanders: as that they should teach and preach, That *Mary* the Mother of Christ had more Sons; and that *James* the younger, the Apostle, did die for us, and not Christ himself. Against these and such other untruths, being meer matters of cavillation and slander, the *Tigurines* did fully and amply purge and acquit themselves by writing, and did expoliate vehemently with them, not only for these false and wrongful suspicions, of their parts undeceived, but also for other manifold Injuries received and born at their hands, among which other Wrongs and Injuries, this was one; that the Burghmasters of *Turgovia* had apprehended a certain Preacher, named *Joannes Oxlinus*, and led him home as Prisoner unto his house; being taken within the precinct and limits of the City of *Zurich*, contrary to Law and Order.

John Oxlinus
was a Pre-
acher apprehended
for Religion.

Finally, After much discoursing, wherein they in a long Letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their League, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their Country; as touching the cause of Religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themselves willing to hear, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwise if none so could, or would prove wherein they did err by the Word of God, they could not, they said, alter any thing in the state of that Religion wherein their Consciences were already staid by the Word of God and sealed, whatsoever peril or danger should happen to them for the same.

Altho here was no cause why these Pages or Cantons, which were so confederate together in the League of Peace, should disagree amongst themselves: yet herein we may see the course and trade of the World, that when difference of Religion beginneth a little to break the knot of Amity, by and by how Friends be turned to Foes, what suspicions do arise, what quarrels and grudges do follow, how nothing there liketh Men, but every thing is taken in the worst part; small Motes are made Mountains, Virtues made Vices, and one Vice made a thousand, and all for lack only of a little good will betwixt Party and Party. For as Love and Charity commonly among Men, either covereth or seeth not the Faults of their Friends, so Hatred and

What love
and hatred
doth among
Men.

Disdain,

K. Hen. 8.

Disdain, taking all things to blame, can find nothing in their Foes that they can like. And thus did it happen between these good Men of Zurich, and these other Suitzers above mentioned.

The Maf with all its Ceremonies put down in Zurich.

A Law in Zurich made against Adultery.

Disputation at Baden in Helvetia.

Theam or Propositions propounded in the Disputation at Baden.

Eckius stoutly defended. Oecolampadius against Eckius. Zuinglius exulteth himself for not coming to the Disputation.

Disputation at Bern in Helvetia.

Godly Laws of Disputation.

These Letters of the *Tigurnines* to the other *Cantons*, were written upon the occasion of their apprehending the Preacher, *Joannes Olinius* above-mentioned, *Januar. 4. 1525.* And in the month of *April* next following, the Magistrates and Senate of the said City of *Zurich*, commanded the Maf, with all the Ceremonies and Appurtenances thereof, to be put down, as well within the City, as without throughout all their Jurisdiction: and instead thereof was placed the Lord's Supper, the reading of the Prophets, Prayer, and Preaching. Also a Law was made against Whoredom, and Adultery, and Judges ordained to hear the Causes of Matrimony. *Anno 1525. Ex Comment. Sleid. lib. 4.*

All this while the Gospel was not yet received in any other Page of *Helvetia*, but only in *Zurich*. Wherefore the other 12 Pages, or Towns, appointed among themselves concerning a Meeting or a Disputation to be had at *Baden*: where were present among the Divines, *Joannes Faber, Eckius, and Murnerus* above mentioned. The Bishops also of *Lucerna, Basil, Constanz, and Laufanna*, sent thither their Legats. The Conclusions there propounded were these.

That the true Body and Blood of Christ is in the Sacrament.

That the Maf is a Sacrifice for the quick and dead.

That the blessed Virgin, and other Saints, are to be invoked as Mediators and Intercessors.

That Images ought not to be abolished.

That there is a Purgatory.

Which Conclusions or Assertions, *Eckius* took upon him stoutly to defend. Against him reasoned *Oecolampadius*, (who was then chief Preacher at *Basil*) with certain other more. *Zuinglius* at that time was not there present, but by writing confuted the Doctrine of *Eckius*; declaring withal the causes of his absence: which were for that he durst not, for fear of his life, commit himself unto the hands of *Lucernates, Urants, Sultii, Untervaldii, and Tigiani*, his Enemies: and that he refused not to dispute, but the place only of the disputation: exclaiming moreover that he was not permitted of the Senate to come: nevertheless if they would assign the place of disputation, either at *Zurich*, or at *Berne*, or at *Sangallum*, thither he would not refuse to come. Briefly, the conclusion of the disputation was this, that all should remain in that Religion which hitherto they had kept, and should follow the Authority of the Council, neither should admit any other new Doctrine within their Dominions, &c. This was in the month of *June*, the said year above-mentioned.

As the time proceeded, and disputation about Religion increased, it followed the next year after, *Anno 1527*, in the month of *December*, that the Senate and People of *Berne*, (whose power among all the *Suitzers* chiefly excelleth) considering how neither they could have the acts of the Disputation at *Baden* communicated unto them, and that the variance about Religion still more and more increased, assigned another Disputation within their own City, and sending forth writings thereof, called unto the same all the Bishops bordering near about them, as the Bishops of *Constance, Basil, Seduna, Laufanna*; warning them both to come themselves, and to bring their Divines with them, or else to lose all such positions as they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certain Ecclesiastical Persons of their Jurisdiction to dispute, prescribing and determining the whole Disputation to be decided only by the Authority of the Old and New Testament. To all that would come thither, they granted free conduct. Also they appointed, that all things there should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; and that every one should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation, that every Man's saying might be received by the Notary, and penned: with this proviso made before, that whatsoever there should be agreed upon, the same should be ratified, and observed through all their Dominions: and to the intent Men might come thither better prepared before, they propounded in publick writing, ten Conclusions in the said Disputation to be defended of their Ministers by the Scriptures; which Ministers were, *Franciscus Colmus*,

and *Beriboldus Hallerus*. The Theams or Conclusions were these.

1. That the true Church, whereof Christ is the Head, riseth out of God's Word, and periseth in the same, and beareth the voice of no other.

2. That the same Church maketh no Laws without the Word of God.

3. That Traditions, ordained in the Name of the Church, do not bind, but so far forth as they be consonant to God's Word.

4. That Christ only hath made satisfaction for the sins of the World: and therefore if any Man say there is any other way of Salvation, or merit to put away sin, the same denieth Christ.

5. That the Body and Blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the Testimony of the Scripture.

6. That the use of the Maf, wherein Christ is present and offered up to his Heavenly Father, for the Quick and the Dead, is against the Scripture, and contumelious to the Sacrifice which Christ made for us.

7. That Christ only is to be invoked, as the Mediator and Advocate of Mankind to God the Father.

8. That there is no place to be found in the holy Scripture, wherein Souls are purged after this Life: and therefore all those Prayers and Ceremonies, yearly Diriges and Obits, which are belloyed upon the dead; also Lamps, Tapers, and such other things, profit nothing at all.

9. That to set up any Picture or Image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the Holy Scripture: and therefore, if any such be erected in Churches for that intent, the same ought to be taken down.

10. That Matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of Men, but for elchewing of Fornication generally is commanded and permitted to all Men by the Word of God. And so far as all Fornicators are excluded, by the testimony of Scripture, from the Communion of the Church, therefore this unchaste and filthy single Life of Priests, is most of all inconvenient for the Order of Priesthood.

When the Senate and People of *Berne* had sent abroad their Letters with these Themes and Conclusions to all the *Helvetians*, exhorting them both to send their learned Men, and to suffer all other to pass safely through their Countries: the *Lucernates, Uranties, Sultians, Untervaldians, Tigians, Glarant, Solothurnians*, and they of *Friburg*, answered again by contrary Letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprise: putting them in remembrance of their League and compulsion made, and also of the Disputation of *Baden* above-mentioned, of the which Disputation they were themselves (they said) the first beginners and authors: saying moreover, that it was not lawful for any Nation or Province to alter the state of Religion, but the same to belong to a General Council: wherefore they desired them that they would not attempt any such wicked act, but continue in the Religion which their Parents and Elders had observed: and in fine thus in the end of their Letters they concluded, that they would neither send, nor suffer any of their learned Men to come, nor yet grant safe conduct to any others to pass through their Country. To this and such-like effect tended the Letters of these *Suitzers* above-named.

All which notwithstanding, the Lords of *Bern* proceeding in their intended purpose, upon the day prescribed (which was *Jan. 7.*) began their Disputation. Of all the Bishops before signified (which were assigned to come) there was not one present. Nevertheless the City of *Basil, Zurich, and Schaffuse*, and *Abbecella, Sangallum, Mulhusa*, with the Neighbours of *Rhetia*, also they of *Strasburg, Ulms, Aurburg, Lindaw, Constance*, and *Ypse*, sent thither their Embassadors.

The Doctors above-mentioned, of the City of *Bern*, began the Disputation. Whereat the same time were present *Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucerus, Capito, Blaurotus*, with other more: all which defended the affirmative of the Conclusions propounded. On the contrary side, of them which were the Opponents, the Chiefman was *Conradus Trugerus* a Frier Augustine: who to prove his Assertion, when he was driven to shift out of the Scripture to seek help of other Doctors, and the Moderators of the Disputation would not permit the same, (being contrary to the order before appointed) he departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

Theams to be disputed.

The Letters of the Suitzers to the Senate and People of Bern.

Ex Com. 10. Sleid. lib. 4.

The disputation begins. The parties present. The party opponents. The Pope's Doctrine cannot abide the trial of the Scriptures.

The Disputation endured 19 days; in the end whereof it was decided by the assent of the most part, that the Councils there disputed, were consonant to the truth of God's Word, and should be ratified not only in the City of *Berne*, but also proclaimed by the Magistrates in sundry other Cities near adjoining: Furthermore, That Masses, Altars, and Images, in all places, should be abolished.

At the City of *Constance*, certain things began to be altered a little before. Where also, among other things, Laws were made against Fornication and Adultery, and all in profit or dishonest Company; whereas the Canons (as they are called) of the Church taking great grief and displeasure, departed the City. In the said City was then Teacher, *Ambrosius Blaurerius*, a learned Man and born of a noble Stock, who had been a Monk a little before, professed in the Monastery of *Alperpique*, in the Duchy of *Wittenburg*, belonging to the Dominion of *Ferdinandus*. Which *Blaurerius*, by reading of *Luther's* Works, and having a good Wit, had changed a little before his Religion, and also his Coat, returning again home unto his Friends; and when his Abbot would have had him again, and wrote earnestly to the Senate of *Constance* for him, he declared the whole case of the matter in writing, propounding withal, certain conclusions, whereupon he was content (as he said) to return. But the conditions were such, that the Abbot was rather willing and contented, that he should remain still at *Constance*, and so he did.

After this Disputation thus concluded at *Berne*, (as hath been said) the Images and Altars, with Ceremonies and Masses, were abolished at *Constance*.

They, of *Gien* also, for their parts were not behind, following likewise the example of the City of *Berne*, in extinguishing Images and Ceremonies. By reason whereof the Bishop and Clergy there left and departed the City in no small anger.

The *Beraters*, after they had redressed with them the state of Religion, they renounced the League made before with the French King, refusing and forsaking his warly stipend whereby they were bound at his call to feed his Wars; following therein the example of the *Tigurines*, which before had done the like, and were contented only with their yearly Pension that the King payeth to every Page of the *Helvetians*, to keep peace.

* The day and year when this Reformation with them began, from Popery to true Christianity, they caused in a Pillar to be engraven with golden Letters, for a perpetual memory to all Posterity to come. This was *Ann. 1528*.

After that the rumor of this Disputation and Alteration of *Berne*, was noised in other Cities and Places abroad, but the Ministers of *Strasbourg*, encouraged by this occasion, began likewise to affirm and teach, that the Mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy Name, and therefore was to be abrogated, and instead thereof the right use of the Lord's Supper to be restored again. Which, unless they could prove by the manifest Testimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuse no manner of punishment. On the contrary part, the Bishop of *Rome's* Clergy did hold and maintain, that the Mass was good and holy; whereupon kindled great contention on both sides: which when the Senate and Magistrates of the City would have brought to a Disputation, and could not, because the Priests would not condescend to any reasoning; therefore seeing they so accused the other, and yet would come to no trial of their cause, the said Magistrates commanded them to silence. The Bishop in the mean while ceased not with his Letters and Messengers daily to call upon the Senate, desiring the Senate to persevere in the ancient Religion of their Elders, and to give no ear to those new Teachers, declaring what danger and peril it would bring upon them.

The Senate again desired him, as they had done oftentimes before, that such things which appertained to the true Honour and Worship of God, might be set forward, and all other things, which tended to the contrary, might be removed and taken away, for that properly belonged to his Office to see to: But the Bishop, still driving them off with delays, pretended to call an Assembly for the same, appointing also time and place for the hearing and discussing of those Controversies, where indeed nothing was performed

at all: but with his Letters he did often sollicite them to surcease their enterprize, sometimes by way of intreating, sometimes with menacing words terrifying them; and at last, seeing he could nothing by that way prevail, he turned his suit to the Assembly of the Empire, which was then at *Spires* collected, intreating them to set in a foot, and to help what they could with their Authority.

They, ready to satisfy the Bishop's request, sent a solemn Embassy to the Senate and Citizens of *Strasbourg*, about *December* the year above said, requiring them not to put down the Mass; for neither it was, said they, in the power of the Emperor, nor of any other Estate, to alter the ancient Religion received from their Forefathers, but either by a General, or by a Provincial Council; which Council if they supposed to be far off, at least that they would take a pause till the next sitting of the Empire, which should be with speed: where their Requests being propounded and heard, they should have such reasonable answer, as should not miscontent them: For it was (said they) against all Law and Reason, for a Private Magistrate to infringe and dissolve those things, which by general consent of the whole World have been agreed upon: and therefore good reason required, that they should obtain so much at their hands, or else if they should obstinately proceed in this their attempt, so with force and violence to work as they began, it might fortune, the Emperor, their supreme Magistrate under God, and also *Ferdinandus* his Deputy, would not take it well, and so should be compelled to seek such Remedy therein, as they would be sorry to use. Wherefore their request was, and advice also, that they should weigh the matter diligently with themselves and follow good counsel: who in so doing, should not only glad the Emperor, but also work that which should redound chiefly to their own commendation and safety.

Besides the Messengers thus sent from the Council of *Spires*, the Bishop also of *Hildesheim* had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the Emperor's Name after like manner. Neither did the Bishop of *Strasbourg* also cease with his Messengers and Letters daily to labour his Friends there, and especially such of the Senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwise by any Gifts or Friendship, that, so much as in them did lie, they should uphold the Mass, and gainstand the contrary proceeding of the other.

The Senate of *Strasbourg* in the mean time, seeing the matter did so long hang in controversy the space now of two Years, and the Preachers daily and instantly calling upon them for a Reformation; and suit also being made to them of the Citizens, assembled their great and full Council to the number of 300 (as in great matters of importance they are accustomed to do) and there with themselves debated the case, declaring on the one side, if they abolished the Mass, what danger they should incur by the Emperor: On the other side, if they did not, how much they should offend God; and therefore, giving them respite to consult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and sentence in the matter. When the day came that every Man should say his mind; so it fell out, that the Voices and Judgments of them which went against the Mass, prevailed. Whereupon immediately a Decree was made, the twentieth of *February*, *Ann. 1529*, that the Mass should be suspended and laid down, till the time that the adversary part could prove by good Scripture, the Mass to be a service available and acceptable before God.

This Decree being established by the consent of the whole City, the Senate efforts commanded the same to be proclaimed, and to take full place and effect, as well within the City, as also without, so far as their Limits and Dominion did extend; and afterward by Letters certified their Bishop touching the doing thereof. Who hearing this news, as heavy to his heart as lead, did signify to them again, how he received their Letters, and how he understood by them the effect and sum of their doings: all which he was enforced to digest with such patience as he could, tho they went fore against his stomach, seeing for the present time he could no otherwise chuse: hereafter would serve, he said, he would see therunto, according as his Charge and Office should require.

Thus how the Mass was overthrown in *Zurich*, in *Berne*, and *Geneva*, and in *Strasbourg*, you have heard.

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Kitten, 8.
Reformation
on beginneth
at Basil.
Joannes Oe-
colampadi.

heard. Now what followed in *Basil*, remaineth likewise to understand. In this City of *Basil* was *Oecolampadius* Preacher (as is above signified) by whose diligent labour and travel, the Gospel began there to take such Fruit, that great diffention there also arose among the Citizens about Religion, and especially about the *Mals*. Whereupon the Senate of *Basil* appointed, That after an open Disputation it should be determined by Voices, what were to be done therein. This notwithstanding the Papists, still continuing in their former purpose, began more stoutly to inveigh against the other part; and because they were so distressed by the Magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the Commons, that they had some privy Maintainers among the Senators. Whereupon certain of the Citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole Commons, to sue to the Senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promise. Whole Suit and Request was this, That those Senators which were the aiders and supporters of the Papists, might be displaced, for that it did as well tend to the contempt of their former Decree there made, as also to the publick disturbance of the City. But when this could not be obtained of the Senate, the Commons, upon *Febr. 8.* the year above said, assembled themselves in the gray-Friers Church, and there, considering with themselves upon the whole matter, repaired again with their Suit into the Senate, but not in such humble wise as before: And therewithal gathered themselves in the publick places of the City, to fortify the same, albeit as yet without Armour. The same evening the Senate sent them word, That at their request they granted, that those Senators, although remaining still in office, yet should not sit in the Council what time any matter of Religion should come in talk.

The Popish
Senators
displaced
at Basil.

Religion in
Basil deter-
mined by the
Commons.

By this Answer the Commons, gathering that the whole State was governed by a few, took threat grief and displeasure, protesting openly, that they would take counsel by themselves hereafter, what they had to do, not only in cases of Religion, but also in other matters of Civil Government, and forthwith took them to Armour, keeping the Towers and Gates, and other convenient places of the City with Watch and Ward, in as forcible wise, as if the Enemy had been at hand.

The next day the Senate, requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the Commons before had sent as suiters unto them. Which offer the Citizens did not refuse, but with this condition, that these Senators, which were guilty, should in the mean season follow their Plea, as private Persons, upon their own private Costs and Charges: the other, which defended the publick Cause for the behoof of their Posterity, should be maintained by the publick Charges of the City. This the Senate was glad to grant unto, with some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease their rage.

It hapned the very same day, that certain of the Citizens, such as were appointed to go about the City for the viewing of things, came into the high Church, where one of them thrusting at a certain Image with his Staff, effoons it fell down and brake. By the occasion whereof, other Images also in like sort were served after the same devotion. But when the Priests came running to them, which seemed to be greatly offended therewith, they, because they would not pass their Commission, laid their hands and departed.

It followed upon this, that when word hereof was brought to the Citizens which stood in the Market-place, the matter being made worse unto them than it was, they incontinent discharged out 300 armed Men, to rescue their Fellows in the Church, supposing them to be in danger. Who coming to the Church, and not finding their Fellows there, and all things quiet, have only a few Images broken down; they likewise left they should have lost all their labour, threw down all the other Idols and Images which they found there standing; and so passing through all Churches in the City, did there also the like: and when certain of the Senate came forth to appease the tumult, the Citizens said, that which you have flood about these three years, consulting and advising whether it were best to be done or not, that shall we dispatch in one hour, that from henceforth never more contention shall grow between us for Images: and so the Senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance: and

God's hand
was
in
throwing
down Images
in Basil.

Images
thrown
down at
Basil.

twelve Senators were displaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or dishonour. Also a Decree the same time was made, that as well within the City of *Basil*, as without, throughout all their Jurisdiction, the *Mals* with all Idols should be abandoned: and further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the Glory of God, and the Affairs of the publick Wealth, besides the number of the other Senators, 260 of the Burgers or Citizens, should be appointed out of every Ward in the City to sit with them in Council. These Decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the City 3 days and nights, every one returned again to his house quiet and joyfull, without any blood or stroke given, or anger wreaked, but only upon the Images.

On the 3d day, which was *Ashwednesday*, (as the Pope's ceremonial Church doth call it) all the wooden Images were distributed among the poor of the City, to serve them for firewood. But when they could not well agree in dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the said Images should be burnt altogether: so that in nine great heaps all the Stocks and Idols there the same day were burnt to ashes before the great Church door. And thus by God's Ordinance it came to pass, that the same day wherein the Pope's Priests are wont to show forth all their mourning, and do mark Mens foreheads with ashes, in remembrance that they be but ashes, was to the whole City festive and joyfull, for turning their Images to Ashes, and so is observed and celebrated every year still unto this present day, with all mirth, plays and pastimes, in remembrance of the same Ashes, which day may there be called a right *Ashwednesday* of God's own making. The Men of *Zurich*, of *Bern*, of *Solothurn*, hearing what business was at *Basil*, sent their Embassadors to be a mean between them; but before the Embassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

All this mean space the Emperor and the French King were together occupied in Wars and Strife. Which as it turned to the great damage and detriment of the French King, who in the said Wars was taken Prisoner by the Emperor, so it hapned commodious and opportune for the success of the Gospel; for else it is to be thought that these *Helvetians* and other *Germans*, should not have had that leisure and rest to reform Religion, and to link themselves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God of his secret Wisdom disposeth Times and Occasions to serve his Will and Purpose in all things. Albeit *Ferdinandus* the Emperor's Brother, and Deputy in *Germany*, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in revisiting the proceedings of the Protestants, as appeared both by the Decree set forth at *Ratisbona*, and also at *Spire*, in the which Council of *Spire*, *Ferdinandus* at the same time, which was the year of our Lord 1529, had decreed against the Protestants in effect as followeth.

First, That the Edict of the Emperor made at *Worms*, should stand in force through all *Germany*, till the time of the General Council which should shortly follow: Also, that they which already had altered their Religion, and now could not revoke the same again for fear of Sedition, should stay themselves, and attempt no more Innovations hereafter, till time of the General Council.

Item, That the Doctrine of them which hold the Lord's Supper otherwise than the Church doth teach, should not be received, nor the *Mals* should be altered: and there, whereas the Doctrine of Religion was altered, should be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were disposed to come to *Mals*, might safely therein use their devotion; against Anabaptists likewise; and that all Ministers of the Church should be enjoined to use no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but according to the exposition of the Church Doctors: other matters that were disputable not to be touched. Moreover, that all Persons and States should keep peace, so that for Religion, neither the one part should infer molestation to the other, nor receive any confederates under their protection and safeguard. All which Decrees they which should transgress, to be outlawed and exiled.

Unto this sitting at *Spire*, First, the Embassadors of *Strasburg* were not admitted, but repelled by *Ferdinandus*, because they had rejected the *Mals*: And therefore the said City of *Strasburg* denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they with other *Germans* might be likewise admitted unto their Councils: The other Princes which were received and not repelled, as the Duke of *Saxony*, and George of *Brandenburg*, *Ernstus*, *G 3*

12 Senators
displaced at
Basil.

Mals put
down at
Basil.

Ex Parag.
Epist. Brui.

Ashwednes-
day at Basil,
a day of all
pastime.
A true Ash-
wednesday
of God's
own making

God's provi-
dence to be
noted for
the success
of the Go-
spel.

The Decree
made at
Spire by
Ferdinandus

The Decree
of Spire re-
sisted by
Protestants

Ernetus, and *Franciscus*, Earls of *Lunenburg*, Landgrave *Ansbaldus*, did utterly gainstand the Decree, and shewed their cause in a large Protestation written why they so did: Which done, all such Cities which subscribed and consented to the said Protestation of the Princes; estoons conjoined themselves in a common League with them, whereupon they had their name therefore called *Prosefants*. The names of the Cities were these; *Argentia*, or *Strasburg*, *Norimborg*, *Ulmer*, *Constance*, *Rueting*, *Wisssemburg*, *Memminge*, *Lindavia*, *Campeidunum*, *Hailbrunum*, *Isna*, *Wissburgum*, *Norlinge*, *Sangallum*.

The name of
Prosefants,
how it first
began.

Quint: pag.
The popish
Pages still re-
verta conde-
scendate with
Ferdinandes

Furthermore, as touching the *Helvetians*, (from whence we have somewhat digressed) how the City of *Berne* and *Zurich* had consented and joined together in reformation of true Religion, you heard before. Wherefore the other Pages in *Helvetia*, which were of contrary profession, in like manner confederated themselves in League with *Ferdinandus*: the number and names of which Pages especially were five, to wit, *Lucernates*, *Uranti*, *Suiteris*, *Untervaldii*, and *Tugiani*, which was in the year above said; to the intent, that they conjoining their power together, might overrun the Religion of Christ, and the professors of the same. Who also, for hatred and despite, hanged up the Arms of the fore said Cities of *Zurich* and of *Berne* upon the Gallows, besides many other Injuries and Grievances which they wrought against them. For the which cause the said Cities of *Berne* and *Zurich* raised their power, intending to set up on the fore said *Switzers*, as upon their capital Enemies. But as they were in the Field, ready to encounter one Army against the other, through the means of the City of *Strasburg*, and other Intercessors, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

The Council
of Ansborg.
The Confes-
sion of the
Protestants
at Ansborg.

As touching the Council of *Ansborg*, which followed the next year after the Assembly of *Spire*, Anno 1530, how the Princes and Protestants of *Germany*, in the same Council exhibited their Confession, and what labour was sought to confute it, and how constantly Duke *Frederick* perilled in defence of his Confession against the threatening words and replications of the Emperor; also in what danger the said Princes had been, had not the *Landgrave* privily by night slipped out of the City, pertaineth not to this place presently to discourse.

To return therefore unto *Zuinglius* and the *Helvetians*, of whom we have here presently to treat: You heard before how the tumult and commotion between the two Cities of *Zurich* and *Berne*, and the other five Cities of the *Cantons*, was pacified by the means of intercession; which Peace so continued the space of two years. After that the old Wound waxing raw again, began to burst out, and gather to an head: which was by reason of certain injuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed Cities had received of the other; wherefore the *Tigurines* and the *Bernates*, stopping all passages and firais, would permit no Coin nor Victual to pass unto them. This was in the year of our Lord 1531.

Wars be-
tween the
Goyellers
and the five
popish Towns
of Switzer-
land.
Conditions
of Peace
drawn, but
not kept.
The Tigu-
rines prom-
ised to con-
fess their En-
mities.

And when great trouble was to be thereby, the French King, with certain other Townships of *Switzerland*, as the *Glarians*, *Friburgians*, *Soloturnians*, and other coming between them, laboured to set them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of Peace between them: which Conditions were these. That all Contumelies and Injuries past should be forgotten. That hereafter neither part should molest the other. That they which were banished for Religion, should again be restored. That the five Pages might remain without disturbance in their Religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the Old and New Testament. That no kind of difficulties should be procured against them of *Berne* and *Zurich*: and that either part should confer mutual helps together, one to succour the other, as in times past. But the five Pagesmen would not observe these Covenants made, neither would their malicious Hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the *Bernates* and *Tigurines*, shewing and declaring, first, their cause in publick writing, to purge and excuse the necessity of their War, being pressed with so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the Sword in hand, did, as before beset the high-ways and passages, that no furniture of Victual or other Forrage could come to the other Pages. By reason whereof, when they of the five Towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward

in warlike array towards the borders of *Zurich*, whereas then was lying a Garison of the *Zurich* Men, to the number of a thousand and more. Whereupon word was sent incontinent to the City of *Zurich*, to succour their Men with speed; but their Enemies approached so fast, that they could hardly come to relieve them. For when they were come to the top of the Hill, whereby they must needs pass, they saw their Fellows being in great distress in the Valley under them: whereupon they, encouraging themselves, made down the Hill with more haste than order, striving who might go fastest: but the nature of the Hill was such, that there could but one go down at once. By reason whereof, so far as they could not keep their Ranks to join all together, it followed that they, being but few in number, were discomfited and overmatched of the multitude, which was *October 11*, the year aforesaid. Among the number of them that were slain, was also *Uldricus Zuinglius*, the blessed Servant and Saint of God. Also the Abbot of *Capella*, and *Commandator Kunasentis*, with thirteen other learned and worthy Men were slain, being as is thought, falsely betrayed, and brought into the hands of their Enemies.

K. Hen. 8.

The Tigu-
rines over-
matched &
overcome.

Uldricus
Zuinglius
slain.

As touching the cause which moved *Zuinglius* to go out with his Citizens to the War, it is sufficiently declared and excused, both by *Jo. Sleid.*, and especially by *Oecolampadius*, in his Epistle, (*ep. Mart. Frechtum. & Som. Epist. l. 4.*) where first is to be understood, that it is an old received manner among the *Zurich* Men, that when they go forth in Warfare, the chief Minister of the Church goes with them. *Zuinglius* also of himself being a Man (saith *Sleid.*) of a stout and bold courage, considering if he should remain at home, when War should be attempted against his Citizens, and if he, which in his Sermons did so encourage others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind at home when time of danger came, what shame and disdain might worthily rise to him thereby, thought not to refuse to take such part as his Brethren did.

Ex Joan.
Sleid. lib. 8.
Ex Epist. Jo-
an. Oeco-
lampad. l. 4.

Oecolampad. moreover addeth, that he went not out as a Captain of the Field, but as a good Citizen with his Citizens, and a good Shepherd ready to die with his Flock. And which of them all, saith he, that most cry out against *Zuinglius*, can shew any such noble heart in him, to do the like? Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather desired not to go; foretelling belike, what danger thereof would ensue. But the Senate being importune upon him, would have monay, urging and enforcing him most instantly to go: among whom were thought to have been some false Betrayers, laying and objecting to him, that he was a dastard if he refused to accompany his Brethren, as well in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the said *Zuinglius*, among other secular Arts, had also some skill in such matters of warfare. *Hec Oecolampad.* When he was slain, great cruelty was shewn upon the dead Corps; such was their hatred to him, that their malice could not be satisfied, unless also they should burn his body being dead. *Ex com. Joan. Sleid. lib. 8.*

Zuinglius
excused for
his going out
to War.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut first in four pieces, and then consumed with fire; three days after his death, his Friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his heart in the albes whole and unburned; in much like manner as was also the heart of *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which in the albes was found and taken up unconsumed, as it is credibly reported.

Zuinglius
his dead bo-
dy burned.
Ex Orisales
Miconio de
vita & obitu
Zuinglii.
The heart of
Zuinglius
found whole
in the Albes.
The cruel
handling of
the Abbot
Capellenius.

Furthermore, such was then the rage of these five Pages against the fore said Abbot *Capellenius*, that they took him being slain, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a Monk's Coull, and set him in the Pulpit to preach, railing and jelling upon him in most despiteful manner. *Ex Epist. Oecolamp. ad Wolfgangum Capitenem. l. 4.* *Uldericus Zuinglius* was when he died of the Age of 44 years, younger than *Martin Luther* by four years.

The *Bernates*, who were purposed the same time to achieve War against the *Untervaldians* bordering near unto them, when they heard of this discomfiture of the *Tigurines*, to comfort them again, desired them to be of good cheer and courage, promising that they would not fail but come, and revenge their quarrel. Again, when the *Tigurines* had assembled their Power together, which was the eighth day after the Battel, and had received aid from the *Scheffusians*, *Mulians*, *Sangaller*, and from *Basil*, (the *Bernates*

K. Hen. 8.

Another skirmish between the Tigurney and the five Pagones in Switzerland.

Peace concluded between the Protestants and the five Pagones in Switzerland.

The death of Oecolampadius An. 1532.

The Commentaries of Oecolampadius upon the Prophets.

The death of John Frederick Duke of Saxony.

Bernater at this time were nothing hasty) out of the whole number they chose out certain Ensigns, which setting forth in the night, lay in the Hill beside *Messinge*, intending when the Moon was up, to take the Town of *Tugie*, lying near at hand, upon the sudden. Which when their Enemies had perceived, which were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secret manner they came upon them being at rest, the 24th day of *October*, and to put them in more fear, made a wonderful clamorous outcry: so it fell out in conclusion, that many on both Parties were slain. And albeit the five Pagones had the upper hand, yet would they of *Zurich* nothing relent in their Religion. At the last, through mediation, a Peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed: that the *Tigurney*, *Bernater*, and *Basilians*, should forsake the League which they had lately made with the City of *Strasbourg* and the *Lantgrave*: likewise should the five Page-men give over their League and Composition made with *Ferdinandus*: and hereof Obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of *November*.

Oecolampadius the Preacher of the City of *Strasbourg*, above recorded, hearing of the death of *Zuinglius* his dear Friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow; inasmuch that it is thought to have increased his Disease, and so he also departed this life, the same year and month of *November* above mentioned, being of the age of 49 years, elder than *Martin Luther* by one year. Altho this *Oecolampadius* then died, yet his learned and famous Commentaries upon the Prophets, with other worthy Works which he left behind him, live still and shall never die.

The next year following, which was *Anno 1532*, in the month of *August*, died also the worthy and memorable Prince *John Frederick Duke of Saxony*, who for testimony of Christ and of his Gospel, sustained such Trials, so many Brants, and so vehement Conflicts with the Emperor, and that especially at the Council assembled at *Ausperg*; that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him, or any Prince, to have endured so constant and unremovable against so many perfwasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded *John Frederick* his Son, &c.

And thus have the History of *Zuinglius*, and of the Church of *Switzerland*, with their Proceedings and Troubles, from the first beginning of their Reformation of Religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will add one certain Epistle of the said *Zuinglius*, taken out of his other Epistles, and so therewith close up his Story. Which Epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters; profitably is expounded for true meaning of the *Apollle*, writing to the *Corinthians* concerning how to judge the Lord's Body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his Letter be these as follow.

Huldricus Zuinglius N. fratri in Domino.

Gratiam & pacem in Domin. Accipe igitur charis. frater, &c.

In English thus.

Unto your Questions propounded to me in your former Letters, (well-beloved Brother) I have sent you here mine Answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lord's Supper is a very Thanksgiving: for so the *Apollle* himself meaneth, saying, Ye shall shew forth the Lord's Death. Where the word of shewing forth, signifies as much as Praising or Thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is an Eucharist, or a Thanksgiving; in my judgment, no other thing ought to be attributed to Mens Conscience, but only with due reverence to give thanks. Nevertheless, yet this is not to be neglected, that every Man do prove and examine himself; for so we ought to search and ask our own Conscience, What Faith we have in Christ Jesus & which if it be found and sincere, we may approach without stay to this Thanksgiving, to that that hath no Faith, and yet faintly or pretendeth to have, eateth his own judgment; for he lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove them which sit at the Table eating Meats offered to Idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paul a little before writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, which, bragging upon their knowledge, thought they might

lawfully eat of such Meats offered to Idols, sitting and eating at the Lord's Table: You cannot (saith he) be partakers both of the Lord's Table, and the Table of Devils, &c. Wherefore St. Paul's meaning is, that every one should try and examine himself what Faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that he which hath a right Faith, must have no part nor fellowship with those things which be given to Idols: for he is now a Member of another Body, that is of Christ: so that he cannot join himself now to be one Body with Idolaters. And therefore those be they which do not judge or discern the Lord's Body, that make no difference between the Church of Christ, and the Church of Idolaters. For they which sit at the Lord's Table, eating of Idol Meats, do make no difference at all between the Lord's Supper, and the Supper of the Devils; which be they whom Paul saith not to judge the Body of our Lord, that is, which make no difference, nor give any more regard to Christ's Church, than to the Church of Devils. Whereas if we would judge our selves, that is, if we would thoroughly search and examine our own Conscience as we should, in coming to the Table of the Lord, we finding any Faith in us, would never go to the Table, or make thereof the Feast of Devils: wherefore your judgment herein is not anis in expounding the Word of judging in St. Paul, to signify as much as considering, depending and inquiring.

To your second Question, I answer, That Jesus took Bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the Cup, &c. *Uta verba sunt peculiariter agentis, non hospitaliter invitantis; that is, These words declare the action of one which properly doth a thing, and not the hospitality of one which inviteth another to eat.*

Touching your third Question, out of the 6th Chap. of John, Dost this offend you? Herein I do fully agree with you.

As for this word *Oltren*, which is your fourth Question, I understand thereby the time of the great Feast or Solemnity, which we keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of God's People from the thralldom now of *Saiin*, before from the thralldom of *Pharaoh*. Neither is it greatly material with what word we express the thing, so the thing it self be one, and the analogy and consonancy of the Scripture be kept: for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lamb, and St. Paul calleth him our Easter or Passover. Now your word, *Wanderfeldt*, well pleaseth me, for the Passover, or *Pedah*.

To your fifth Interrogation, of Christ's descending into Hell; I suppose this Particle was infixed into the Creed by the Sentence of the Fathers, to declare how the Fathers, which died in the Faith, were redeemed by the death of Christ. For Christ led away Captivity, whereunto they were holden, with him up into Heaven: so that his going down into Hell, not sic intelligatur, quasi circumscriptive, sed potentialiter; that is, he not so understood, as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place, but by power, which is by the operation of the Spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certain place is diffused every where: so that the Article of Christ's descending into Hell importeth as much, as that his death redeemed them which were in Hell. Whereunto St. Peter also seemeth to have respect, where he saith, * The Gospel * 1 Pet. 3. also was preached to them which were dead; that is, That they also did feel the good tidings of the Gospel, their redemption by the Son of God: and that they which rose again with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in Heaven, who nevertheless in flesh shall be judged, what time the Son of God and of Man shall come to judge both the quick, and the dead. Return to the places of Peter, the one in his first Epistle, the other in the later: and so be you contented with this present Answer raised up in haste. Fare ye heartily well. And comfort my William, the good aged Father, by the Grace of God which is in you. Commend me to John Eggenberge.

From Zurich, Septemb. 1. 1527.

From the first beginning of this whole Book and History hitherto, good Reader, thou hast heard of many and sundry troubles, and much business in the Church of Christ, concerning the Reformation of divers Abuses and great Errors crept into the same, namely in the Church of *Rome*, as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places, whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said History. For what godly Man hath there been, within the space of these five hundred years, either virtuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disapproved the

The place of St. Paul or something the Lord's Body expounded.

Who be they which judge not the Lord's Body.

John took bread.

The word Easter.

The descending of Christ into Hell. Circumscriptive, potentialiter. Ut mortuorum us eos qui sunt spoliati sunt a morte.

* 1 Pet. 3.

The corruption of the sea of Rome continually cried out against the

A Letter of Huldricus Zuinglius.

1 Cor. 10. 16. 17.

the misordered doings and corrupt examples of the See and Bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the coming of this *Luther*? wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appear no less to all godly disposed Men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforelaid Romish Bishop hath had great Enemies and Gainfayers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet notwithstanding never any could prevail before the coming of this Man. The cause whereof, altho it be secretly known unto God, and unknown unto Men, yet so far as Men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought: That whereas other Men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice of the Bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most especially, with examples and manners of Life; *Luther* went further with him, charging him not with Life, but with his Learning; not with his Doings, but with his Doctrine; not picking at the Rinde, but plucking up the Root; not seeking the Man, but shaking his Seat; yea, and charging him with plain Heresy, as prejudicial and resisting plainly against the Blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred Testament of God's holy Word. For whereas the Foundation of our Faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his Blood; the Pope proceeding with a contrary Doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our Salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of Mens meriting and deserving by Works. Whereupon rose divers sorts of Orders and religious Sects among Men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every Man seeking his own Righteousness, but few seeking the Righteousness of him which is set up of God to be our Righteousness, Redemption, and Justification.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, which before were drowned in darkness. Whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of Men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own Righteousness, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speak, the more glorious the benefit of this Doctrine appeared to the World after long ignorance, the greater perfection fol-

lowed upon the same. And where the Elect of God took most occasion of comfort and of salvation, thereof the Adversaries took most matter of vexation and disturbance, as commonly we see the true Word of God to bring, with it ever dissention and perturbation; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, *That he came not to send Peace on Earth, but the Sword*. And this was the cause why that, after the Doctrine and Preaching of *Luther*, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the World; whereby arose great dissention amongst the Prelates, and many Laws and Decrees were made to overthrow the same, by cruel handling of many good and Christian Men. Thus while Authority, armed with Laws and Rigor, did strive against simple verity; lamentable it was to hear how many poor Men were troubled, and went to wrack, some tost from place to place, some exiled out of the Land for fear, some caused to abjure, some driven to Caves in Woods, some wracked with torment, and some pursued to death with Faggot and Fire. Of whom we have now (*Christ willing*) in this History following to intreat, first beginning with certain that suffered in Germany, and then to return to our own Stories, and Martyrs here in England.

Henry Voes and John Elsch Friers Augustines.

IN the year of our Lord 1523, two young Men were burnt at *Brussels*, the one named *Henry Voes*, being of the age of 24 years; and the other *John Elsch*, which before had been of the Order of the *Augustine* Friers. They were degraded the first day of *July*, and spoiled of their Friers Weed, at the Suit of *Egmondanus* the Pope's Inquisitor; and the Divines of *Lovaine*; for that they would not retract and deny their Doctrine of the Gospel, which the Papists call *Lutheranism*. Their Examiners were *Hochstratus*, and others, who demanded of them, What they did believe? They said, The Books of the Old Testament and the New, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the Decrees of the Councils, and of the Fathers? They said, Such as were agreeing to the Scripture they believed. After this they proceeded further, asking, Whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the Decrees of the Fathers, and of the Bishop of Rome? That (said they) is to be attributed only to the Precepts of God, to bind the Conscience of Man, or to loose it. Wherein when

K. Hen. 8.

Mat. 10.
Great persecution after the Doctrine of Luther.

The Pope charged with Heresy by Luther. The foundation of the Pope's Doctrine contrary to Christian Faith.

Justification by Faith renewed by Luther.

Two Friers burned at Brussels.

Egmondanus and Hochstratus Doctors of Lovaine, Persecutors.

Their Examination.

The Burning of Henry Voes and John Elsch, Friers Augustines.



they

R. Hen.

The cause of their acuteness and martyrdom.

Behold how constantly and joyfully these Martyrs take their death.

Against all reason that the Clergy should be exempted from the death of the Martyrs.

Henry Sutphen.

Ex Com. p. 4.

Henry Sutphen on preach at Breme.

Monks and Priests conspire against Sutphen.

they constantly persecuted and would not turn, they were condemned and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their Heavenly Father, which had delivered them through his great goodness, from that false and abominable Priesthood, and made them Priests of his holy Order, receiving them unto him as a Sacrifice of sweet Odour. Then there was a Bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the People, to declare what Faith and Doctrine they held. The greatest Error that they were accused of, was, That Men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as Men are liars and deceitful in all their Words and Deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or assistance to be put in them.

As they were led unto the place of Execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual protestation that they died for the Glory of God, and the Doctrine of the Gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the Holy Church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had long desired. After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were disposed of their Garments, they tarried a great space in their Shirts, and joyfully embraced the Stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them, praising God with *Te Deum laudamus*, and singing Psalms, and rehearsing the Creed, in testimony of their Faith. A certain Doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, said unto Henry, that he should take heed so foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the Cross of my Lord Jesus Christ. Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, I trust that I carry him truly in my heart. One of them seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, Methinks ye do strew Roses under my feet. Finally, the smoke and the flame mounting up to their faces, choked them.

Henry being demanded amongst other things, whether Luther had seduced him or no: yea, said he, even as Christ seduced his Apostles. He said also, that it was contrary to God's Law, that the Clergy should be exempted from the Power and Jurisdiction of the Magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained in Office by the Bishops, have no power, but only to preach the Word of God, and to feed their Flock therewithal. After their death, their Monastery was dissolved at Antwerp. The President thereof, by the Papists called *Jacobus Luberianus*, after divers and sundry troubles and afflictions was forced to recant at Brussels; but afterward his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther. Ex 6. *Tomo M. Lutheri, fol. 397.*

Henry Sutphen, Monk, put to death in Diethmar.

THE next year after the burning of those two Christian Martyrs at Brussels above mentioned, with like Tyranny also was martyred and burned without all order of Judgment or just Condemnation, about the City of *Diethmar* in the borders of *Germany*, one *Henry Sutphen*, Monk, Anno 1524. of whom mention is partly touched in the Commentaries of *John Sleiden lib. 4.* but his History is more amply described of *Luther*, of *Paulus Eberus* in his *Calend. of Ludov. Rabus Crispinus*, and others. This Sutphen had been before with *Martin Luther*, and afterward coming to Antwerp, was from thence excluded for the Gospel, and so came to Breme, not to the end there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to *Wittenberg*, being driven from Antwerp, as is above said. Who being at Breme, was there required by certain godly Citizens of Breme to make one or two brief Exhortations upon the Gospel. Whereunto, through the earnest Love and Zeal that was in him, he was easily assented and persuaded. He made his first Sermon unto the People the Sunday before *St. Martins* day. When the People heard him preach the Word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his Doctrine, that the whole Parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the Gospel; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused. When the Religious Rout had understanding thereof, especially the Canons, Monks, and Priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust both him out of the City, and also the Gospel of Christ (for that was their chief seeking;) whereupon they went unto the Senate, de-

claring that such an Heretick might be banished the Town, which in his Doctrine preached against the Catholick Church. Upon the complaint of the Canons, the Senate sent for the Wardens and head Men of the Parish where Henry had preached; who being come together, the Senate declared unto them the Complaint of the Canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the Citizens of Breme taking their Preachers part, answered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, which should teach them sincerely and truly the Word of God. Notwithstanding if the Chapter-house or any other man could bring Testimonial or witness, that the Preacher had taught any thing which either favoured of Heresie, or were repugnant to the Word of God, they were ready, they said, with the Chapter-house to persecute him: for God forbid that they should maintain an Heretick. But if contrariwise the Canons of the Chapter-house, and the other religious men will not declare and shew that the Preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any Error or Heresie, but were set only of malice by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the Senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them Equity and Justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their Preacher always, and to plead his Cause.

This Answer the Senate commanded to be declared to the Chapter-house. When as the religious sort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out into a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithal went straight unto the Archbishop to certify him how that the Citizens of Breme were become Hereticks, and would no longer obey their religious sort, with many other like things in their Complaint, so that it was to be feared, lest the whole City shortly should be seduced.

When the Bishop heard tell of these things, straightway he sent two which were of his Council unto Breme, requiring that Henry should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they should have him sent, they answered, because he preached against the holy Church. Being again demanded in what Points or Articles they had nothing to lay. One of these Counsellors was the Bishop Suffragan, a naughty pernicious Hypocrite that fought by all means possible to carry away the said Henry captive. Finally they received this answer of the Senators. That forasmuch as the Preacher, being hired of the Churchwardens, had not hitherto been convict for any Heretick, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical Article that he had taught, they said they could by no means obtain of the Citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the Bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Breme to dispute with him; and if he were convinced, they promised without any delay that he should be justly punished and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the Suffragan answered with a great Protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietness of the whole Country, taking God to his witness, that in this behalf he fought for nothing else, but only the commodity of his Country. But for all this they could prevail nothing, for the Senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the Suffragan being moved with anger, departed from Breme, and would not confirm their Children.

When he came unto the Bishop, he declared the answer of the Senate, and what he had heard and learned of the Priests and Monks there. Afterward, when daily news came, that the Preacher did still more and more preach, and teach more heinous matter against the Religious Rout, they attempted another way, suborning great Men to admonish the Citizens of Breme into what jeopardy their Commonwealth might fall by means of their Preacher, preaching contrary to the Decree of the Pope and Emperor. Besides that, they said, that he was the Prisoner of the Lady *Margaret*; for which cause they had gotten Letters of the Lady *Margaret*, requiring to have her Prisoner sent unto her again.

All these crafts and subtilties did nothing at all prevail, for the Senate of Breme answered all things without blame. When as the Bishop saw this his enterprise all frustrate, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both he, and also the Word of God with him should be wholly oppressed. Whereupon they decreed a Provincial

The Citizens of Breme excuse their Preacher.

The Monks and Priests complain again of the Preacher to the Archbishop of Breme.

The Preacher cited to appear before the Archbishop.

The Senate denies to send the Preacher to the Bishop.

The Senate of Breme require a Disputation of the Archbishop.

The Suffragan would not confirm their Children.

Another Preacher of the Archbishop.

vincial Council, not to be holden at *Breme*, as it was accustomed, but at *Buchade*, which place they thought most meet for their purpose.

To this Council were called the Prelates and learned Men of the Diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereunto to trust.

Alfo to the said Council was *Henry* called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest Heretic, albeit he was not yet convicted, nor had pleaded his cause before them. Wherefore the Rulers of the City, together with the Commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the Council. Then the said *Henry* gathered a Sum of his Doctrine into a few Articles, and sent it with his Letters unto the Archbishop: excusing his Innocency, offering himself to be ready, if he were convicted of any error by the Testimony of the holy Scripture, to recant the same: notwithstanding earnestly requiring, that his Errors might be convicted by the holy Scriptures, by the Testimony whereof he had hitherto approved his Doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same: but this took no place amongst those anointed Prelates. What the determination of their Judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set upon the Church-porch the Bull of the Pope *Leo* the Xth, and Decree of the Emperor made at *Worms*. Whereupon *Henry* contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the Gospel, adding always this Protestation, That he was ready willingly to give account touching his Faith and Doctrine to every man that would require the same. In the mean time the holy Catholics could not be idle, but sent their Chaplains unto every Sermon to trap him in his words. But God, whose Foot-paths are in the midst of the Floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them; for he converted many of them: inasmuch that the greater part of those that were sent to hearken, did openly witness his Doctrine to be God's Truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard; perfwading them likewise, that they forsaking all Impiety, should follow the Word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief Priests, Canons, and Monks were so indurate and blinded with *Pharao's*, that they became the worse for these Admonitions. When as God saw the time convenient that *Henry* should confirm the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel Murderers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth.

It hapned in the year of our Lord 1524, that this *Henry* was sent for by Letters, by *Nicholas Bay* Parish Priest, and other faithful Christians of the Parish of *Meldorff*, which is a Town in *Dietsmar*, to preach the Gospel unto them, and deliver them out of the Bondage of Antichrist, which in that place had full Dominion.

These Letters being received upon St. *Katharine's* Evening, calling together six Brethren, honest Citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of *Dietsmar*, to preach the Gospel; adding moreover, that he was not only a Debtor unto them, but to all other which required his aid. Wherefore he thought good to go to *Dietsmar*, to see what God would work by him, requiring also that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might best take his Journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the People. Unto whom the Citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the Gospel had not yet taken so deep root in the People, but was as yet weak, and especially in the Villages thereabout, and that the Persecution was very great, willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the Office of Preaching: and if they of *Dietsmar* desired a Preacher, he should send some other in his place, for they had before perceived the Disposition and Untrustfulness of them of *Dietsmar*: besides that, it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole Commonalty. Whereunto *Henry* made answer in this manner, That albeit he could not deny but that he was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly Men at *Breme*, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching of the Gospel. Besides that the Papists were for the most part vanquished and overthrown, and their

Folly known, even unto Women and Children; adding therunto that he had now preached the Gospel by the space of two years at *Breme*, and that they of *Dietsmar* lived without a Pastor even in the midst of Wolves: wherefore he could not with a safe Confidence deny their request. And whereas they alleged that they could not licence him without the consent of the whole Congregation, that, said he, was but of small effect; forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of *Dietsmar* for a month or two, to lay a Foundation, and then to return again; desiring them, that after his departure they would declare unto the Congregation how he was sent for by them of *Dietsmar*, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his Adversaries privately laying wait in every place for him; thinking that he should scarcely avoid them, which had always gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they should promise to the Congregation in his name, that when he had performed his Enterprize, he would straight return again. They being perfwaded with these words, consented unto him, steadfastly hoping that they of *Dietsmar* should be converted to the true Faith: which people above all other have been always given to Idolatry.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, the two and twentieth day of *October* he took his Journey, and came to *Meldorff* whither he was sent for: where he was joyfully received of the Parish Priest and others, as soon as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the Devil with his members by and began to fret and fume for anger. Above all other, one *Augustine Tornborch*, Prior of the Black Friars, began to fume, who went out of hand unto Mr. *J. Swicken* his companion, and Commissary to the official of *Hamburg*, to take counsel what was to be done, lest they should lose their Kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withstand the beginnings, that he should not have licence to preach: for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the Priests and Monks should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a Folly to resist, remembering what had happened lately before in *Breme*. This Determination had, the Prior the next day early in the Morning (for he had not slept well all night for cares) went with great speed unto *Heyda*, to speak with the eight and forty Presidents of the Country: unto whom with great complaints he shewed how that a feditious fellow, a Monk was come from *Breme*, which would seduce all the People of *Dietsmar*, as he had done the *Bremers*. There was moreover that did assist this Prior, Mr. *Guntwin*, Chancellor of the Country, and *Petrus Hannus*, both enemies unto the Gospel. These stoutly assisted the Prior, perfwading the other forty six, being simple and unlearned Men, that they should obtain great favour and good will of the Bishop of *Breme*, if they would put this Heretic Monk to death. When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this Monk should be put to death, neither heard, nor seen, much less convicted.

Furthermore, this Prior obtained Letters from the forty eight Presidents to the Parish Priest, commanding him under great penalty, that he should put the Monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these Letters he came speedily to *Meldorff*, and delivered the Letters over-night unto the Parish Priest; trusting that by their Threatnings and Commandments, the said *Henry* should be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

When as the Parish Priest had read over the Letters, he marvelled not a little at that proud Commandment, for that it had not been heard of before that the forty eight Presidents should meddle with Ecclesiastical matters, and that it had been of long time used, that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the Parish Priest: and long time before it was decreed by the whole Province, and customably used, that in every Church the Parish Priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the Preacher. These Letters the Parish Priest delivered unto *Henry*; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, that forasmuch as he was come being sent for by the whole Congregation to preach the Gospel of Christ, he would forsake that Vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable

A Council of Priests called against Henry Sutphen.

Henry gathered a Sum of his Doctrine into writing.

The Catholic proceeding of the Popes Clergy.

They that went about to take him, were taken.

Henry Sutphen sent for to preach at Meldorff.

The Citizens of Breme perfwade Henry not to go to Dietsmar.

The cause moving Henry to go to Dietsmar.

K. Hen. 8.

In this rude Country of Dietsmar Mr. Rogers our Countryman was superintendant in time of the six Articles, where he with great danger of his life did very much good.

Henry taketh his Journey to Meldorff.

The Prior of the Black Friars with the forty eight Presidents conspire the death of Henry.

The chief cause of this Conspiracy.

Nicholas Boyer Parish Priest of Meldorff, commanded to put away Henry.

K. Hen. 8.

The constancy of Henry in his Vocation.

Hen. preaching at Meldorf. The Cisterciens of Meldorf write in defence of their Preacher.

Good Council of Peter Debleus.

Lobk. 7.

table unto the whole Congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the Word of God, than Man. Also, that if it pleased God that he should lose his Life in *Dischmar*, there was as near a way to Heaven, as in any other place; for that he doubted nothing at all, that once he must suffer for the Gospel's sake. Upon this Courage and Boldness, the next day Henry went up into the Pulpit, and made a Sermon, expounding the place of *Paul*, which is, *Rom. 1. Tota est mihi Domus*, &c. that is, *God is my Witness*; and the Gospel of the day. After the Sermon was done, the whole Congregation being called together, the Prior delivered the Letters that were sent by the forty eight Presidents, the Tenor whereof was this: That they of *Meldorf* should be fined with a Fine of a thousand Gilderns, if they suffered the Monk to preach; and commanded moreover, that they should send Ambassadors unto *Heida* with full Power and Authority. When they heard these Letters read, they were much moved, because they were so charged contrary to the custom of the Country; forasmuch as every Parish Priest hath always had Authority, according to his Discretion, to chuse or put away the Preacher. Briefly, they all determined with one voice, to keep Henry for their Preacher, and to defend him: for when they had heard the Sermon, they were greatly offended with the Prior.

After Dinner Henry preached again, expounding the place of *St. Paul*, *Rom. 15. Debetis nos qui potentes sumus*, &c. *We ought which are strong*, &c. The next day the Citizens of *Meldorf* sent their Messengers unto *Heida*, offering to answer in all Causes before all Men, for their Preacher, whom they have received. Besides that, the Messengers declared what Christian and godly Sermons they heard him preach. The Parish Priest also wrote Letters by the said Legats unto the forty eight Rulers, wherein he excused himself, that it was never his mind, nor the intent of the said Henry to move Sedition, but only sincerely to preach the Word of God, and offer himself ready to answer for the said Henry to all men, whensoever he should be called; most earnestly desiring them not to give credit unto the Monks, which being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the Truth: saying moreover, that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned, before the Truth be tried out, and his cause declared; and if, after due Inquisition had, he should be convicted, then he should suffer condign Punishment. This submission with the publick Testimonial was nothing esteemed or regarded, neither was there any answer given thereunto, but every man repined and murmured thereat. Last of all, one *Peter Debleus*, one of the Seignours, answered; That albeit there were divers Diffentions in every place about the Christian Faith, and that they as men ignorant could not redress the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the Judgment of determining this Diffention should be referred to the next Council, which by the report of Master Chancellor was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also until all Difcord and Diffention should be appeased, whatsoever was received and believed by their Neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the Word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and sincerely preached (as they said) unto the People, and that there be now some which can teach and preach the same more sincerely; it is not their mind or intent to withstand or resist their good doings, but that the Presidents would with this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move Sedition, and in the mean time be commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Easter next, and by that time it should be appeased, what should be received, and what left undone. With this Answer they were all very well contented; and the Messengers returned again to *Meldorf* with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole Congregation what Answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to pass.

Upon *St. Nicholas* day, this Henry preached twice, first upon the Gospel, *Homo quidam nobilis*, &c. *A certain Noble man*, &c. Secondly upon this Text, *Plures facti sunt Sacerdotes*, &c. *There are many made Priests*, &c. with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a Preacher. Upon the day of the Conception of our Lady,

he also made two Sermons upon the first Chapter of *Matthew*, expounding the Book of the Generation; wherein he rehearsed the Promises made by God unto our Forefathers; and under what Faith our Fathers, that then were, had lived; adding also, that all respect of Works being set apart, we must be justified by the same Faith. All these things were spoken with such boldness of Spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great Mercy, that had sent them such a Preacher, desiring him moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmasts to preach; for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place.

In the mean space, the Prior and Master *John Schink* were not idle: for when the Prior perceived that his malicious Enterprize took no good success, he adjoynted unto him a Companion, *William* a Doctor of the *Jacobins*, and so went up to *Lundauum* to the Monks *Franciscans*, and *Minors*, for help and counsel. For those kinds of Friars above all others are best instructed by their Hypocritie to deceive the poor and simple People. These Friars straightway sent for certain of the Rulers, which had all the Rule and Authority, and especially *Peter Hannus*, *Peter Swine*, and *Nicholas Roden*; unto whom they declared, after their accustomed manner, with great Complains; what an Heretick Monk had preached, and how he had obtained the Favour almost of all the simple people; which if they did not speedily provide for, and withstand the beginnings, and put the Heretick to death, it would come to pass, that shortly the honour of our Lady, and all Saints, together with the two Abbeyes, should utterly come to ruine and decay.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved. Whereunto *Peter Swine* answered thus, That they had before written unto the Parish Priest and to Henry what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. No, said the Prior, this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the Heretick, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared, lest the contagion of his Heresie also do infect you, being unlearned men: for if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him. Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burn him before the People should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the *Franciscan Friars*. *Petrus Hannus* the Priors chief Friend, willing to get the chief Praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of Master *Gunter*, did associate unto him certain other Rulers of the Towns near adjoining, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they too much affected Praise and Glory. The Names of the Presidents were these, *Peter Hannus*, *Peter Swine's* Son, *Henricke Londane*, *John Holness*, *Lawrence Hannemannus*, *Nicholas Wislinghousius*, *Ambrose* and *John Brentiusius*, *Marquardus Krenmerius*, *Hofstedanus Ludewes*, *Joannes Wislingus*, and *Petrus Grysfus*, President of *Hemmingstade*. All these Presidents, and all other that were of Counsel to this pretence, assembled together in the Parish of the new Church, in the House of *M. Gunter*, where also the Chancellor was consulting together with them how they might burn the said Henry secretly, coming upon him without any Judgment or Sentence. They concluded the next day after the Conception of our Lady, to meet at *Henning*, which is five Miles from *Meldorf*, with a great Band of Husbandmen. This Determination thus made, they layed Scouts in every place, that there should no news of their pretended Michiefs come to *Meldorf*; commanding that as soon as it began to wax dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the Country, unto whom was declared the cause of their Assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done; for before no man knew the cause of the Assembly, but only the Presidents. When the Husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back again, refusing such a detestable and horrible deed. The Presidents with most bitter threats kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be the more courageous, they gave them three Barrels of *Ham-A-drinken* [Murther] *borough Beer* to drink.

About midnight they came in Armour to *Meldorf*, *Hennegus* the *Jacobines* and Monks prepared Torches for them, that Henry should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a false Betrayer, named *Hennegus*, by whose

The Priests and the Monks again conspire against the Gospel.

The design of Henry conspired by the monks and Friars.

The names of the Cities, Villages, and Parishes.

whose Treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the Parish Priest, breaking and spoiling all things, as the manner of that drunken People is. If they found either Gold or Silver they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the Parish Priest, and with great noise cried out, Kill the Thief, Kill the Thief. Some of them took him by the hair of the Head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as Prisoner. Other some cried out, saying, that the Parish Priest was not to be medled withal, for they had no Committion to take him. After they had satisfied their Lust upon the Parish Priest, with great Rage and Fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his Bed, bound his hands hard behind him: whom being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that Peter Hannus, which otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel Persecutor of the Word of God, willed them that they should let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Balce, who rather drew him by violence than led him: when he was brought to Hemmingsted, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Dietsmar? unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming: but they all in a rage cried out, Away with him, away with him; for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us all Hereticks. Then he, being marvellous weary and faint, required to be set on horse-back, for his Feet were all cut and hurt with the Ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, Must we hire an Horse for an Heretic, he shall go a foot whether he will or no? Because it was night they carried him naked to Heide. Afterward they brought him to a certain man's House named Caldon, and bound him there with Chains in the Stocks. The Master of the house seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not suffer it to be done. Wherefore he was carried away to a Priests house, the Officials Servant of Hamburg, and that up in a Cupboard, and was kept by the rude People, which all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst all other there came unto him, Simon in Alsenord, and Christian, Parish Priest of the new Church, both alike ignorant and wicked Persecutors of the Word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy Habit? unto whom he friendly answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant Persons understood nothing what he said. Mr. Gunterus also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather to be sent to the Bishop of Breme, or receive his Punishment in Dietsmar? unto whom Henry answered, If I have preached any thing contrary to God's Word, or done any wicked Act, it is in their hands to punish me therefore. Gunterus answered, Hark, I pray you good Friends, hark, he desireth to suffer in Dietsmar. The common People all the night continued in immoderate drinking and swilling.

A drunken
Confut-
Crucifix.

The bloody
brood of
Friars help
forward.
Hem-brought
forth to the
fire.

In the Morning about eight of the clock, they gathered together in the Market-place to consult what they should do: Where the rusticall People boiling with drink, cried out, Burn him, Burn him, to the Fire with the Heretic. Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great Glory and Praise both of God and Man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will seduce with his Heresie. What need many words? Sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry without any Judgment (his Cause not being heard) to be burned. At last they commanded the Crier to proclaim, That every man that was at the taking of him, should be ready in Armour to bring him forth to the Fire. Amongst all other the Friars Franciscans were present, encouraging the drunken rude People, saying, Now you go the right way to work. Then they bound the said Henry, Hands, Feet, and Neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the Fire. As he passed by, a certain Woman standing in her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly. Unto whom Henry turning himself, said, I pray you weep not for me. When he came to the Fire, for very weakness he fainted down upon the ground. By and by there was present one of the Presidents named May, which was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose, he condemned the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing this Sentence upon him.

Forasmuch as this Thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the Commandment and Sufferance of our Reverend Father in Christ, the Bishop of Breme, and my Lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with Fire. Unto whom Henry answered, I have done no such thing; and, lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, he said, O Lord forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy Name, O Almighty God, is holy.

In the mean time a certain Woman, the Wife of one Jungar, Sister of Peter Hannus, offered her self to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that they would pacifie the matter, and keep him in Prison, until that he might plead his matter before the whole Convocation of the Country. When they had heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the Woman down under feet, and trod upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the furious foot struck him behind on the head with a sharp Dagger. John Holmes of the new Church struck him with a Mace. Other some thrust him in the Back, and in the Arms. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master Gunter cried out, encouraging them, saying, Go to boldly good Fellows, truly God is with us present.

After this, he brought a Franciscan Frier unto Henry, that he should be confessed. Whom Henry demanded in this manner; Brother, when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger? Never said the Frier. What should I then confess unto you, said he, that you think you might forgive me? The Frier, being moved at these words, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burn. Notwithstanding they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kind of Weapons. The said Henry standing in the mean time in his Shirt before all this rude people; at the last they having gotten a great Ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed, one struck him upon the Face with his Fist, saying, Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt. Then another treading upon his Breast, bound his Neck so hard to a step of the Ladder, that the Blood gushed out of his Mouth and Nose. This was done to strangle him withal, for they saw that for all his sore Wounds he would not die.

After he was bound to the Ladder, he was set upright. Then one running unto him, let his Halbert for the Ladder to lean against (for those Countrymen use no common Hangman, but every man exerciseth the Office without difference) but the Ladder, slipping away from the point of the Halbert, caused that the Halbert struck him through the Body. Then they cast this good man, Ladder and all upon the Wood, which tumbling down light upon the one side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and struck him with a Mace upon the Breast, till he was dead and stired no more. Afterward they roasted him upon the Coals; for the Wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly Preacher finished his Martyrdom, which was Anno 1524. Ex Epist. Mart. Lut.

About the same time many other godly persons, and such as feared God, for the Testimony of the Gospel, were thrown into the River of Rhene, and into other Rivers, where their Bodies afterward were found, and taken up. Also in the said Town of Dietsmar another faithful Saint of God, named John, suffered the like Martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant Martyrs, as two shining Lights set up of God, in Testimony of his Truth, offered up the Sacrifice of their Confession sealed with their Blood, in a sweet favour unto God.

At the Town of Hala likewise, another Preacher named M. George, for ministering in both kinds, was martyred and slain of a like sort of Cut-throats set up by the Monks and Friars to murder him, near to the Town called Hafschenburg. Ex Crisp. & Pant.

At Prague also in Bohemia another, for changing his Monastery into Matrimony, did suffer in the like manner. Ex Lud. Rab.

Furthermore, in the same year of our Lord above-mentioned 1524, and the two and twentieth of October, the Town of Miltenberg in Germany, was taken and ransacked, and divers of the Inhabitants were slain, and many imprisoned for

The Parish
Priest vio-
lently taken
into his house
by night.

Henry taken
and carried
away of the
Murders.

Henry brought
to Hem-
mingsted.

The cruel
handling of
God's Mar-
tyr.

Hen. 8.
The tender
compassion
of a godly
Woman.

The Tyran-
ny and Fury
of the Peo-
ple against
this blessed
Martyr.

Where the
offence is
not done to
man, confes-
sion to man
there need-
eth not.

The fire
would not
kindle.

The Martyr-
dom of Hen-
ry, Sutphen.

Ex Ep. Mart.
Lut.
Divers Mar-
tyrs secretly
drowned in
Rivers.

John of Di-
etsmar Mar-
tyr.

M. George
of Hala
Preacher in
Saxony,
Martyr.

The Town
of Milten-
berg.

K. Hen. 8.

Gasper Tam-
ber, George
a Scrivener
at Vienna in Au-
stria.

for maintaining and keeping with them *Carlostadus* to be
be their Preacher: *Ex Rab. & Pantal.*

In the same Catalogue of holy Martyrs likewise is to be
placed *Gasper Tamber*. Also another called *Gorgius*,
a Scrivener, which both were burned at *Vienna in Au-*
stria.

*The Lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk of Melden
in France.*

Jo a Clerk
of Melden
Martyr.
John Clerk
fought
for calling
the Pope An-
tichrist.

Melden is a City in France, ten miles distant from *Paris*,
where *John Clerk* was first apprehended and taken,
Anno. 1523, for setting up upon the Church-door a certain
Bill against the Pope's Pardons lately sent thither from
Rome, in which Bill he named the Pope to be Antichrist.
For the which his Punishment was this, That three several
days he should be whipped, and afterward have a Mark
imprinted in his Forehead, as a note of Infamy. His Mo-
ther being a Christian Woman, altho her Husband was an
Adversary, when he beheld her Son thus pitiously scourged,
and ignominiously deformed in the Face, constantly and
boldly did encourage her Son, crying with a loud voice,
Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these Prints and
Marks.

John Clerk
murdered in
this forehead.

After this Execution and Punishment sustained, the
said *John* departed that Town, and went to *Rosie in Bry*,
and from thence removed to *Metz in Lotharing*, where he
remained a certain space, applying his Vocation, being a
Wool-carder by his Occupation. Whereas he the day be-
fore that the People of that City should go out to the Sub-
urbs to worship certain blind Idols near by (after an old use
and custom amongst them received) being inflamed with
the zeal of God, went out of the City to the place where the
Images were, and bratt them all down in pieces. The next
morrow after when the Canons, Priests, and Monks, keeping
their old Custom, had brought with them the people out of
the City to the place of Idolatry, to worship as they were
wont they found all their Blocks and Stocks almighty ly bro-
ken upon the ground. At the sight whereof they being
mightily offended in their minds, let all the City on a Cog-
s to search out the Author thereof, who was not hard to be
found; forasmuch as this forefard Clerk, betides that he was
noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was
also seen somewhat late in the Evening before to come from
the fause place into the City. Whereupon he being suspected
and examined upon the same, at first confessed the Fact, ren-
dering also the cause which moved him so to do, The People
hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of
Doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out
upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to
the Judges, wherein he defended the pure Doctrine of the
Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of Exe-
cution, where he sustained extreme Torments. For first his
Hand was cut off from his right Arm, then his Nose with
flarp Pinns was violently plucked from his Face; after that
both his Arms and his Paps were likewise plucked and drawn
with the same Instrument. To all them that stood looking
on, it was an horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight
of his Pains: again to behold his patience, or rather the Grace
of God giving him the gift to suffer, it was a wonder.
Thus quietly and constantly he endured in his Torments,
pronouncing, or in a manner singing the Verses of the
hundred and fiftenth Psalm: *Simulacra eorum sunt argentum
& aurum, &c. Their Images are Silver and Gold, the work
only of man's hand, &c.* The residue of his life that remain-
ed in his rent Body, was committed to the fire, and there-
with consumed; which was about the year of our Lord,
1524. *Ex Pantal. & Crisp.*

John Clerk
taken for
calling down Im-
ages.

The grie-
vous Tor-
ments of
John Clerk.

The Con-
fession of
this blessed
Martyr.

John Castellane,
Doctor
and Martyr.

The year next ensuing, which was 1525, Master *John Cas-*
tellane born at *Toureny*, a Dr. of Divinity, after that he
was called to the knowledge of God, and became a true
Preacher of his Word, and had preached in France, in a place
called *Barleduc*, also at *Vitry in Paroisse*, at *Chalon in*
Champaine, and in the Town of *Vike*, which is the
Chamber and Episcopal Seat of the Bishop of *Metz in Lo-*
rain, after he had laid some Foundation of the Doctrine of
the Gospel in the Town of *Metz*, intretuning from thence
he was taken Prisoner by the Cardinal of *Lorain's* Ser-

vants, by whom he was carried from *Gorge* to the Castle
of *Nonnenie*; whereupon the Citizens of *Metz* took no
little displeasure and grievance; who being grievously of-
fended to have their Preacher so to be apprehended and
imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the
Cardinals Subjects, and kept them Prisoners so long, until
the Abbat of *St. Antonies* in *Viennois*, called *Theodore de*
Chaumont, Vicar General, as well in Causes Spiritual as
Temporal, through the Jurisdiction both of the Cardinal,
and Bishoprick of *Metz, Toulouze* and *Verdune*, being fur-
nished with an Officer and Commission from the See of
Rome, came to the said Town of *Metz*; and after divers
Declarations made to the Provost; and to the other Ju-
stices and Counsellors of the City, he so wrought and
brought to pass, that immediately the said Subjects of the
Cardinal were set at liberty: but *John Castellane* was
kept still Prisoner in the Castle of *Nonnenie*, and was
most cruelly handled from the time of the fourth day
of *May*, until the twelfth day of *January*: during all
which he persevered constant in the Doctrine of the
Son of God. Whereupon he was carried from *Non-*
menie to the Town and Castle of *Vike*, always perse-
vering constantly in the profession of the same Doctrine;
so that they did proceed unto the Sentence of his De-
gradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular
Power, according to the custom and manner. And forso-
much as the form and manner of the Sentence and Process
of degrading is notable, and hath been reported unto us
word for word, we have thought good here to annex the
same, to declare the horrible Blasphemies joyed with gross
and brutish subtilty, in those high Mysteries which the Ene-
mies of the Truth do use in their Process against the Chil-
dren of God; whereby every man, even the most ignorant,
may evidently perceive the horrible Blindness that these un-
thamefard Catholics are blinded withal.

Dr. Castellane
carried to
the castle of
Nonnenie.
The death
of the
Citizens
of Metz
towards these
Protestants.

Whoever
else sees
the
Christian
are sure to
suffer.

Dr. Castellane
constant in his
Doctrine.

The Sentence of Degradation.

Concerning the Process inquisitory, formed and given
in form of an Accusation against thee *John Cas-*
tellane, Priest, and Religious Man of the Friars Remiter
of the Order of *St. Austin*; understanding likewise thy Con-
fession which thou hast made of thine own good Will, main-
taining false and erroneous Doctrine; and marking also be-
sides this the godly Admonitions, and charitable Exhortations
which we made unto thee in the Town of *Metz*, and given
thee like unto the Serpent Aspis, hast refused and willed
no ear unto: Also considering thine Answers made and re-
solute unto Interrogatories, by means of thine Oath, in
the which devilishly thou hast hidden and kept back, not only
the Truth, but also, following the example of *Cain*, hast
denied to confess thy sins and mischievous offence: And fi-
nally, hearing the great number of Witnesses sworn and ex-
amined against thee, their Persons and Depositions diligently
considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being
justly examined, the Reverend Master *Nicolas Savin*, Doctor
of Divinity, and Inquisitor of the Faith, Assistants unto us,
hast entered Process against thee, and given full Information
thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicated
unto divers Masters and Doctors both of the Civil and Canon
Laws here present, which have subscribed and signed there-
unto, whereby it appears, that thou *John Castellane* hast
often times, and in divers places openly and manifestly spread
abroad, and taught many erroneous Propositions, full of the
Hersey of *Luther*, contrary and against the Catholic Faith,
and the Verity of the Gospel, and the holy Apostolick See,
and so accursedly looked back and turned thy face, that thou
art found to be a Lye: before Almighty God. It is ordained
by the sacred Rules of the Canon-Law, that such as through
the sharp Darts of their venomous Tongue do pervert the Scrip-
tures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and in-
fect the Souls of the Faithful, should be punished and corrected
with most sharp Correction, to the end that others should be as
fraid to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to
the study of Christian Concord, through the example set before their
eyes, as well of Severity, as of Clemency. For these Causes
and others rising upon the said Process, by the Apostolick Au-
thority, and also the Authority of our said Reverend Lord
the Cardinal, which we do use in this our Sentence de-
finitive, which we sitting in our Judgment-seat declare in
these Writings, having God only before our eyes, and surely

The Sen-
tence of his
Degradation
or
Exalts &
Confession.

considering, that what Measure we do meet unto others, the same shall be measured to us again: We pronounce and declare sententially and definitively thee John Castellane, being here present before us, and judge thee, because of thy Desert, to be excommunicate with the most great Excommunication, and therewithal to be culpable of Treason against the Divine Majesty, and a mortal Enemy of the Catholick Faith, and Verity of the Gospel; also to be a manifest Heretic, and a Follower and Partaker of the execrable *cruelty of Martin Luther, a stirrer up of old Heresies already condemned: and therefore as thou oughtest to be deposed and deprived of all Priestly Honour and Dignity, of all thy Orders, of thy Stating and religious Habit, also of thy Ecclesiastical Benefices, if thou hast any, and from all Privilege of the Clergy: So we here presently do depose, deprive, and separate thee, as a rotten Member, from the Communion and Company of all the faithful: And being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded: that done, we leave thee unto the secular Powers, committing the Degradation and actual Execution of this our Sentence unto the Reverend Lord and Bishop here present, with the Authority and Commandment aforesaid.

This Sentence being thus ended with their Catholick Sermon also, the said Bishop of Nisopolis sitting in his Pontificalibus in the Judgment-seat, being Suffragan of Metz, with the Clergy, Nobles and People about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said Mr. John Castellane. Thus the said Master John Castellane being prepared and made ready to his Degradation by the Officers of the said Bishop, was apparelled in his Priestly Attire, and afterward brought forth of the Chapel by the Priests which were therunto appointed, with all his Priestly Ornaments upon him, and holding his hands together, he knelt down before the Bishop. Then the Officers gave him the Chalice in his hands, with Wine and Water, the Parine, and the Host; all which things the said Bishop which degraded him, took from him, saying; We take away from thee, or command to be taken from thee, all Power to offer Sacrifice unto God, and to lay Mats, as well for the quick as the dead.

Moreover, the Bishop scraped the Nails of both his Hands with a piece of Glass, saying, By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of

thy Hands. Then he took away from him the Chafin, saying; By good right we do dispoil thee of this Priestly Ornament, which signifieth Charity: for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all Innocency. Then taking away the Stole, he said: Thou hast villainously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this Stole: wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the Office of Priesthood, and all other things appertaining to Priesthood, The Degradation of the order of Priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of Deacon. Then the Ministers gave him the Book of the Gospels, which the Bishop took away, saying; We take away from thee all power to read the Gospels in the Church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy. After this he spoiled him of the Dalmatike, which is the Vesture that the Deacons use, saying; We deprive thee of this Levitical Order: forasmuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy Ministry and Office. After this the Bishop took away the Stole from behind his back, saying; We justly take away from thee the white Stole which thou hast received undoubtedly, which also thou oughtest to have born in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the People dedicate unto the name of Christ, may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the Office of Deaconship. Then they proceeded to the degrading of Subdeaconship, and taking away from him the Book of the Epistles, and his Subdeacon's Vesture, deposed him from reading of the Epistles in the Church of God: and so orderly proceeding unto all the other Orders, degraded him from the Order of Benet and Collet, from the Order of Exorcist, from the Lecturship, and last of all, from the Office of Door-keeper, taking from him the Keys, and commanding him hereafter not to open or shut the Reveltry, nor to ring any more Bells in the Church. That done, the Bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving, and taking away his Surplice, said unto him; By the Authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our Authority we take away from thee all Clerkly Habit, and depolish thee of all Ornament of Religion: Alas we do depolish and degrade thee of all Order, Benefit and Privilege of the Clergy, and as one unworthy of that Profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular State. Then the Bishop took the Sheers and began to clip his head, saying in this manner. We cast thee out as an unthankful Child of the Lord's Heritage, wherunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the Crown,

Truly you say, for your measure is death definitive, and therefore look you for the same measure again at Gods hand.

* If Luther be to be noted of Cruelty, which teacheth all men, and killeth no man, what then is to be noted in the Pope, which killeth all Gods Children and teacheth more?

D. Castellane degraded.

Priests anointed Singers.

R. Hen. 8. the Chafin.

The Stole.

The Gospel-Book.

The Dalmatike.

The Stole behind his back.

The Epistle-Book.

Benet and Collet. Exorcist, Lecturship, Door-keeper. The Church-door Keys, Ringing of Bells, The Surplices.

The Popes Clergy are accounted the secular State and servile. The royal sign of Priesthood.

The burning of John Castellane.



which

Re. Hen. 8.

Singing in the Church.

which is the Royal sign of Priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice. The Bishop also added these words: That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work, wherefore we take from thee the Office of singing in the Church of God.

The degrading thus ended, the Procurator Fiscal of the Court and City of Metz, required of the Notary an Instrument or Copy of the degrading: then the Ministers of the Bishop turned him out of his clerical Habit, and put upon him the Apparel of a secular Man. That done, inasmuch as he which is degraded, according to the institution of Pope Innocent the third, ought to be delivered unto the secular Court, the Bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner: We pronounce that the secular Court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerical honour and privilege.

Note here these Persecutors, how they will from outwardly to be Lambs, but inwardly are roaring Wolves.

This done, the Bishop, after a certain manner, intreated the secular Judge for him, saying, My Lord Judge, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our Prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable Man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his Body. These things thus done, the secular Judge of the Town of Vike, condemning the foresaid Sentence, condemned the foresaid Mr. John Castellane to be burned quick: which death he suffered the twelfth day of January, 1525, with such a constancy, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the Verity, but also a great number, which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.

Joannes Diazius, a Spaniard, Martyr, killed of his own Brother at Neoberge in Germany, Anno 1546.

The cruel murdering of John Diazius.

OF this John Diazius, the full Process and Historie is set forth in Latin, wherein the whole circumstance is debated at large, whereof the brief sum is this; John Diazius, a Spaniard born, first being at Paris thirteen years, from thence returned to Geneva, then to Basel, and after to Strasburg: from whence he was sent Embassador with Bucer and others, to the Council at Ratisbone; where he talking with Peter Malvenda his Country-man, the Pope's Factor, declared his Religion unto him, that Malvenda wrote to the Friar, which was the Emperor's Confessor, touching the said John Diazius: at the opening and reading of which Letters, one Marquina another Spaniard was present. Upon this it followed, whether by this Confessor, or by Marquina, that Alphonsus Diazius, Brother to John Diazius, which was one of the Pope's Lawyers in Rome, had knowledge given him of his Brother John.

The Emperor's Confessor.

Alphonsus Diazius came from Rome to kill his Brother.

When the communication of Ratisbone was dissolved and broken up, John Diazius from Ratisbone, went to the City of Neoberge, within the Dominion of Otto Henry Palatine, about the expedition of Bucer's Book there to be printed. As John Diazius was there occupied, it was not long but Alphonsus his Brother was come from Rome to Ratisbone, where Malvenda was, bringing with him a pestilent Cut-throat, a notorious Ruffian or Homicide, belonging to the City of Rome. Malvenda and Alphonsus, consulting together about the dispatch of their devilish purpose, first laboured to hunt out by the Friends of Diazius, where Diazius was; whereof Alphonsus and the Homicide having knowledge by certain of his secret Friends, pretending great matters of importance, came to Neoberge, where Diazius was printing of Bucer's Book: where after long debating of Matters of Religion between the two Brethren, Alphonsus seeing the heart of his Brother John to be so constantly planted on the sure Rock of God's Truth, that by no wise he could either be removed from his Opinion, or persuaded to ride in his Company (being otherwise counselled by Bucer and his Friends) fained himself friendly to take his leave of his Brother and to depart: But shortly after, secretly with his ruffianly murderer he returned again, and by the way they bought a certain Hatchet of a Carpenter.

This done, Alphonsus sendeth his Man, being disguised, with Letters unto his Brother, he himself following after. As John Diazius in the morning was risen out of his Bed to read the Letters, the wretched Hangman with his Hatchet, clove his Head unto the Brains, leaving the Hatchet in his Head; and so he with Alphonsus took them to their Houses, which stood without the City Gate, with as much speed as they might. They of Neoberge, hearing of the horrible Act, sent out certain Horsemen, making great journeys after them. Who coming to Augusta, and hearing the Murderers to be passed before, were out of hope to overtake them, and so returned. One in the Company, more zealous than the rest, would not return, but pursued them still, and in the City of Onipont, caused them to be stayed and put in Prison.

John Diazius slain by his own Brother.

God will have murder known.

Otto Palatine, hearing of their taking, writeth to the Magistrates of Onipont for Judgment. Which Magistrates at first seemed very willing thereto: But in conclusion, through the practice of Papists, and crafty Lawyers, the Sentence judicial was so delayed, from day to day, then from hour to hour, that the Emperor's Letters came in post-haste, requiring the Matter to be flaid, and referred to his hearing. And thus the terrible murder of Cain and his Fellow, was boultured out by the Papists. The like whereof, from the memory of Men, was never heard of, since the first example of Cain; which for Religion slew his own Brother Abel. But altho true Judgment in this World be perverted, yet such bloody Cains, with their wilful murder, shall not escape the hands of him, who shall judge truly both the Committers, and the Bolsterers also of all mischievous wickedness. Ex Claud. Senec.

Cain still kills Abel.

Anno 1546, Charles the Emperor held an armed-Council at Augusta, after his Victory gotten in Germany. Where Julius Pfug, Michael Sidorius, and John Iffelin, going about to concord together the Gospel of Christ, with the Traditions of the Pope, that is, to make a hodge-potch of them both, drew and framed out a new form of Religion, called Interim. Whereupon began a new matter of Persecution in Germany. For the Emperor proceeded finally against them which would not receive his Interim, intending thereby to have wrought some great mastery against the Gospellers, but the Lord disappointed his purpose.

Interim.

Among them which withstood this Spanish Interim, besides others, were also the Citizens of Constantia. For the which three thousand Spaniards, privily by night, came against the Town of Constance, where they killed three of the Watchmen of the Town, which watching in the Suburbs, went forth to view the noise which they heard in the Woods. The device of the Spaniards was, in the morning when the Citizens were at the Sermon, suddenly to set upon the City and take it; so, no doubt, intending to have gone further. But, as the Lord would, something began to be suspected in the Night, by the Watchmen on the Suburbs on the other side the Water, whereby the Council and Citizens had intelligence to be in readiness. When the morning came, the Spaniards were ready at the Gate to break into the City. But being driven from thence, and their Captain Alphonsus slain, they went to the Bridge which goeth over the Rhine. But being beaten also from thence with shot, and great Pieces from the Walls, and a great number of them drowned in the River, the Spaniards breaking down the hinder part of the Bridge, because the Citizens should not pursue them, they recoiled back into the Suburbs, and burned them with the dead Bodies also that were slain, so that the number of the Spaniards that were killed could not be known: Only an hundred of honest Citizens were missing. Ex Joan. Sleid. Lib. 21.

The assault of the Spaniards against the City of Constance.

At the same time many godly Ministers of the Churches in Germany, were in great danger, especially such as refused to receive the Interim: of whom some were cast into Prison. In which number of Prisoners, was Martin Frelius, Superintendent of Ulm, with four other Preachers more: also his Brother George, for coming but to his house to comfort him. For the which cause Malvenda the same time, with other Preachers more, went from Aurburg, Brentius from Hala, Blawern from Constance, Bucer from Strasburg.

It would had another Volume, to comprehend the Acts and Stories of all them, which in other Countries, at the rising of the Gospel, suffered for the same. But praised be the Lord, every Region almost hath his own History-writer, which sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own Country is best acquainted: wherefore I shall the less need to overtrain my travel, or to overcharge this Volume therewith. Only it shall suffice me to collect three or four Histories, recorded by *Oecolampadius* and the rest, to bring into a brief Table, and so return to occupy my self with our own Domestical Matters here done at home.

The History of a good Pastor, murdered for preaching of the Gospel: Written by John Oecolampadius.

A good
Priest mur-
dered for
evil will.

IN the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly Minister, who had committed something in the commotion there raised by the rusticall Clowns of the Country, which, they said that knew him, was but of small importance. He because he had offended his Prince before, not with any fact or crime but with some word something sharply spoken, was therefore condemned to be hang'd.

Ungentle-
ness in a
Gentleman.

After Sentence was given, there was a Gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of Men to apprehend the said Priest, and to hang him. Who, coming into his house, saluted him friendly, pretending as tho their coming had been to make good cheer; for he was a good House-keeper, and the Gentlemen of the Country therabouts used oft-times to resort unto his house familiarly. This Priest made ready for them in short space a very sumptuous Banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very cheerfully. After Dinner was ended, and that the Priest was yet at the Table thinking no hurt, the Gentleman said to his Servants, take you this Priest our Host and hang him, and that without delay; for he hath well deserved to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed against his Prince. The Servants were marvellously astonished with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, said unto their Master, God forbid that we should commit any such crime, to hang a Man that hath intreated us so gently: for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a Nobleman to render so great an evil for a good turn; but especially to murder an innocent. Briefly, the Servants sought no other occasion, but only to give him way to fly, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

As the Gentleman and his Servants were thus contending, the Priest said unto them, I beseech you shew no such cruelty upon me, rather lead me away captive unto my Prince, where I may purge my self. I am falsely accused, and I trust to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me. At least remember the hospitality which I have ever shewed to you, and all Noblemen at all times resorting to my house. But principally speaking to the Gentleman, he advertised him of the perpetual sting which would follow upon an evil Conscience: protesting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the Doctrine of the Gospel, and that was the principal cause why he had such evil will: which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, for so much as he had oftentimes in the Pulpit reproved sharply and openly the horrible Vices of the Gentlemen, which maintained their people in their vicious living, and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should shew example of Faith, true Religion, and Sobriety, but they had oftentimes resisted him, saying, that it was not his part to reprove them, for so much as they were his Lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all things which they did were allowable, and that no Man ought to gainsay it: also that he went about some things in his Sermons, that would come to an evil end.

Many things
may be pre-
tended, but
Religion is
ever the
cause why
good Men
go to wrack.

This good Man, whatsoever he could say, could not make his matter seem good; for the Gentleman continued in his wicked enterprise, and pricked forth his Servants still to accomplish their purpose: for it was resolved by the Prince, that he should be put to death, and turning himself unto the Priest, he said, that he could gain nothing by preaching in such sort, but that he should fully determine himself to die, for the Prince had given express commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not lose to save his life.

Kit-sheds
which are
rewarded
with un-
kindness.

At last the Servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their Host, and hanged him upon a Beam in his own house, the Gentleman standing by and looking upon.

K. Hen. 8

This good Man, seeing no remedy, spake none other words but only, Jesus have mercy upon me; Jesus save me. This is the truth of this most cruel act, which a Turk would scarcely have committed against his mortal Enemy. Now let every Man judge with himself, which of them have the greatest advantage, either they which commit the cruelty against the good, or the good Men which do suffer the same unjustly. The first sort have a continual gnawing in their Conscience, and the other obtain an immortal Crown.

The like History of the death of a certain Minister, named M. Pet. Spengler, which was drowned in the year of our Lord 1525; collected by Oecolampadius.

IN a certain Village named *Schlat*, in the Country of *A descript-*
on of a good
Minister of
Cura.
Brigoi, there was a vigilant Minister, a Man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameless life, having long time faithfully done his Office and Duty, being also courteous and gentle, and well-beloved of Men, but especially of the Bishop of *Constance* with whom he was in great Authority, peaceable and quiet with all Men that he had to do withal. He quieted Discords and Contentions with a marvelous prudence, exhorting all Men to mutual charity and love. In all Assemblies whereof he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the Gospel began to shine abroad, he began to read with great affection the Holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any understanding. When he had recovered a little judgment, and came to more understanding by continual reading, being also further grown in age, he began to consider with himself, in how great darkness and errors the whole Order of Priests had been a long time drowned. O good God, said he, who would have thought it, that so many learned and holy Men have wandered out of the right way, and could have so long time been wrapped in so great Errors, or that the Holy Scripture could have been so deformed with such horrible abuses: for he never well understood before, he said, that the Gospel was the Verity of God, in that order, wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the Cross, Persecution, and Ignominious death; and yet the Priests lived in great prosperity, and no Man durst maintain any quarrel against them without danger. He also saw that the hour was come that the Gospel should be display'd, that Persecution was at hand, that the Enemies of the Truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprize and take in hand all kind of mischief and wickedness against the Faithful, that the Bishops, which ought by their virtue and power to defend the Word, were more barbarous and cruel than any Tyrants had been before. He, thus considering the present estate of the World, put all doubt from his heart, and saw presently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the Truth, seeing so many Bodies of the Faithful were daily so tormented, beaten, exiled, banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments, which the innocent have endured these years passed, even by those which call themselves Christians, and for no other cause, but only for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good Pastor considering with himself the Laws and Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* to sever from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining Marriage: to the end that he would not defile himself with Fornication, he married a Maid of his, such an one as feared God, by whom afterward he had many fair Children.

The Cross
differeth
between true
Christians &
counterfeits.
He that fei-
ceth to live
godly in
Christ, shall
suffer per-
secution.
1 Tim. 3

About this time the People of the Country had raised a great Commotion, who in their rage went to Monasteries, and Priests houses, as if they had taken in hand some Pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cast under feet, or carried it away with them. One Company of this rusticall sort lodged themselves in the house of this good Priest: for they made no difference between the good and the bad. These Rotters took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them, inasmuch as they took

A Commo-
tion of the
Boors.

away

K. Hen. 8. away the very Hofe from his Legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he gently intreated them, shewing that it was Theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued still in their madnes like Beasts.

Critely and Edition never cometh to good end. As they were departing out of the house, the good Priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, I tell you before, these your inordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to your selves. For what madnes is this? what meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between Friend and Foe? Who thus stirreth you up? what counsel do you follow, or to what end do you this? Like Thieves you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, raven, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your great detriment. What sedition did ever come to good end? You pretend the Gospel, and have no peace of the Gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excesses, said he, y never learned of me, who ever have taught you the true Word of God. This your Gospel, said he, is rather the Gospel of the Devil than of God, which vexeth all the World with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true Gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all Men, to avoid diffentions and perjury. This I say unto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, which will never suffer these Evils to escape unpunished. You find written in the Gospel, *That which thou wouldst not have done to thee, do not to other.* You offend also the Nobility, and your lawful Magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise up Sedition, to stir up other, and to disturb the state of the Common-wealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your Noblemen do? Shall they not rise you as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich, and then shall one of you betray another. These with such other words he flood preaching unto them, almost naked; but all this would not prevail with those Men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him old Dotard. Amongst all other, one more wicked than the residue said unto him in this manner: O Master Curate, we have been long deceived by your selling of Masses, by fearing us with Purgatory, by your Dirges and Trentals, and so have we been spoiled: wherefore we do nothing now, but require again the Money which you robbed us of. And so mocking and scolding him, they departed.

Critely and Edition never cometh to good end.

The Gospel teacheth no rebellion.

After that this Sedition of the Peasants was partly appeased, their Armor being laid away, and they taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that Conspiracy were taken here and there in the Villages, and executed: this good Pastor, fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the Gospel, whereat many took great indignation, was taken in the night by certain Souldiers, which bound him hand and foot with a great Rope, before his Wife and Children, and so fet him upon a Horse, and led him away to *Friburg*. What grievous lights, tears, sorrow, and lamentation was there! It would have moved any heart, (were it as hard as Flint) to a doleful compassion, especially to see the barbarous and despiteful rebukes, taunts, and extreme cruelty shewed by these proud Popish Souldiers against the innocent Priest. Such beastly Tyrants the World is never without. Such godly Ministers we have had but a few.

The People, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the Men, but only the Women, whom the Souldiers willed to go home again, and that their Men should come forth and keep the Town, but their Men durst not appear. Then from *Friburg* shortly after they conveyed him to *Enfheim*.

After they had long kept this Man in Prison, and that he had endured most terrible Torments, as well by the Privy-members, as in other parts, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, That he had married a Wife secretly in his own House with a few Witnesses. Other Crimes they had none to object against him, neither that he was a seditious and wicked Man, nor that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked Persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his Sermons the order and

manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of Execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all Men that came to comfort him. But there were divers Monks and Priests which troubled him very fure with their foolish babbling, as he was striving in his spirit against the horror of death, and making his prayer unto Almighty God, seeking nothing else but to turn him away from his hearty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they would hold their peace, saying, that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting but that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. And I, said he, shall be an acceptable Sacrifice unto my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who in this behalf hath given me a good and quiet Conscience. Now therefore let them which thirst for innocent Blood, and shed the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and know that they offend even him unto whom it pertaineth truly to judge the hearts of Men; for it is said, *Vengeance is mine, and I will punish.* And forasmuch as he was a very lean Man, he added this moreover, saying, It is all one, for shortly I must have forsaken this Skin which already scarcely hangeth to my Bones; I know well that I am a mortal and a corruptible Worm, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time desired my latter day, and have made my request that I might be delivered out of this mortal Body, to be joined with my Saviour Jesus Christ.

I have deserved, through my manifold Sins committed against my Saviour Christ, my Cross; and my Saviour Christ hath borne the Cross, and hath died for me, and for my part I will not glory in any other thing, but only in the Cross of Jesus Christ.

There were present by certain naughty Persons which could not endure to hear this godly Exhortation, but made a sign unto the Hangman to cast him down into the River. After he was thrown down, he moved by a certain space in the Water, in such sort that the River whereinto he was cast was red with blood. This was a certain sign and token that innocent Blood was that day shed. They which were there present, beholding that which had happened, were greatly amazed and astonished, considering with themselves what the staining of the water with the blood should signify. Every man returned home penive and sad, marvelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding, no Man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such cruelty. This was done in the Town of *Enfheim*, An. 1525.

These things I did understand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins. *Ex. Occulamp.*

Such was the wickedness then of those days, and yet is still, that whosoever was perceived to favour the Gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the Pope's Church, he was hated and despised of the Rulers, Lawyers, and all other Papists through the whole Country about, but especially of Priests, Monks, and Friars. And tho the life of the Gospellers were never so found and upright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the Pope's Friends against them, that they never ceased to seek all occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and ruffical People of the Country rising in armour inordinately against their Rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole Country of *Germany*, and no less to their own destruction, of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length when this Rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the Pope's friends, to work their malice against the Gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be Gospellers and Protestants. And altho the said Gospellers were never so inculpable and clear from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not, for causes were made, false witness brought, corrupt Judges suborned to condemn the innocent, and many were put to death, their cause being neither heard nor known. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom: in the number of whom was this poor Man also, whose Story by *Occulampad.* is thus described,

Rom. 12.

The water in the river collected with blood where he was drowned.

Another History of a certain Man of the Country, wrongfully put to death, collected by the said John Occolampadius.

Ex Ja. Occol.

There was, faith he, a certain Man of the Country, which in my judgment was a good Man, and a lover of Justice, and a mortal Enemy of all the cruel Exactions of the Gentlemen, which oppressed the poor People. This Man, after the Tumult and Commotion of the Country was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented because he had cried an Alarm, when as a great number of Horsemen ranged about the Country to seek out those which had been the Authors of that Sedition. This poor Man was taken by Policy, and so upholden with fair Promises, that they made him confesse whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into Prison, whereas he was long time detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspicion from him: but after he had tarried a long time in prison, they put him to the Pinbail, laying divers and many grievous Offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the Truſs of the Cord the space of six hours, hanging a great Stone fastened at his feet.

The truft of the cord is a certain hanging up by the hands he find, having a weighty stone fastened at their feet.

The Sweat that dropped from his Body for very pain and anguish, was almost Blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once move the Tormentors Hearts. When as all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor Man lay even as a Stock, not moving any part or member of his Body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the Tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the Man, whom they fought by all means to destroy, in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

Amongst them there was one which brought Vinegar and Rose-water, and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After that they had cauled him to eat and drink such as they provided for him, they let him down into a deep Dungeon, where he could see neither Sun nor Moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain Articles unto him, which he constantly denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of Torments, to the intent they might even of force extort something of this poor Man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were, fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after these Tyrants hired a Hangman, (a Man sure worthy of his Office) which left no kind of Cruelty unpractised. Yet did he mis of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his Cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the Man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous Torments. But these Tyrants came again the fourth time, and suborned two Witnesses against him, this concluding, that he was worthy of death because he had cried Alarm after the Truce was taken, and would have moved a new Sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the Hangman and a Friar into the Prison.

The innocent Man again tormented.

Fals Wit-ness.

In the mean time this poor Man thought with himself, that they would have shewed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the Dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison.

He believed the word in Prison to come in the Papists hands.

Then they let down a Cord and a Staff, but they could not persuade him to sit thereupon, saying, that he would rather chuse to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel Torments; if they would promise not to put him any more to the Truſs of the Cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just Judges, on that condition he would come out, altho he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his Life in that Dungeon. There were present certain Counsellors which promised to perform his Request; and thereupon he was taken out of the Dungeon. As soon as he saw the Friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying,

The false promises of the Papists put in he trusted.

O miserable and wretched Man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived, for my latter hour is at hand: I see well the Dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard. The Friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a wooden Croſs out of his Sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. Poor Man (said the Friar) thou hast had good and gentle Judges, at the least thou shalt go to God, therefore confesse thy Sins in my ear, and after thou shalt receive absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go forth to the kingdom of Heaven. The poor Man answered, Thou wicked Friar, get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my Sins and Offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his Majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy Absolution, which thou thyself dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldst have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical Life. I know well enough what thou art, thou playest the Ape with me, but thou hast a subtil and a crafty Heart, which hath deceived much simple People. If thou hast any Comfort or Consolation out of the Gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy Portius. The Friar was so confounded and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The Hangman, being wiser than the Friar, bad him read unto the poor Man something of the Passion, wherein the poor Man would take great pleasure. This foolish Friar had no other consolation to comfort him withal, but to hold the Crucifix of Wood before him, saying, Behold thy Saviour which died for thee, look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted. Then said the poor Man, I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thou away from me, thou naughty Person, with thy Marmoset of Wood; My Saviour dwelleth in Heaven, in whom I trust that he will not deliver my Soul to eternal death. The Friar crossed himself, shewing the semblance of a Man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor Man was fallen into desperation. Then was he led forth into the Market-place, where according to the custom, openly before all the People, his Confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but only that the Man had been a seditious Person, and that in the time of Truce he had cried Alarm, even in the night, when all Men were at rest.

When S.

The Christ-ian poor Man reflects the Friars wooden Croſs.

The Crucifix of Wood falsely called a Saviour.

The innocent Man was damned for ill will.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in with Gieves and Halberds hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's Prayer, the Hangman bid him kneel down, but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the People, thinking that he should not be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked Judges. Those (said he) which know me, shall be sufficient good Witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury.

In an evil time have I happened into these cursed days, when as all ways both of God and Man are turned topsy turvy. I was adherent to the Tumult and Sedition of the Men of the Country, as many other were which dwell thereabout; but what then? Are not there also many Gentlemen which followed the Peasants Army, and many strong Towns which went also with them? I was not the Author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any Man to move any Broil or Tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our Gentlemen what we should do, when the Bands of the Peasants were assembled in the Fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of my self, I did never understand or know what the Articles were that were published, neither was there ever any Man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the Bands of the Countrymen were risen, neither wherefore every Man moved his Neighbour to put on Armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditious Man, and made me to endure so great Torments? He continued a long time in declaring his Innocency; but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the Hangman drew his Sword, and

Not peace-able agents, sedition stirrers.

K. Hen. 8.
This blessed
Martyr be-
headed.

and at the commandment of the Judge struck off his head, as he had made an end of his Prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

Thus this good Man of the Country ended his days, against whom the false Judges could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently sought by witnesses to have information of all his life and living. The Lord grant his Spirit to all those which suffer for his name. *Ex Joan. Oecolampad.*

Wolfgangus Schuch a German in Lotharing,
Martyr.

The Story
and Martyr-
dom of
Wolfgangus
Schuch.

Wolfgangus Schuch, coming to a certain Town in Lotharing, bearing the name of St. Hippolytus, and being received in the said Town to be their Pastor, laboured by all means how to extirpate out of the hearts of the People Idolatry and Superstition. Which, through the grace of Christ working with him, he in short time had brought prosperously to pass according to his desire: inasmuch that the observation of Lent, Images, and all Idols, with the abomination also of the Mass, in the same Town was utterly abolished: so reformatory God made the Hearts of the People there, and such affection had they to their Minister. It was not long but the rumor thereof came to the hearing of Duke Anthony, Prince of Lorain, (under whose dominion they were) through the swift report of the Adversaries, falsely belying these Hippolytians to the Duke; as tho they, in relinquishing the Doctrine and Faction of the Pope, went about to reject and shake off all Authority and Power of Princes, and all superior Governors. By the means of which sinister report they incensed the Prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatened to subvert and utterly to destroy the Town with Sword and Fire. Wolfgangus, having word of this, wrote unto the Duke his Uncle in most humble and obedient wife, in defence both of his Ministry, of his Doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the Gospel.

The Duke of
Lorain
threateneth
the Town of
St. Hippoly-
tus.

The Letter of
Wolfgangus
to the Duke.

In which Epistle first he excused the People to be innocent and blameless, and said that those slanderous reporters were rather worthy to be blamed and also punished for their false rumors and forged slanders raised up against them. And that he opened and explained the cause and state of the Gospel, and of our Salvation, consisting only in the free Grace of God, through Faith in Christ his Son, comparing

also the same Doctrine of the Gospel with the confused Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, next under him to Princes here and Potestates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endued with authority here in Earth; unto whom they offered themselves now and at all times prest and most ready to obey with all service and duty, &c.

But with this Epistle Wolfgangus did nothing prevail, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the adversary part took more effect to win credit with the Duke, than could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedy, rather than the Town should come in any danger for his cause, the good Man, I say, of his own accord came to the City of Nancy, (which is the head-Town of Lorain) there to render a Confession of his Doctrine, and also to deliver the Town of St. Hippolytus out of peril, deriving all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he was come thither, incontinently hands were laid upon him, and he laid fast in a stait and stinking Prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled under custody of the churlish and cruel Keepers. All this notwithstanding, Wolfgangus, continuing in that Prison the space of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his constancy, neither with the straitness of the Prison, nor with the hardness of his Keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his Wife and Children, which he had about six or seven. Then was he had to the House of the Gray-Friars, to profess there his Faith, where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that stood against him.

The constancy of Wolfgangus unmovable.

Wolfgangus had to the Gray-Friars, Wolfgangus' confutation his Adversaries. A right description of a fiery Stephen or Cydops.

There was a Friar named Bonaventure, Provincial of that Order, of face, body, and belly monstrous, but much more gross in blind Ignorance, and a Man utterly rude, a contemner of all civility and honesty; who being long Confessor to the Duke, and of great authority in Lorain, as he was an Enemy to Virtue and Learning, so was he ever persuading the Duke to banish out of the Court and Country of Lorain all learned Men; neither could he abide any Person which seemed to know more than his Elders knew before. The sum of all his Divinity was this, That it was sufficient to Salvation only to know the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*. And thus was the Duke brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the Duke himself oft-times

The Burning of Wolfgangus.



in talk with his familiars would confels. This Bonaventure being chief Judge and Moderator where Wolfgangus disputed, or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth, but *Thou Heretick, Judas, Beelzebub, &c.* Wolfgangus bearing patiently those private Injuries which pertained to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting or rather confounding his Adversaries; who being not otherwise able to make their party good, yet for very shame, because they would not seem to do nothing, took his Bible with his notes in the Margin into their Monastery, and burned it. At the last disputation Duke Anthony himself was said to be there, altering his apparel because he would not be known, who, albeit he understood not the speech of Wolfgangus speaking in Latin, yet perceiving him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, departing from the disputation, gave sentence that he should be burned, because he denied the Church, and Sacrament of the Mass. Whereupon it followed shortly after that Wolfgangus was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing the 122 Psalm, *Letatus sum in his que dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus, &c.*

As he was led to the place of Execution, passing by the Houle of the Gray-Friars, Bonaventure the great Cyclops sitting at the door, cried out to him, *Thou Heretick, do thy reverence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy Saints*; shewing to him the Idols standing at the Friars Gate. To whom Wolfgangus answered again, *Thou Hypocrite, thou painted Wall, the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation unto light.* When they were come to the place of his Martyrdom, first his Books before him were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him, whether he would have his pain minished and shortned? to whom he said, *No, bidding them to do their will*; for (said he) as God hath been with me hitherto, so I trust now he will not leave me when I should have most need of him, concluding his words thus, that they should put the sentence in execution: and so beginning to sing the one and fiftieth Psalm, he entred into the place heaped up with Faggots and Wood, continuing in his Psalm, and singing till the Smeoke and the Flame took from him both voice and life.

The singular vertue, constancy and leaming of this blessed Man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good Men, so it astonied as much the minds of his Adversaries, and wrought to their confusion. For shortly after his death, the Commendator of St. Anthony of Vienna, who fate as spiritual Judge over him, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly down and died. Also his Fellow, which was Abbot of *Claricous*, and Suffragan to the Bishop of *Mentz*, suddenly at the coming of the Dutcheffs of *Denmark* into the City of *Nancy*, stricken with sudden fear at the crack of Guns, fell down and died, as they which were present and saw it, have made faithful relation of the same. Anno 1525. Ex Ludov. Rabo & Pantat.

John Huglein, Martyr.

OF John Huglein, Priest, mention is made in the Commentaries of John Sleid. in lib. 6. who the next year following, Anno 1526, was burned at *Merspurg* by the Bishop of *Constance*, for that he did not hold the Bishop of *Rome's* Doctrine in all points.

Moreover, besides other matters in this year occurrent, here is also a Memorandum to be made to all posterity, that in this present year 1526, unto John Frederick, Son and Heir to the Prince and Elector of *Saxony*, was promised the Lady *Katherine*, the Emperor's younger Sister in marriage and Writings were made of the same. But when the alteration of Religion was sent by God's providence into *Saxony*, they twerced from their Covenants; and *Hannart*, which was then the Emperor's Ambassador in *Germany*, said plainly that there was no promise to be kept with Hereticks; wherein they seemed to follow well the footsteps of the Council of *Constance*; as before you have partly heard in the story of John Huz, and of the Emperor *Sigmund*.

George Carpenter of Emmering, Martyr, burned in the Town of Munchen in Bavaria.

THE 8th day of February, in the year of our Salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous example and spectacle in the Town of *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, which was this: A certain Man named *George Carpenter* of *Emmering* was there burnt. When he was let out of the Prison called *Falken-Tower*, and led before the Council, divers Friars and Monks followed him, to instruct and teach him, whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the Council, his offences were read, contained in four Articles.

First, That he did not believe that a Priest could forgive a Man's Sins.

Secondly, That he did not believe that a Man could call God out of Heaven.

Thirdly, That he did not believe that God was in the Bread which the Priest hangeeth over the Altar, but that it was the Bread of the Lord.

Fourthly, That he did not believe that the very Element of the Water it self in Baptism doth give grace.

Which four Articles he utterly refused to recant. Then came unto him a certain Schoolmaster of St. Peter in the Town of *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, saying unto him, My Friend

George, dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldest thou return to thy Wife and Children? Whereunto he answered, If I were set at liberty, whether should I rather go, than to my Wife and well-beloved Children? Then said the Schoolmaster, Revolve your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at liberty. Whereunto *George* answered: My Wife and my Children are so dearly beloved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the Duke of *Bavaria*; but for the love of my Lord God I will willingly forsake them.

When he was led to the place of execution, the Schoolmaster spake unto him again in the midst of the Marketplace, saying, Good *George*, believe in the Sacrament of the Altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign. Whereunto he answered, I believe this Sacrament to be a sign of the Body of Jesus Christ offered upon the Cross for us. Then said the Schoolmaster moreover, What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem Baptism, knowing that Christ suffered himself to be baptized in *Jordan*? Whereunto he answered, and shewed what was the true use of Baptism, and what was the end why Christ was baptized in *Jordan*, and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the Cross, wherein only standeth our Salvation. The same Christ (said he) will I confess this day before the whole World; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe.

After this came unto him one Master *Conrade Scheter*, the Vicar of the Cathedral Church of our Lady in *Munchen*, a Preacher, saying: *George*, if thou wilt not believe the Sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true, * but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent. Whereunto *George Carpenter* answered, God suffer me not to err, I beseech him. Then said the Schoolmaster unto him, Do not put the matter in that hazard, but chuse unto you some good Christian Brother, Master *Conrade*, or some other, unto whom thou mayest reveal thy Heart; not to confess thy self, but to take some godly counsel of him. Whereunto he answered, Nay not so, for it would be too long. Then Master *Conrade* began the Lord's Prayer: *Our Father which art in Heaven; whereunto Carpenter answered, Truly thou art our Father, and no other, this day I trust to be with thee.* Then Master *Conrade* went forward with the Prayer, saying, *Hallowed be thy Name.* Carpenter answered, O my God, how little is thy Name hallowed in this World? Then said *Conrade*, *Thy Kingdom come.* Carpenter answered, Let thy Kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy Kingdom. Then said *Conrade*, *Thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven.* Carpenter answered, For this cause, O Father, am I novv here that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine. Then said *Conrade*, Give us this day our daily Bread. Carpenter answered, the only living Bread Jesus Christ shall be my food. Then said *Conrade*, And forgive us our Trespases; as we forgive them that trespass against us. Carpenter answered,

With

The disputation of Wolfgangus with the Friars.

The sentence given against Wolfgangus by the Duke, not knowing what Wolfgangus said.

Note the quiet and joyful death of this blessed Martyr.

The just judgement of God upon Persecutors.

John Huglein Martyr. Ex Com. Sleid. lib. 6.

Promiss of marriage broken with John Frederick, Duke of Saxony.

The Pope's Church keeps no promise with Hereticks.

Klein. 8

George Carpenter, Martyr.

Articles laid against George Carpenter.

George persecuted to death.

The love of God preferred before wife, children, and liberty.

The Sacrament sign of the Lord's Body.

Baptism.

* Mark here these subtiltyes, which when they cannot remove this good man from his faith, they go about to bring him in doubt thereof.

A. Hen. 8.

The hearty
Confession
of George
Carpenter.

Luke 12.

Whatsoever
a Man loveth
above God,
that he
maketh his
Idol.
George Car-
penter re-
solves to be
prayed for
after his
death.The constant
behaviour of
G. Carpenter
at his death.The death
and marty-
rdom of G.
Carpenter.The History
of Leonard
Keyser.Articles a-
gainst Leon-
ard Keyser.

With a willing mind do I forgive all Men, both my Friends and Adversaries. Then said Master *Conrade*, And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil. Whereunto *Carpenter* answered, O my Lord, without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my Hope. Then he began to rehearse the Belief, saying, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*. *Carpenter* answered, O my God, in thee alone do I trust, in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other Creature, albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise. In this manner he answered to every word: which his Answerers, if they should be described at length, would be too long. This Prayer ended, the Schoolmaster said unto him, Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy Mouth? Hereunto he answered, It were a very hard matter for me, if that I which am ready here to suffer death, should not believe that with my Heart, which I openly profess with my Mouth: For I knew before that I must suffer Persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ who saith, *Where thy Heart is, there is also thy Treasure*; and whatsoever thing a Man doth fix in his Heart to love above God, that he maketh his Idol. Then said Master *Conrade* unto him, *George*, dost thou think it necessary after thy death, that any Man should pray for thee, or say Mass for thee? He answered; So long as the Soul is joined to the Body, pray God for me, that he will give me Grace and Patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian Faith: but when the Soul is separate from the Body, then have I no more need of your Prayers. When as the Hangman should bind him to the Ladder, he preached much unto the People. Then he was desired by certain Christian Brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some Sign or Token what his Faith or Belief was. To whom he answered, This shall be my Sign and Token; that so long as I can open my Mouth, I will not cease to call upon the Name of Jesus.

Behold (good Reader) what an incredible constancy was in this godly Man, such as lightly hath not been seen in any Man before. His Face and Countenance never changed colour, but cheerfully he went upon the fire. In the midst faith he, of the Town this day will I confess my God before the whole World. When he was laid upon the Ladder, and the Hangman put a bag of Gunpowder about his Neck, he said, let it be so, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And whenas the two Hangmen lifted him up upon the Ladder, smiling, he had a certain Christian farewell, requiring forgiveness of him. That done, the Hangman thrust him into the Fire. He with a loud voice cried out, Jesus, Jesus. Then the Hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain space cried, Jesus, Jesus, and so joyfully yielded up his Spirit.

Leonard Keyser.

Here also is not to be passed over the marvellous constancy of Mr. *Leonard Keyser* of the Country of *Bavaria*, who was burned for the Gospel. This *Keyser* was of the Town of *Rambs*, four miles from *Passau*, of a famous house. This Man, being at his study in *Wittenberg*, was sent for by his Brethren, which certified him, that if ever he would see his Father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither, when as by the commandment of the Bishop of *Passau*, he was taken by his Mother and his Brethren. The Articles which he was accused of, for the which also he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his Blood for the testimony of the Truth, were these:

That Faith only justifieth.

That Works are the Fruits of Faith.

That the Mass is no Sacrifice or Oblation.

Item, For Confession, Satisfaction, the Vow of Chastity, Purgatory, difference of Days, for affirming only two Sacraments, and Invocation of Saints.

He also maintained three kinds of Confession.

The first to be of Faith, which is always necessary.

The second of Charity, which serveth when any Man hath offended his Neighbour, so whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as a Man may see by that which is written in Mat. 18.

The third, which is not to be despised, is to ask counsel of the ancient Ministers of the Church.

And notwithstanding that all this was contrary to the Bull of Pope *Leo*, and the Emperor's Decree made at *Worms*, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular Power. The Persecutors which sat in Judgment upon him, were the Bishop of *Passau*; the Suffragans of *Ratisbon*, and of *Passau*; also Dr. *Eckius*, being garded about with armed Men. His Brethren and Kinsfolks made great intercession to have his Judgment deferred and put off, that the matter might be more exactly known. Also *John Frederick Duke of Saxony*, and the Earls of *Schneiburg* and of *Shunartzen*, wrote to the Bishop for him, but could not prevail. After the Sentence was given, he was carried by a company of harnessed Men out of the City again, to *Scharfingham*, the thirtieth of August. Where *Christopher Freyinger* the civil Judge receiving him, had Letters sent him from Duke *William of Bavaria*, that forthwith tarrying for no other judgment, he should be burned alive. Whereupon the good and blessed Martyr early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short Gown, and a black Cap set upon his head, all out and jagged, so was delivered unto the Officer. As he was led out of the Town to the place where he should suffer, he boldly and hardly spake in the *Almain Tongue*, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, O Lord Jesus remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me force and power.

Then the Wood was made ready to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, O Jesus, I am thine have mercy upon me, and save me; and therewithal he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head: and because the fire was not great enough the Hangman plucked the Body, half burnt, with a long hook from underneath the Wood. Then he made a great hole in the Body, through the which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire, and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good Man, which suffered for the testimony of the Truth, August 16, in the year of our Lord 1526. *Ex 6. Tomo operum Lutheri.*

Wendelmuta Widow and Mariye.

In *Holland* also the same year 1527, was martyred a good and virtuous Widow, named *Wendelmuta* a Daughter of *Nicholas of Munchendam*. This Widow receiving to her heart the brightness of God's Grace, by the appearing of the Gospel, was therefore apprehended and committed to custody in the Castle of *Warden*, and shortly after from thence was brought to the Hague the 15th day of November, there to appear at the general Sessions of that Country. Where was present *Hochstratus*, Lord President of the said Country, who also sat upon her the 17th day of the foresaid month. Divers Monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and win her to recant; but she, constantly persisting in that Truth wherein she was plighted, would not be removed. Many also of her kindred and other honest Women, were suffered to persuade with her. Among whom there was a certain noble Matron, who loved and favoured dearly the said Widow being in Prison. This Matron coming, and communing with her, in her talk said; My *Wendelmuta*, why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life? To whom she answered again: Ah (said she) you know not what you say: It is written, *With the heart we believe to Righteousness*. Rom. 10. *With the tongue we confess to Salvation*. &c. And thus the remaining firm and steadfast in her Belief and Confession, the 20th day of November, was condemned by Sentence given as against an Heretic, to be burned to Ashes, and her goods to be confiscate; the taking the sentence of her Condemnation mildly and quietly.

After she came to the place where she should be executed, and a Monk there had brought out a blind Cross, willing her many times to kiss and worship her God; I worship, said she, no wooden God, but only that God which is in Heaven: and so with a merry and joyful countenance she went to the Stake, desiring the Executioner to tie the Stake to be fast, that it fall not: then taking the Powder, and laying

Perfect work.

Hasty judgment against Keyser.

The marriage of L. Keyser.

Wendelmuta Widow, martyred.

Religion would be professed as well with tongue as with heart.

Wooden Gods not to be worshipped.

it to her breast, she gave her Neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent Prayer comprehending her self to the hands of God. When the time came that she should be strangled, modestly she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that would take a sleep: which done the Fire then was put to the Wood, and she being strangled, was burned afterward to Ashes, instead of this Life, to get the immortal Crown in Heaven, *Anna 1527. Ex Pantal.*

Petrus Flisledius, and Adolphus Clarebachus, put to death at Coleu.

Petrus Flisledius, and Adolphus Clarebachus Martyrs.

IN the number of these German-Martyrs, are also to be comprehended *Peter Flisledius* and *Adolph Clarebach*, two Men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledge of God's holy Word. Which two, in the year of our Lord 1529, for that they did dissent from the Papists in divers Points, and especially touching the Supper of the Lord, and other the Pope's Traditions and Ceremonies, after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half by the commandment of the Archbishop and Senate, were put to death and burned in *Coleu*, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians, all the Fault being put upon certain Divines, which at that time preached, that the punishment and death of certain wicked Persons should pacify the Wrath of God, which then plagued *Germany* grievously with a new and strange kind of Disease: for at that season the sweating Sickness did mortally rage and reign throughout all *Germany*. *Ex com. Joan. Steidan. lib. 6.*

The Blood of Martyrs spilt to stop the fire: *Steidan* at *Coleu*.

A Preface to the Table following.

IF thou well remember in reading this Book of Stories, (loving Reader) it was before mentioned and declared,

how in the year of Grace 1501, certain prodigious marks and prints of the Lord's Passion, as the Crown, Crofs, Nails, Scourges, and Spear, were seen in *Germany* upon the Garments of Men and Women. Which miraculous ostent, passing the ordinary course of natural Causes, as it was sent of God, no doubt, to forehew the great and terrible Persecution, which afterward fell in the Country of *Germany*, and other Regions besides, for the testimony of Christ; so if the number and names of all those good Men and Women, which suffered in the same Persecution, with their acts and doings should be gathered and compiled together, it would ask a long time, and a large volume. Notwithstanding, partly to satisfy the History which we have in hand; partly also to avoid tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to contract the discourse thereof, drawing, as in a compendious Table, the names of the Persecutors, and of the Martyrs which suffered, and the causes wherefore, with as much shortness as I may; relating the full tractation of their lives and doings to those Writers of their own Country, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an Order in the same Table as much as in such a confused heap of matters I may, according to the order and distinction of the Countries in which these blessed Saints of Christ did suffer; I have so divided the order of the Table in such sort, as first to begin with them that suffered in *Germany*, then in *France*, also in *Spain*, with other foreign Countries more; shewing only the names, with the principal matters of them; referring the rest to the further explication of their own Story-writers, from whence they be collected. The which Table being finished, my purpose is, Christ willing, to return to the full History of our own Matters and Martyrs which suffered here in *England*.

R. Hen. 8

The Dutch Martyrs. The French Martyrs. The Spanish Martyrs. The English Martyrs.

A Table of the Names and Causes of such Martyrs, which gave their Lives for the testimony of the Gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and other Foreign Countries, since Luther's time: In which Table is contained, within the first space between the lines, the Persecutors; next the Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

The Martyrs of Germany.

Of divers which suffered in *Germany* for the witness of the Gospel; partly some rehearsal is made before, as of *Voor* and *Esch*, of *Surphen*, *John Castellane*, *Pet. Spengler*, with a certain godly Minister, and another simple Man of the Country mentioned in *Oecolampadius*: Also of them in *Dietmar* and *Prague*, of *M. George* of *Hala*, *Gasper*, *Tambret*, *Georgius* of *Vienna*, *Wolfgangus* *Such*, *John Huglius*, *George Carpenter*, *Leonard Kofler*, *Wendelmias*, *P. Flisledius*, *Adolph Clarebach*, and other more. The residue follow in order of this Table here to be shewed.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Charles the Emper. or. One Nicholas of Antwerp.

Nicholas of Antwerp, Martyr.

THE Curat of *Melze* by *Antwerp*, had used to preach to a great number of People without that Town. The Emperor hearing thereof, gave leave to take the uppermost Garment of all them that came to hear, and offered thirty Gilders who would take the Priest. Afterward, when the people were gathered, and the Curat not there, this *Nicholas* stepped up in place and preached. Wherefore he, being apprehended by these two Servants of a Butcher, was put in a Sack, and drowned by the Crane at *Antwerp*, 1524.

Joan. Pistorius, a learned Man of Holland, and partly of Kin to *Erast. Roterod.*

Joan Pistorius, Martyr. Margaret, daughter of *Maximilian*, Princess of *Holland*, *M. Montanus*, *M. Koffmunda*.

The story of *Pistorius* is largely set forth by *Gnaeus*. First, He was a Priest, then he married, after that he preached, coming from *VVinsberg*. He spake against the Mass and Pardons, and against the subtil abuses of Priests. He was committed unto Prison with ten Malefactors, whom he did comfort; and to one being half naked, and in danger of cold, he gave his gown.

Persecut.

M. Anthonis, Inquisitor. M. Jodocus Lovring, Vicar of *Wich*. An. 1524.

Sebastian Brasse, Rein, Abbat. In *Suevia*. An. 1525.

Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

His Father visiting him in Prison, did not dissuade him, but bad him be constant. At last he was condemned, and degraded, having a Fools Coat put upon him. His fellow-Prisoners at his death sung *Te Deum*. Coming to the Stake, he gave his Neck willingly to the Band, wherewith he was first strangled, and then burned, saying at his death, *O death, where is thy victory?* *1 Cor. 15.*

Matthias Weibell, Schoolmaster,

For saying somewhat against the Abbat's first Mass, and against the carrying about Reliques, Martyr, through procurement of the Abbat he was hanged by *Campidonium* in *Suevia*. *Mat. Weibell*

A certain godly Priest.

This Priest being commanded to come and give good counsel to sixteen Country-men that should be beheaded, afterward was bid himself to kneel down to have his Head cut off, no cause nor condemnation further being laid against him, but only of meer hatred against the Gospel. *Ex Joan. Gafsis.* *A Priest*

George

K. Hen. 8.

The Martyrdome of George Scherter.



Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

George Scherter.

Ge. Scherter
Martyr.

Ex. Mar.
Flac. Illyric.

The name
of the per-
secutor
appears
not in the
Story.

A strange
miracle of
God in ma-
nifesting his
Gospel.

At Rastat,
by Salze-
burg. An.
1538.

After that this George had instructed the People in knowledge of the Gospel in Rastat, ten miles distant from Saltzburg, he was accused of his Adversaries and put in Prison, where he wrote a confession of his Faith, which *Matthias Iliricus* hath set out with his whole Story. He was condemned to be burned alive: but means was made, that first his head should be cut off, and his body afterwards be cast into the fire. Going towards his death, he said, crying aloud, That you may know, said he, that I die a true Christian, I will give you a manifest sign; and so he did by the power of the Lord: For when his head was taken off from his shoulders, the body, falling upon his belly, so continued the space while one might eat an Egg. After that, softly it turned it self upon the back, and crossed the right foot over the left: At the sight whereof, they which saw it were in a great marvel. The Magistrates, which before had appointed to have burned the body after his beheading; seeing this Miracle, would not burn it, but buried it with other Christian mens bodies; and many by that example were moved to believe the Gospel. Thus God is able to manifest the truth of his Gospel in the midst of persecution, who is to be blessed for ever. Amen.

Henry Fleming at Dornick, 1535.

This Henry a Frier, sometimes of *Flanders*, forsook his habit, and married a Wife. Who being offered life of *Bathasar*, if he would confess his Wife to be an Harlot, denied so to do, and so was burnt at Dornick.

A good
Priest mar-
ry'd in his
own house.

Bathas-
sar, Of-
ficial.

A popish
Priest, and
a wicked
Murderer.

A good Priest dwelling not far from Basil, 1539.
There was a certain wicked Priest, a notorious Adulterer, a Dicer, and a vile Drunkard, given to all wickedness and ungraciousness, without all fear, regarding nothing what mischief he did: moreover, a Man fit and ready to serve the affection of the Papists at all turns. It chanced that

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

this Priest was received and lodged in the house of another Priest dwelling not far from Basil, which was a good Man, and a sincere favourer of the Gospel.

This drunken Priest, sitting at supper, was so drunk, that he could not tell what he did, or else fained himself so drunk of purpose, the better to accomplish his intended mischief. So it followed, that this Wretch after his lust sleep roste out of his Bed, and brake all the glass Windows in his Chamber, threw down the Stone, and rent all his Host's Books that he found. The Host, awaking with the noise thereof, came to him, asking him how he did? whether there were any Thieves or Enemies that he was in fear of? desiring him to shew what he ailed. But as soon as the good Host had opened his Chamber door, the wicked Cut-throat ran at him with his Sword, and slew him. The Host, after the Wound received, fell down and died. Upon this a clamour was made through all the street, and the Neighbours came in, the Murderer was taken and bound: and yet all the Friends and Kinsfolks that the good Priest had, could not make that miserable Cause, that was the Murderer, to be executed; the superior Powers did so take his part, saying, That he should be sent to his Bishop. The Townsmen did grievously cry out and complain at the bolstering out so manifest Villany: So did the Noblemen, that was the Lord of the Place, saying, That so many good Men and married Priests were drowned and beheaded for such small trifles, without any regard had by the Bishop; but a Murderer might escape unpunished. It was answered to them again, That what the superior Powers would do, they had nothing to do withal: the time was otherwise now, than it was in the commotion of the rustical People. The superior Powers had authority to govern as they would, say they; it was their parts only to obey. And so was he sent bound to the Bishop, and shortly after dismissed, having also a greater Beneice given him for his worthy act; for he so avanted himself, that he had slain a Lutheran Priest. See Tom. 2. *Convivialium Sermoonum* Jo. Gessii. Et ex *Pantal.*

K. Hen. 8.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.	K. Hen. 8.
	<p><i>Twenty eight Christian Men and Women of Louvane. Paul a Priest. Two aged Women.</i> At <i>Antonia</i>.</p> <p><i>Two Men at Louvane. 1543.</i> When certain of the City of <i>Louvain</i>, were suspected of Lutheranism, the Emperors Procurator came from <i>Brussels</i> thither to make Inquisition. After which Inquisition made, certain Bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night, where many were taken in their Beds, pluckt from their Wives and Children, and divided into divers Prisons. Through the terror whereof, many Citizens revolted from the Doctrine of the Gospel, and returned again to Idolatry. But twenty eight there were which remained constant in that Persecution. Unto whom the Doctors of <i>Lovane</i>, <i>Encensatus</i> especially the Inquisitor, and <i>Latomus</i> sometimes, with other, came and disputed, thinking no less, but either to confound them, or to convert them. But so strongly the spirit of the Lord wrought with his Saints, that the other went rather confounded away themselves.</p> <p>When no Disputation could serve, that which lacked in cunning, they supplied with Torments, by enforcing and afflicting them severally every one by himself. Among the rest there was one <i>Paulus</i> a Priest, upon the Age of sixty years; whom the Rectors of the University, with their Collegues, accompanied with a great number of Bills and Gloves, brought out of Prison to the Austin Friars, where, after many foul Words of the Rector, he was degraded. But at length for fear of death he began to stagger in some Points of his Confession, and so was had out of <i>Lovane</i>, and condemned to perpetual Prison, which was a dark and stinking Dungeon; where he was suffered neither to read nor write, nor any Man to come at him, commanded only to be fed with Bread and Water. After that, other two were there, which because they had revoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, constantly taking their Martyrdom.</p> <p>Then was there an old Man, and two aged Women brought forth: of whom the one was called <i>Antonia</i>, born of an ancient stock in that City. These also were condemned, the Man to be beheaded, the two Women to be buried quick, which death they received likewise very cheerfully. Certain of the other Prisoners, which were not condemned to death, were deprived of their Goods, commanded in a white sheet to come to the Church, and there kneeling with a Taper in their hand, to ask forgiveness: and they which refused so to do, and to abjure the Doctrine of <i>Luther</i>, were put to the fire. <i>Ex Fran. Encensatus.</i></p>		<p><i>Justus Jansberg at Brussels, Anno 1544.</i></p> <p><i>Justus Jansberg</i>, a Skinner of <i>Lovane</i>, being suspected of Lutheranism, was found in his House to have the New Testament, and certain Sermons of <i>Luther</i>; for the which he was committed, and the Jaylor commanded that he should speak with none. There were the same time in the lower Prison under him, <i>Egidius</i>, and <i>Franciscus Encensatus a Spaniard</i>; who secretly, having the Doors left open, came to him, and confirmed him in the Cause of Righteousness. Thus is the Providence of the Lord never lacking to his Saints in time of necessity. Shortly after came the Doctors and Masters of <i>Lovane</i>, to examine him of certain Articles touching Religion, as of the Pope's Supremacy, Sacrifice of the Mass, Purgatory, and of the Sacrament. Whereunto when he had answered plainly and boldly, after the Scriptures, and would in no wise be removed, he was condemned to the fire: but through Intercession made to the Queen, his burning was pardoned, and he only beheaded. <i>Ex Fran. Encensatus.</i></p>	<p><i>Justus of Lovany, Martyr.</i></p> <p><i>Franciscus Encensatus Pri-louster.</i></p> <p><i>Justus, perit de terra.</i></p>
Charles, the Emperors Procurator.		Dr. Encensatus, Inquisitor. Latomus.		

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
<p>K. Henr. 8. Blasphemy of the Papists.</p>	<p>he ever held his peace at such private Injuries: inasmuch that those Blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dumb Devil in him. But when they talked of any Religion, there he spured not, but answered them fully by Evidences of the Scripture, in such sort, that divers times they would depart marvelling. At sundry times he might have escaped, the doors being set open, but he would not for bringing his Keeper in peril.</p> <p>At length, about the Month of <i>January</i>, he was brought to another Prison, to be constrained with Torments to confess Purgatory, and to utter moe of his Fellows. But no force would serve. Wherefore upon the two and twentieth of <i>January</i> he was condemned to the Fire, but privily, contrary to the use of the Country; for openly they durst not condemn him for fear of the People, so well was he beloved. When tidings of the Sentence came unto him, he gave hearty thanks unto God, that the hour was come when he might glorifie the Lord.</p>	<p>As he was brought to the place of Burning, where he saw a great heap of Wood piled, he required the greater part thereof to be taken away, and given to the Poor; a little, said he, would suffice him. Also seeing a poor Man coming by, as he went, that lacked Shoes, he gave his Shoes unto him; better, said he, so to do, than to have his Shoes burnt, and the Poor to perish for cold. Standing at the stake the Hangman was ready to strangle him before; but he would not, saying, That there was no such need that his Pain should be mitigated, for I fear not, said he, the fire; do thou therefore as thou art commanded. And thus the blessed Martyr, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven in all that dle of the flame, died, to the great Lamentation of all that stood by. After that time, when the riers of that City would go about for their Alms, the People would say, It was not meet for them to receive Alms with bloody Hands. This History you shall find more copiously detailed in <i>Franc. Encens. Ex Franc. Encens.</i></p>	<p>The zeal of the People, against the bloody Priests.</p>

The Martyrdom of Giles Tilleman.



Great Persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders.

At Gaunt, Anno 1543, 1544.

As *Charles* the Emperor did lie in *Gaunt*, the Friars and Doctors there obtained, that the Edict made against the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. Which being obtained, great Persecution followed; so that there was no City nor Town in all *Flanders*, wherein some either were not expelled, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual Prison, or had not their Goods confiscated: neither was there any respect of Age or Sex. At *Gaunt* especially many there were of the head Men, which for Religion sake were burned.

Afterward the Emperor coming to *Brussels*, there was terrible slaughter, and Persecution of God's People, namely in *Brabant*, *Hungary*, and *Artois*; the Horor and Cruelty whereof is almost incredible: inasmuch that at one time as good as two hundred Men and Women together were brought out of the Country about into the City, of whom some were drowned, some buried quick, some pri-

vily made away, others sent to perpetual Prison: whereby the Prisons and Towers thereabout were replenished with Prisoners and Captives, and the Hands of the Hangman tired with slaying and killing, to the great sorrow of all them which knew the Gospel, being

now compelled either to deny the same, or to confirm it with their Blood. The Story hereof is at large set forth by *Franc. Encens*, a notable learned Man, who also himself was Prisoner the same time at *Brussels*: whose Book written in Latin I my self have seen and read, remaining in the hands of *John Operine* at *Basil*.

Martinus Hecurbloek, Fishmonger at Gaunt, Anno 1545.

This *Martin* ever almost to his later Age, was a Man much given to all Wickedness and fleshly Life so long as he continued a follower of the Pope's Superstition and Idolatry. Afterward (as God hath always his calling) through the occasion of a Sermon of his Parish Priest, beginning to taste some workings of Grace and Repentance of his former Life, he went out of *Gaunt* for the space of

Martin Hecurbloek was a Martyr.

Franciscan Friars of Gaunt.

The Martyrdom of Giles.

Persecution in Gaunt and Brussels.

Friars and Priests of Flanders. Ex Franc. Encens.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	K. Hen. 8		
	three Months, seeking the Company of godly Christians, such as he heard to use the reading of the Scriptures: by whom he being more groundedly instructed returned again to the City of Gaunt, where all his Neighbours first began to marvel at the sudden change of this Man. The Franciscans which knew him before so beneficial unto them, now seeing him so altered from their ways and Superstition, and seeing him to visit the Captives in Prison, to comfort them in Persecution, and to confirm them in the Word of God, which went to the fire, conspired against him: whereby he was detected and had in Bands. After that with sharp and greivous Torments they would have constrained him to utter other of the same Religion. To whom thus he answered; that if they could prove by the Scripture that his detecting and accusing of his Brethren, whom they would afflict with the like Torments, were not against the second Table of God's Law, then he would not refuse to prefer the Honour of God before the safeguard of his Brethren. Then the Friers examined him in the Sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to have it in both kinds, seeing (said they) it is but a naked Sacrament, as you say? To whom he answered, That the Elements thereof were naked, but the Sacrament was not naked, forasmuch as the said Elements of Bread and Wine being received after the Institution of		Then they exhorted Ursula to turn, or if she would not, at least that she should require to be beheaded. To whom she said, That she was guilty of no Error, nor defended anything, but what was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of punishment, she said, she feared not the fire, but rather would follow the Example of her dear Sister that went before. This was marvellous, that the Executioners could in no wise confine their Bodies with fire, but left them whole lying upon the ground white: which certain good Christians privily took up in the night and buried. Thus God many times sheweth his power in the midst of Tribulations, Ex	A miracle: how we live of God in the dead Bodies of these two Virgins.		
Franciscan Friers of Gaunt.	Christ, do now make a Sacrament and a mystical Representation of the Lord's Body, communicating himself with our Souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, because it is the Institution of the Lord, who is he (said Martin) that dare alter the same? Then was he brought before the Council of Flanders. The Causes laid against him were the Sacrament, Purgatory, and praying for the Dead: and for which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt in Verle place, all his Goods being confiscate. As he stood at the Stake, a Franciscan Frier said to him, Martin, unless thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this fire to everlasting fire. It is not in you, said Martin again, to judge: For this the Friers after were so hated, that many Bills and Rhymes were set forth in divers places against them. Ex Pantal.	The Persecution of St. Katharine.	Andrew Thiesse, Katharine his Wife, Nicholas Thiesse, Francis Thiesse, Brethren. At Mechlin, Anno 1545.			
	Nicholas Vanpoule. John de Buck, and his Wife. At Gaunt, Anno 1545.	Dr. Tappin.	Andrew Thiesse, Citizen of Mechlin, of his Wife Katharine had three Sons and a Daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and despised the doings of Popery. Wherefore being hated and persecuted of the Friers and Priests there, he went into England and there died. Francis and Nicholas his two Sons went to Germany to study: and returning again to their Mother, and Sister, and younger Brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right Knowledge of God's Gospel: which being not unknown to the Parson there of St. Katharine, he called to them Dr. Rapardus, Tappin, and other Masters and Friers, who taking Counsel together with William de Clerk, the head Magistrate of the Town of Mechlin, agreed, That the Mother with her four Children should be sent to Prison, separate one from another: where great labour was employed to reclaim them home unto their Church, that is, from light to darkness again. The two younger, to wit, the Daughter with the younger Brother, being yet not seled neither in years nor Doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delivered. The Mother which would not consent, was condemned to perpetual Prison. The other two, Francis and Nicholas, standing firmly to their Confession, defended, That the Catholick Church was not the Church of Rome; that the Sacrament was to be minitred in both kinds; that Auricular Confession was to no purpose; that Invocation of Saints was to be left; that there was no Purgatory. The Friers they called Hypocrites, and contemned their threatnings. The Magistrates, after Disputations, fell to Torments, to know of them who was their Master, and what fellows they had. Their Master, they said, was Christ which bare his Cross before. Fellows, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were brought to the Judges: their	William de Clerk, Ruler of Mechlin.	Articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Comming to the place of Execution, as they began to exhort the People, Gags or Balls of Wood were thrust into their Mouthes which they through vehemency in speaking thrust out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so singing with a loud voice, Credo in unum Deum &c. they went, and were fastned to the stake, praying for their Persecutors, and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his Beard, Ah! said he, what a small pain is this, to be compared to the Glory to come? Thus the patient Martyrs committing their Spirit to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy achieved the Crown of Martyrdom. Ex Paul. Melanct.	Francis and Nicholas constant in Christ.
Nicholas Vanpoule, John de Buck, and his Wife, Martyrs.	The next day after the burning of Martin afore said, which was the ninth of May, these three also were burned for the same Causes likewise, for the which the other was condemned and burned the day before; but only that the Woman was buried alive. All which took their Martyrdom joyfully and with much cheerfulness.					
Mary and Ursula, two Virgins, Martyrs.	Ursula, and Maria; Virgins of Noble Stock. At Delden, Anno. 1545.					
The Council of Flanders.	Delden is a Town in lower Germany, three miles from Darenty, where these two Virgins of Noble Parentage were burned. Who, after diligent frequenting of Churches and Sermons, being instructed in the Word of the Lord, defended that seeing the Benefit of our Salvation cometh only by our Faith in Christ, all the other Merchandise of the Pope, which he useth to sell to the People for Money, was needless. First Mary, being the younger, was put to the fire; where she prayed ardently for her Enemies, commending her Soul to God. At whose constancy the Judges did greatly marvel.					

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
K. Hen. 8.	<p><i>Marion, Wife of Adrian Taylor.</i> At Dornick, Anno 1545.</p> <p>In the same Persecution against <i>Brulius</i> and his Company in <i>Dornick</i>, was apprehended also one <i>Adrian</i> and <i>Marion</i> his Wife. The cause of their trouble, as also of the others, was the Emperor's Decree made in the Council of <i>Wormes</i> against the Lutherans mentioned before. <i>Adrian</i>, not so strong as a Man, for fear gave back from the Truth, and was but only beheaded. The Wife, stronger than a Woman, did withstand their threats, and abide the uttermost; and being inclosed in an Iron Grate formed in shape of a <i>Pastie</i> was laid in the Earth and buried quick, after the usual Punishment of that Country, for Women. When the Adversaries first told her, that her Husband had relented, he believed them not: and therefore, as she went to her death, passing by the Tower where he was, she called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before. <i>Ex Pant. lib. 4.</i></p>	Dr. Ha. <i>Brulius</i> , a Gray Friar.	<p><i>Peter Bruly</i>? He said he was, and that he had received much Fruit by his Doctrine. Wilt thou then defend his Doctrine, said they? Yea, said he, for that it is consonant both to the Old Testament and to the New: and for this he was let down into a deep Dungeon under the Castle-ditch, full of Toads and filthy Vermin. Shortly after the Senate, with certain Friers, came again to examin him, to see whether they could convert him. To whom he answered and said, That when he before had lived such an ungodly life, they never spake a word against him: but now, for favouring and favouring the Word of God, they were so infest against him, that they sought his Blood. Among whom was one <i>Dr. Hufardus</i>, which asked him if he did not seem to himself more wicked now than ever he was before? But he setting the Frier at Light, bad him, <i>Avant Frier</i>; saying, that he had to talk with the Senate, and not with him. The Senate then began to examine him of certain Articles of Religion. To whom as he was about to answer boldly and exprefly to every point, they interrupting him, bad him say in two Words, either Yea or Nay. Then, said he, if ye will not suffer me to answer for my self in matters of such Importance, then send me to my Prison again among my Toads and Frogs, which will not interrupt me while I talk with my Lord my God. The boldness of whole Spirit and Courage, as it made some to gnash their teeth, so some it made to wonder, and minilhed to some great Confirmation.</p>
Adrian and Marion his Wife, martyrs.	<p><i>Master Peter Bruly, Preacher</i> at Dornick, Anno 1545.</p> <p><i>Master Peter Bruly</i> was Preacher in the French Church at <i>Strasburgh</i>. Who at the earnest request of faithful Brethren came down to visit the lower Countries about <i>Ariots</i> and <i>Dornick</i> in <i>Flanders</i>; where he most diligently preached the Word of God unto the People in houses, the doors standing open.</p> <p>Whereupon when the Magistrates of <i>Dornick</i> had shut the Gates of the Town, and had made search for him three days, he was privily let down the Wall in the night by a Basket: and as he was let down to the Ditch ready to take his way, one of them which let him down, leaning over the Wall to bid him farewell, caused unawares a stone to slip out of the Wall, which falling upon him brake his Leg by reason whereof he was heard of the Watchmen complaining of his Wound, and so was taken, giving thanks to God by whose Providence he was there staid to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in Prison, he ceased not to supply the part of a diligent Preacher, teaching, and confirming all them that came to him in the word of Grace. Being in Prison he wrote his own Confession and Examination, and sent it to the Brethren. He wrote also another Epistle unto them that were in Persecution: another also to all the faithful: also another Letter to his Wife the same day that he was burned. He remained in Prison four Months. His Sentence was given by the Emperor's Commissioners at <i>Bruxels</i>. That he should be burned to Ashes, and his Ashes thrown into the River. Although the Priests and Friers made the fire but small, to multiply his pain, yet he the more cheerfully and constantly took his Martyrdom, and suffered it. The Letters of Duke <i>Frederick</i>, and of the Landgrave came to intreat for him; but he was burned a little before the Letters came. <i>Ex Lud. Rab. lib. 6.</i></p>	Peter Bruly, martyr.	<p>There was also one <i>Bergiban</i> the same time in Prison, who had been a forward Man, and a great doer in the Gospel, before the coming down of <i>Brulius</i>. Who being also sought for the taking of <i>Brulius</i>, and being then not found at home, either by chance not knowing, or else he conveyed himself out of the way for fear, conceived thereof such sorrow in his mind, that afterward neither his Wife, nor Children, nor any Friends else could stay him, but he would needs offer himself to the Judges, saying unto the Ruler, being asked why he came. The Magistrates came to seek me, said he, and now I am come to know what they would. Whereupon the Ruler, being sorry of his coming, yet notwithstanding committed him to Prison, where he remained constant a certain while. But after the Commissioners had threatened him with cruel Torments, and horror of death, he began by little and little to waver, and shrink from the Truth. At the fair words of the false Friers and Priests, to have his punishment changed, and to be beheaded, he was fain to grant unto their biddings and Requests: whereupon the Adversaries taking their Advantage, came to <i>Miscius</i>; and told him of <i>Bergiban</i>'s Retraction, willing him to do the like. But he stoutly persisting in the Truth, indured to the Fire, where he, having Powder put to his Breast, was so put to death and dispatched. The Friers, hearing the crack of the Powder upon his Breast, told the People, that the Devil came out of him and carried away his Soul. <i>Ex Rab. & alius.</i></p>
The Magistrates of Dornick or Turnay.	<p><i>Peter Miscius, Bergiban.</i> At Dornick An. 1545.</p> <p>The coming of <i>Master Peter Bruly</i> into the Country of <i>Flanders</i>, did exceeding much good among the Brethren, as appear by divers other good Men, and namely by this <i>Peter Miscius</i>, which was by his Occupation a Silk-weaver. This <i>Peter</i> before he was called to the Gospel, led a wicked life, given to much Ungodliness, and almost to all kinds of Vice. But after the Taste of the Gospel began to work in him, so clean it altered him from that former Man, that he excelled all other in godly Zeal and Vertue. In his first Examination he was asked, Whether he was one of the Scholars of</p>	Gods secret working in disposing the ways of his Servants.	<p><i>Johannes Gessius Convivialium Sermo. libro secundo</i>, writeth of a certain Prince, but doth not name him, which put out the Eyes of a certain Priest in Germany for no other cause, but for that he said the Mass to be no Sacrifice, in that sense as many Priests do take it. Neither did the cruel Prince immediately put him to death, but first kept him in Prison a long time, afflicting him with divers Torments. Then he was brought forth to be beheaded, after a barbarous and tyrannous manner. First, they shave the crown of his Head, then rubbed it hard with Salt, that the Blood came running down his shoulders. After that they raised and pared the tops of his fingers with cruel pain, that no favour of the holy Oyl might remain. At last the patient and godly Martyr, four days after yielded up his Life and Spirit. <i>Ex Johan. Gessio lib. 2.</i></p>
The martyrdom of Brulius.	<p>A certain Prince in Germany, about Hungary, or the parts of <i>Pannonia</i>.</p>	Peter Miscius, martyr.	<p>The martyrdom of a good Priest.</p>
The Senate of Dornick.			

A Table of the Martyrs which suffered in Germany.

Persecut.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Persecut.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

K. Hen. 8.

A godly Priest in Hungary.

In Hungary a certain godly Priest preached, that the eating of Flesh is not prohibited in the Scripture: for the which the cruel Bishop, after he had imprisoned him certain Weeks, caused him to be brought out, and his body to be tied over with Hares, Geese, and Hens hanging round about him: and so the beastly Bishop made Dogs to be set upon him, which cruelly rent and tore whatsoever they could catch: And thus the good Minister of Christ, being driven about the City with the barking of Dogs, died, and was martyred. The sight whereof as it was lamentable to the godly, so it seemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few days after, the impious Bishop by the stroke of God's just hand, fell sick and became horn-mad, and so raving without sense or wit, miserably died. Ex Tom. 2. Convivialium Sermonum Johann. Gaffii.

John Frederick of Saxony, Elector,
A. 1547.

Among these godly and constant Saints of Christ, may well be recounted John Frederick, Duke of Saxony: who when he had recovered again all his Dominions (which Duke Maurice had taken from him before, being in Suevia with his Army) and at last was taken Prisoner of the Emperor of Albia, the four and twentieth of April, A. 1547, yet could never be induced to yield to the Emperor in revoking his Faith and Doctrine of the Gospel wherein he stood: For the which he was detained from his Wife and Children, and bereaved of all his Goods, and carried about with the Emperor the space of five years. This admirable constancy of the Duke, was a Wonder to all his Adversaries. At last, in the year of our Lord, 1552, through the Benefit of Almighty God, he was set again at liberty, and returning home to his Wife and Children, continued in his Religion till the hour of his death. Ex Sleid. lib. 19.

Much like was the cause also of Philip Langrave of Hesse, who likewise being taken and spoiled of the Emperor, continued the space of five years in the cruel Custody of the Spaniards; and albeit he had fined unto the Emperor, and was promised to be set free out of Prison, the Emperor and his Council dallying with their Promise, expounded his Imprisonment not to be perpetual. And though great Labour and Intercession was made for him, yet all would not help. For when the Emperor sent him away, finding Cavillations against him: whereby he was again committed into the hands of the Spaniards, till at length, through the disposing of God's Mercy, first the Duke of Saxony, and then fix days after the Langrave also, were both freed out of long captivity and sent home. Ex Com. Sleid. lib. 19, 24.

Hermannus Archbishop of Colen, A. 1547.

With these holy Martyrs above recited, may also be numbred Hermannus Archbishop of Colen, who, a little before the Emperor had War against the Protestants, had reformed his Church from certain Papistical Superstitions, using therein the Aid and Advice of Martin Bucer. Wherefore Charles the Emperor sent word to Colen, that he should be deposed; which he patiently did suffer. In his room was set Adolphus Earl of Scawenburg. Ex Sleid. lib. 18.

Master Nicholas Finchman.
Marion, Wife of Augustinus, A. 1549.

Master Nicholas and Barbara his Wife; also Augustinus a Barbar, and Marion his Wife, born about Hennegrow, after they had been at Geneva a space, came into Germany, thinking that way to pass over into England. By the way coming to Hennegrow, Augustine desired Master Nicholas (because he was learned) to come to Bergis to visit and comfort certain Brethren there; which he willingly did. From thence passing by Dornick (or Tornay) they held on their Journey toward England. But in the way Augustine and his Wife, being known, were detected to the Lieutenant of Dornick, who, in all speedy haste following after them, overtook them four miles beyond Dornick, Augustine (how I cannot tell) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found. The Soldiers then laying hands upon Nicholas and the two Women, brought them back again unto Dornick. In returning by the way, when Master Nicholas at the Table gave thanks (as the manner is of the faithful) the wicked Ruler, scornng them, and swearing like a Tyrant, said, Now let us see thou lewd Heretic,

whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand. To whom Nicholas answering again modestly, asked, what had Christ ever offended him, that he with his blasphemous Swearing did so tear him in pieces? desiring him, that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor Body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they being bound hands and feet, were brought to Bergis, and there laid in the Dungeon. Then Duke Arifontus, accompanied with a great number of Priests, and Franciscan Friars, and with a Doctor which was their Warden, came to talk with them. Nicholas standing in the midst of them, being asked what he was, and whether he would? answered them perfectly to all their Questions: and moreover so confounded the Friars, that they went away ashamed, saying, That he had a Devil, and crying, To the fire with him, Lutheran.

As they continued still looking for the day of their Execution, it came to the Rulers minds to ask of Nicholas in what house he was lodged when he came to Bergis? Nicholas said, He had never been there before, and therefore being a stranger he could not tell the name of the house. When Nicholas would confess nothing, Duke Arifontus came to Barbara, Nicholas his Wife, to know where they were lodged at Bergis, promising many fair words of delivery, if she would tell. She being a weak and timorous Woman, uttered all. By the occasion whereof great Persecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that shortly, even upon the same, the Son of the said Duke Arifontus was slain, and buried the same day when Augustinus was burned. To be short, Nicholas shortly after was brought before the Judges, and there condemned to be burned to ashes. At which sentence giving, Nicholas blessed the Lord, which had counted him worthy to be a Witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of Execution he was commanded to speak nothing unto the people, or else he should have a Ball of Wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake, and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, he cried with a loud voice; O Charles, Charles, how long shall thy heart be hardened? O Charles, that one of the Soldiers gave him a blow. Then said Nicholas again; Ah miserable people! thou art not worthy to whom the Word of God should be preached. And thus he spake as they were binding him to the stake. The Friars came out with their old Song, crying, That he had a Devil; to whom Nicholas spake the Verse of the Psalm: Depart from me, all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping. And thus this holy Martyr, patiently taking his death, commended up his Spirit unto God in the midst of the fire. Ex Lud. Rab. Pant. & alius.

Marion

The Martyrdom of a godly Priest.

A Bishop in Hungary.

Just punishment of God upon a cruel Persecutor.

Frederick Duke of Saxony.

The Langrave of Hesse.

Hermannus Archbishop of Colen.

Charles the Emperor.

Nicholas Finchman, Marion wife of Augustinus, Master.

Blasphemy of a Papist.

The Friars confounded.

Barbara revolted.

Gods punishment upon Persecutors.

Nicholas condemned.

K. Hen. 8.	Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
	<p>Marion Wife of Austen, above mentioned, at Bergis in Hennegow, Anno 1549.</p>	<p>Tail to the place of burning: but the Lord would not suffer that. In fine, being tied to the Stake, and fire set unto him, heartily he prayed unto the Lord, and so in the fire patiently departed. Ex Crisp. & alii.</p>	
The Martyrdom of Marion.	<p>After the martyrdom of this Mr. Nicholas, Marion the Wife of Austen was called for. With whom they had much talk about the manner and state of Geneva, asking her how the Sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lord's Supper? To whom she answered, That the Sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's Institution, of the which she was no celebrator, but a partaker. The sentence of her Condemnation was this, That she should be interred quick: When she was let down to the Grave, kneeling upon her knees, she desired the Lord to help her; and before she should be thrown down, she desired her face might be covered with a Napkin or some linnen Cloth; who being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the Hangman stamped upon her with his feet, till her breath was past. Ibidem.</p>	<p>The Names of the persecutors be not expressed in the story.</p>	<p>A certain Woman of Aufpurg, At Aufpurg, Anno 1550.</p> <p>At Aufpurg a certain Woman there dwelling, seeing a Priest to carry the Host to a sick Person with Taper-light (as the manner is) asked him what he meant so to go with Candle-light at noon day. For this she was apprehended, and in great danger, had it not been for the earnest sute and prayers of the Women of that City, and at the intercession of Mary the Emperor's Sister. Ex Jo. Sleid. lib. 22.</p> <p>Two Virgins in the Diocess of Bamberge, Anno 1551.</p> <p>In the Diocess of Bamberge, two Maids were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and cheerful countenances. They had Garlands of Straw put on their heads. Whereupon the one comforting the other, going to their Martyrdom, Seeing Christ, said she, for us bare a Crown of Thorns, why should we stick to bear a Crown of Straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to us again better than Crowns of Gold: some said that they were Anabaptists; and it might be (saith Melancthon) that they had some fond Opinion admired withal: yet they did hold, faith he, the foundation of the Articles of our Faith, and they died blessedly, in a good Conscience and Knowledge of the Son of God. Few do live without Errors. Flatter not your selves, thinking you selves so clear that you cannot err. Eleo Phil. Melanct.</p> <p>Two Virgins Martyrs.</p>
Marion buried quick.	<p>Austen the Husband of Marion. At Bellimont in Hennegow, Anno 1549.</p>		
	<p>Ye heard before how Augustine escaped before at the taking of Nicholas and the two Women. After this he gave himself to sell Spices, and other pedlary Ware from place to place. Who at length coming to the Town of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was known and detected to the Magistrate. Whereof he having some intelligence before, left his Ware and ran away. And seeing moreover the house beset with harpessed Men where he was hosted, he began to be more afraid, and hid himself in a bush: for he was very timorous, and a weak-spirited Man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it hapned that certain standing upon the Town wall, which might well see him go into the Thicket or Bush, gave knowledge thereof to the Souldiers, which followed him to the bush, and took him. Being taken, he was had to Bergis, the head Town of Hennegow, where being examined, valiantly standing to the defence of his Doctrine, he answered his Adversaries with great boldness.</p>		
The Watchmen or Souldiers of Bellimont.			
Augustine again taken.	<p>Wherein here is to be noted and marvelled to see the Work of the Lord, how this Man being before of nature so timorous, now was so strengthened with God's Grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his Enemies. Among others came to him the Warden of the gray Friers, with a long Oration, perswading him to relent, or else he should be damned in Hell fire perpetually. To whom Austen answering again, said, Prove that which you said by the Authority of God's Word, that a Man may believe you: you say much, but you prove nothing, rather like a Doctor of Lies, than of Truth, &c. At last, he being there condemned to be burned at Bellimont, was brought to the Inn where he should take Horse: where was a certain Gentleman, a stranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of Wine, desired him to have pity upon himself: and if he would not favour his Life, yet that he would favour his own Soul. To whom said Austen, after he had thanked him for his good will, What care I have, said he, of my Soul, you may see by this, that I had rather give my Body to be burned, than to do that thing that were against my Conscience. When he was come to the Town of Bellimont, where he should be burned, the same day there was a great burial of the Duke Arisconus his Son, which was slain a little before (as is before touched) by the occasion whereof many Nobles and Gentlemen were there present, which hearing of this Austen, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdom, the people being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at an Horse</p>	<p>The names of their persecutors appear not in the story.</p>	<p>The Christian City of Magdeburge, Anno 1551.</p>
Example of Gods goodness in strengthening the weak-hearted.			<p>When Charles the Emperor had almost got all his Purpose in Germany, in obtruding his Religion of Interim into all Places, which was received of the most part of all the chief Princes and Cities; only the City of Magdeburge, continuing in the constancy of their Doctrine reformed, refused to admit the same. Wherefore War was raised against them, their City besieged, and great violence used: so that many honest and religious Citizens for the Gospel's Cause sustained great perils and danger of death. At last, when they had manfully and constantly endured such great distress and calamity, the space of a whole year, through the blessed Providence of Almighty God, (who about the same time sent War between the French King and the Emperor) honest reconciliation was made between them and the Emperor, whereby they were received into favour, and suffered to enjoy their former Religion quietly. Ex Joan. Sleidan. lib. 23.</p>
			<p>Confutancy to be ascribed to the City of Magdeburge.</p>
The death & martyrdom of Augustine.			
			<p>Hofius, otherwise called George, At Gaunt, Anno 1555.</p>
		<p>James Hoffius Chamberlain of Gaunt, and the Friers there.</p>	<p>This Hoffius, born at Gaunt, was cunning in graving in Armour, and in Steel. He first was in the French Church here in England, during the reign of King Edward. After the coming of Queen Mary, he went to Norden in Frisland, with his Wife and Children. From thence having business, he came to Gaunt, where (after a certain space that he had there continued, instructing divers of his Friends) he</p>

Persecut.

Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

James
Hessius
Chamber-
lain of
Gaunt,
and the
Wife
there.

he heard that there was a black Friar, which used to preach good Doctrine to the People. Wherefore he, being desirous to hear, came to his Sermon; where the Friar, contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of Transubstantiation. At the hearing whereof his heart was so full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the Sermon was finished. As soon as the Friar was come down, he burst out and charged him with false Doctrine, persuading the People, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the Bread was but a Sacrament only of the Lord's Body. The Friar, not willing to hear him, made signs unto him to depart. Also the throng of the People was such, that it carried him out of the doors. He had not gone

far, but Hessius the Chamberlain overtook him and carried him to Prison. Then were Doctors and other Friars, as Pistorius, and Bunderius, brought to reason with him, of the Sacrament, of Invocation of Saints, and Purgatory. He ever stood to the trial only of the Scripture: which they refused. Then was it agreed that he should declare his mind in writing: which he did. He wrote also to his Wife at Emden: comforting her, and requiring her to take care for Samuel and Sarah his Children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the People. Hessius the Officer made great haste to have him dispatched. Wherefore he, mildly like a Lamb, praying for his Enemies, gave himself to be bound, patiently taking what they would do against him; whom first they strangled, and then consumed his Body being dead with fire.

And this was the Martyrdom of Hessius. Ex Lnd. Rab. lib. 6.

Joannes Frisius Abbat in Bavaria,
Anno 1534.

Joannes Sleidan. lib. 25. maketh record of one Johanne Frisius, Abbat of Newstad, within the Dioceses of the Bishop Hirpsolensis in Bavaria: Who, being suspected of Lutheranism, was called to account of his Faith: and strongly persisting in his Assertions, and defending the same by the Scriptures, he was therefore displaced and removed from all his Jurisdications, the five and twentieth of June, Anno 1555. Ex Sleid.

Bertrand de Blas, at Dornick, An. 1555.

The story of Bertrand is lamentable, his Torments incredible, the Tyranny shewed unto him horrible, the Constancy of the Martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silk Weaver, went to Wesell for the Cause of Religion. Who being desirous to draw his Wife and Children from Dornick to Wesell, came thence from thence to persuade her to go with him thither. When she in no wise could be intreated, he, remaining a few days at home, set his house in order, and desired his Wife and Brother to pray that God would establish him in his enterprise that he went about. That done, he went upon Christmasts-day to the high Church of Dornick, where he took the Cake out of the Priests hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at Mass, and stamp'd it under his feet, saying, That he did it to shew the Glory of that God, and what little power he hath: with other words more to the people, to persuade them that the Cake or Fragment of Bread was not Jesus their Saviour.

At the sight hereof the People, being stricken with a marvellous damp, stood all amazed. At length such a stirring thereupon followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life. It was not long but the noise of this was carried to the Bailiff of Hennegow, and Governor of

The Bailiff of Hennegow, Governor of the Town and Castle of Dornick.

Peter Deventer, Lieutenant of the said Bailiff.

Philip de Cordus, chief Counsellor in criminal Causes.

Nicholas Chamberlain.

Peter Reubeler.

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James de Clerke.

Nicholas of Vermaque.

M. Hermet, of Wingham, one of the Counsel for the said Bailiff.

the Castle of Dornick, which lay sick the same time of the Gout at Biesle. Who like a mad Man cried out, that ever God would or could be so patient, to suffer that Contumely, so to be troden under the foot by such a Miser: adding moreover, that he would revenge his Cause in such sort, as it should be an example for ever to all Posterity; and forthwith the furious Tyrant commanded himself to be carried to the Castle of Dornick, Bertrand being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his Fact, or whether he would do so, if it were to be done again? Who answered, that if it were an hundred times to be done, he would do it; and if he had an hundred lives, he would give them in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the Pinbank, tormented most miserably, to utter his fetters on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the Sentence, more like Tyrants than Christians. By the tenour of which Sentence, this was his punishment:

First, He was drawn from the Castle of Dornick to the Market-place, having a Ball of Iron put in his mouth. Then he was set upon a Stage, where his right hand where-with he took the Host, was crushed and pressed between two hot Irons, with sharp iron edges fiery red, till the form and fashion of his hand was murthered. In like manner they brought other-like Irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous constancy and firmness of mind. That done, they took the ball of Iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who notwithstanding, with continual crying, ceased not to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the People were greatly moved: Whereupon the tormentors thrust the Iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower Stage, he going to the same no less cheerfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an Iron Chain going about his body, and so he was let down flat upon the fire: whom the foresaid Governor, there standing by and looking upon, caused to be let up again, and so down and up again, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the River: when this was done, the Chappel where this Mass-god was so intreated, was lockt up, and the Board whereupon the Priest stood was burnt, the marble Stone whereupon the Host did light, was broken in pieces. And finally, forasmuch as the said Bertrand had received his Doctrine at Wesell, commandment was given, That no Person out of that Country should go to Wesell, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the Emperor's Placard, Ex Crispi. Pant. & Adriano.

Bertrand thrice tormented.

The miserable and tragical handling of Bertrand.

The right hand and foot of Bertrand, pressed off with hot Iron.

The tongue of Bertrand cut off.

The burning and martyrdom of Bertrand.

Two hundred Ministers of Bohemia,
Anno 1555.

The same year two hundred Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel were banished out of Bohemia for preaching against the superstition of the Bishop of Rome, and extolling the Glory of Christ. Ex Com. Johan. Sleid. lib. 25.

Persecution in Bohemia.

The Preachers of Locrane.

Locrane is a place between the Alps, yet subject to the Helvetians. When these also had received the Gospel, and the five Pages of the Helvetians above-mentioned were not well pleased therewith, but would have them punished, and great contention was among the Helvetians about the same, it was concluded at length, that the Ministers should be exiled: whom the Tigurini did receive. Ex Pant.

Persecution in Locrane.

Francis

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Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Francis Warlus, Alexander Dayken, at Dornick, Anno 1562.

After these two good Men, being born in the lower parts of Germany, had been conversant in divers reformed Churches in other Countries: at last, for Conscience-sake they returned home again to do good in their own Country of Dornick, and thereabout.

So upon a time, as the people there reformed to a back-Field or Wood without the City, with a certain Preacher, to hear the Word of God, and to pray, the Adversaries, having thereof some intelligence, so pursued them, that they took of them above thirty, of whom these two among the rest were apprehended; and thinking no less but that they should be burned, they began to sing Psalms. At length being brought forth, first one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the Judges had intended to quarter their Bodies, and to set them up by the high Ways, yet was it so provided, God working in the hearts of the People, that they were both committed to Sepulture. *Ex Lud. Rab.*

Gillotus Viver.

James Faber his Father-in-Law.

Michael Faber Son of James.

Anna Wife of Gillotus, and Daughter of James Faber.

These in the Cause of the Gospel suffered at Valence.

James Faber, being an old Man, said, That although he could not answer or fortify them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the Gospel.

Anna his Daughter, being with Child, was respited: after she was delivered, she followed her Husband and Father in the like Martyrdom.

Michella Caignoucle, at Valence, Anno 1550.

Michella, Wife of James Clerk which was before burned, when she was offered to be married, and to be carried out of the Country to some reformed Church, refused so to do, but would abide the adventure of her Vocation, and so was condemned with Gillotus to be burned. *Ex Crisp.*

Godfridus Harnelle, at Dornick, An. 1552.

This Godfride a Tailor was taken and condemned at Dornick, or Townsay. When they had condemned him by the name of an Heretick; Nay (said he) not an Heretick, but a Servant of Jesus Christ unprofitable. When the Hangman went about to strangle him to diminish his punishment, he refused it, saying, That he would abide the Sentence that the Judges had given. *Ex eod.*

Besides these Germans above specified, a great number there was, both in the higher and lower Countries of

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Germany, which were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise in Prison made away; whose names although they be not known to us, yet they are registered in the Book of Life. Furthermore, in the Dutch Book of Adrian, divers other be numbered in the Catalogue of these German Martyrs, which likewise suffered in divers places of the lower Country: the names of certain be these.

John Malo.

Danjan Witrocke.

Waldrew Calier.

John Porceau.

Julian, vanden Swerde.

Adrian Lopphe.

Bawdwine.

At Bergis or Bergen in Hennegow, were burnt in the year of our Lord 1555. John Malo, Damian VVitrock, VValdrew Calier, buried quick, John Porceau. At Aste also suffered one Julian, Anno 1542, and Adrian Lopphe, Anno 1555. At Brussels, Anno 1553, one Bawdwine beheaded. Another called Gilken Tillman burnt, Anno 1551.

Divers in the lower Countries martyred.

Add moreover to the same Catalogue of Dutch Martyrs burnt and consumed, in the lower Countries under the Emperor's Dominion, the Names of these following. VVilliam Swols burnt at Meblin, Anno 1529. Nicholas Van Pole at Gaunt beheaded. Robert Ogvier, and Joan his Wife, with Baudicon, and Martin Ogvier their Children, which suffered at Lisle, Anno 1556. M. Nicholas burnt at Mont in Hennegow; Lawrence of Brussels, at Mont; John Fassam at Mont; Cornelius Volcart at Brugis, Anno 1553. Hubert the Printer, and Philebert Joyner at Brugis, Anno 1553. A Woman buried with Thoms under her: Peter le Ronce at Brugis, Anno 1552. At Meblin suffered Francis and Nicholas, two Brethren, Anno 1555. At Antwerp were burnt Adrian a Painter, and Henry a Tailor, Anno 1555. Also Cornelius Halewine Locksmith, and Herman Janjon the same year. Mrs. John du Camp Schoolmaster, Anno 1557; with a number of other besides, which in the said Book are to be seen and read.

Ex Gallien hist. & Adetv.

Anno 1525, we read also in the French History, of a certain Monk, who, because he forsook his abominable Order, and was married, was burned at Prague.

A Preacher poisoned at Erford.

The Priests of Erford.

In the Collections of Henry Patalion, we read also of a certain godly Preacher to be poisoned, for preaching the Word of Truth, by the Priests of Erford. *Ex Elegia cujusdam viri docti in Plantal.*

A Preacher at Erford poisoned.

Francis Warlus, Alexander Dayken, Martyrs.

The Father with his two Sons and his Daughter martyred.

Earl of Lalande.

Michella Wife of James Clerk, Martyr. This James Clerk before was burned.

Godfrid a Tailor, Martyr.

Another

Another Table of them which suffered in France, for the like witness of the Gospel.

The French Martyrs.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
James Pavane Martyr.	James Pavane Schoolmaster at Paris, 1524. This James, first being taken by the Bishop of Melden, or Meux, was compelled to recant by Dr. Marial. Afterward returning again to his Confession, he was burned at Paris, in the year 1525. Ex Jo. Crisp.	Alex. Canus Priest, otherwise called Laurentius Crucius, at Paris, An. 1533.	Alex. Canus Martyr.
Dr. Marial of Paris.	Dionisius de Rieux, at Melda, or Meux, 1528. This Denis was one of them which was first burned at Melda, for saying, That the Mass is a plain denial of the Death and Passion of Christ. He was always wont to have in his mouth, the words of Christ; He that denieth me before Men, him also will I deny before my Father; and to muse upon the same earnestly. He was burnt with a slow fire, and did abide much torment. Ex Crisp. & alii.	John Pointer a Surgeon, at Paris, An. 1533.	John Pointer Martyr.
Dionisius de Rieux Martyr.	Johannes de Cadurco, Bachelor of the Civil Law, Anno 1533. This John, first for making a Sermon or Exhortation to his Countrymen of Limosine in France, upon Abstinence-day; and after sitting at a Feast where it was propounded, That every one should bring forth some sentence; for that he brought forth this, Christ reign in our hearts; and did prosecute the same by the Scriptures in much length of words; was thereupon accused, taken and degraded, and after burned. At his Degradation, one of the Black Friars of Paris preached, taking for his Theme the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. 4. The Spirit speaketh, that in the later days, Men shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to lying Spirits, and Doctrine of Error, &c. And in handling that place, either he could not, or would not proceed further in the Text. Cadurco cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The Friar stood dumb, and could not speak a word. Then Cadurco, taking the Text, did prosecute the same, as followeth: Teaching false Doctrine in hypocrisie, having their Conscience marked with a hot Iron, forbidding to Marry, and to eat Meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving, &c. Ex Jo. Crisp.	Peter Gaudet, Knight sometimes of Rhodes, Anno 1533.	Pet. Gaudet Martyr.
J. Cadurco Martyr.	Bartholomew Myler, a lame Cripple. John Burges Merchant, the Receiver of Nants. Henry Hoille of Couberon. Catella a School-mistress. Steven de la Forge Merchant. Anno 1533. These five here specified, for certain Bills cast abroad and set up, founding against the abomination of the Mass, and other superstitious Absurdities of the Pope, were condemned and burned in the City of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and with an Iron Wire tied fast to one of his Cheeks: who likewise with the other was burned as is aforesaid. Ex Jo. Crisp.	Nicholas a Scrivener. John de Poix. Stephen Burlet. Anno 1534. These three were executed and burned for the like cause of the Gospel, in the City of Arras: namely Nicholas a Scrivener, John de Poix, Stephen Burlet, Ex Jo. Crisp.	Nicholas a Scrivener. John de Poix. Steph. Burlet Martyr.
Five Martyrs burned.	Mary Becandella, at Fountains, An. 1534. This Mary being virtuously instructed of her Master where she lived; and being afterward at a Sermon, where a Friar preached, after the Sermon, found fault with his Doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures. Whereat he disdaining, procured her to be burned at Fountains. Ibidem.	Quoquillard, Anno 1534. At Bezancon, in the County of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ's Gospel. Ex Jo. Crisp.	Quoquillard Martyr.
Promoters of Paris.	John Cornon, Anno 1535. John Cornon was a Husbandman of Mafcon, and unlettered: but one to whom God gave such wisdom, that his Judges were amazed, when he was condemned by their Sentence and burned. Ex Crispin.	Martin Gonin, in Dolphine, An. 1536. This Martin being taken for a Spie in the Borders of France, towards the Alps, was committed to Prison. In his going out, his Jaylor espied about him Letters of Farewell, and	John Cornon Martyr.
	George Borel, Taylor.		

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
Hen. 8. The Procurator of the City of Grenoble in France. The Inquisitor.	and of <i>Peter Viret</i> . Wherefore being examined of the King's Procurator, and of the Inquisitor, touching his Faith, after he had rendered a sufficient reason thereof, he was cast into the River and drowned. Ex <i>Jo. Crisp.</i>	Also other priests of the same County.	to abide the danger, lest the Flock be scattered: or else lest peradventure, in so doing, he should leave some scruple in their minds, thus to think, that he fed them with Dreams and Fables, contrary to the Word of God. Wherefore beseeching them to move him no more therein, he told them, that he feared not to yield up both Body and Soul in the quarrel of that Truth which he had taught; saying, with <i>St. Paul</i> , That he was ready, not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, in the City of Bourdeaux, but also to die.
Claudian Painter, a Goldsmith, Martyr.	Claudian Painter, a Goldsmith, at Paris, 1540. Claudian going about to convert his Friends and Kinsfolks in his Doctrine, was by them committed to <i>Morinks</i> , a chief Captain, who condemned him to be burned: but the high Parliament of Paris, correcting that Sentence, added moreover, That he should have his tongue cut out before, and so be burned. Ex <i>Jo. Crisp.</i>	Riverack and his servant.	To contract the long story hereof to a brief Narration, the Summer came, and was in the City three days: during which time, <i>Aymondus</i> preached three Sermons. The People, in defence of their Preacher, flew upon the Summer, to deliver him out of his hands. But <i>Aymond</i> desired them not to stop his Martyrdom; seeing it was the Will of God that he should suffer for him, he would not, said he, resist. Then the Consuls suffered the Summer, and so <i>Aymond</i> was carried to Bourdeaux. Where many Witnesses, the most part being Priests, came in against him, with <i>Mr. Riverack</i> also, and his Servant: which <i>Riverack</i> had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand Crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false Witnesses, but that would not be taken. All their Accusation was only for denying Purgatory.
Steph. Brune Martyr.	Stephen Brune a Husbandman, at Rutiers, Anno 1540. Stephen Brune was persecuted of <i>Angerius</i> , who after his Confession given of his Faith, was adjudged to be burned. Which punishment he took so constantly, that it was to them a wonder. His Adversaries commanded after his death to be cried, That none should make any more mention of him, under pain of Heresy.		About nine months he remained in Prison with great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, albeit there was no Man that could charge him outwardly with any Crime. Then came down Letters, whereupon the Judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater Fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with Torments. One of the head Presidents came to him, and shaking him by the Beard, bad him tell what Fellows he had of his Religion. To whom he answered, saying, That he had no other Fellows, but such as knew and did the Will of God his Father, whether they were Nobles, Merchants, or Husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these Torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself; This Body, said he, once must die, but the Spirit shall live: the Kingdom of God abideth for ever. In the time of his tormenting, he fainted. Afterward, coming to himself again, he said, O Lord, how hast thou forsaken me? To whom the President, Nay, wicked <i>Lutheran</i> , said he, thou hast forsaken God. Then said <i>Aymondus</i> , Alas, good Masters, why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord, I beseech thee forgive them, they know not what they do. See (said the President) this Caitiff, how he prayeth for us: nevertheless so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one Man's Name: saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with Men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.
Daniel, a Franciscan, and an Inquisitor.	Pantation addeth moreover, That, at the place of his burning, called <i>Planwall</i> , the Wind rose and blew the fire so from him, as he stood exhorting the People, that he continued there the space of an hour, in a manner not harmed, or scarce touched with any flame: so that, all the Wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new Fagots, and vessels of Oil, and such other matter: and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but		That he had no other Fellows, but such as knew and did the Will of God his Father, whether they were Nobles, Merchants, or Husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these Torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself; This Body, said he, once must die, but the Spirit shall live: the Kingdom of God abideth for ever. In the time of his tormenting, he fainted. Afterward, coming to himself again, he said, O Lord, how hast thou forsaken me? To whom the President, Nay, wicked <i>Lutheran</i> , said he, thou hast forsaken God. Then said <i>Aymondus</i> , Alas, good Masters, why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord, I beseech thee forgive them, they know not what they do. See (said the President) this Caitiff, how he prayeth for us: nevertheless so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one Man's Name: saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with Men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.
The Martyr not harmed with the fire.	Then the Hangman took a staff, and let drive at his head. To whom the holy Martyr being yet alive, said, When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with slaves like a Dog? With that the Hangman with his Pike thrust him through the belly and the gus, and so threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterward with the wind. Ex <i>Jo. Crisp.</i>		On the next <i>Saturday</i> following, sentence of Condemnation was given against him. Then certain Friers were appointed to hear his Confession, whom he refused, chusing to him one of his own Order, the Parish-Priest of <i>St. Christophers</i> , bidding the Friers depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. Do you not see, said he, how I am troubled enough with Men, will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my Body, will ye also take from me my Soul? Away from me I pray you. At last, when he could not be suffered to have the Parish Priest, he then took a certain <i>Carmelite</i> , bidding the rest to depart; with whom he having long talk, at last did convert him to the Truth. Shortly after that came unto him the Judges, <i>Cassinger</i> , and <i>Longa</i> , with other Counsellors more; unto whom the said <i>Aymondus</i> began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's Supper: But <i>Longa</i> , interrupting him, demanded of him thus.
Constantine Norman, with three other Martyrs.	Constantinus, a Citizen of Roan, with three others, Anno 1542. These four, for defence of the Gospel being condemned to be burned, were put in a Dungeon. Who, thereat rejoicing, said, That they were reputed here as Excrements of the World, but yet their death was a sweet Odour unto God. Ex <i>Jo. Crisp.</i>		The Judge.
John du Beck Martyr.	John du Becke Priest, Anno 1543. For the Doctrine of the Gospel he was degraded, and constantly abode the torment of fire in the City of Troyes in <i>Champagne</i> . Ex <i>Jo. Crisp.</i>		First declare unto us your mind, what you think of Purgatory?
Aymondus de Lauoy Martyr.	Aymond de Lauoy, at Bourdeaux, 1543. This <i>Aymond</i> preached the Gospel at Saint Faiths in Angou, where he was accused by the Parish Priest there, and by other Priests more, to have taught false Doctrine, to the great decay of their Gains. Whereupon, when the Magistrates of Bourdeaux had given commandment, and had sent out their Apparitions to apprehend him, he having intelligence thereof, was willed by his Friends to fly and hide himself: but he would not, saying, He had rather never have been born, than to do. It was the Office of a good Shepherd, he said, not to fly in time of peril, but rather		Purgatory.
The Office of a good Shepherd to stand by his Flock.			The

Perfect.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Perfect.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	R. Hen. 3.
	<p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>In Scripture all these are one, to purge, to cleanse, and to wash. Whereof we read in <i>Ezay</i>, in the Epistles of <i>St. Paul</i>, and of <i>St. Peter</i>: <i>He hath washed you in his Blood. Ye are redeemed, not with Gold, but with the Blood of Christ</i>, &c. And how often do we read, in the Epistles of <i>St. Paul</i>, that we are cleansed by the Blood of Christ from our sins, &c.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>These Epistles are known to every Child.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>To every Child? Nay, I fear you have scarce read them your self.</p> <p><i>A Prior.</i></p> <p>Mr. <i>Aymund</i>, with one word you may satisfy them: if you will say, That there is a place where the Souls are purged after this life.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>That I leave for you to say, if you please. What, would ye have me damn my own Soul, and to say that which I know not?</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>Dost thou think, that when thou art dead, thou shalt go to Purgatory? and he that died in venial sin, that he shall pass straight into Paradise?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Such trust I have in my God, that the same day when I shall die, I shall enter into Paradise.</p> <p><i>Another Judge.</i></p> <p>Where is Paradise?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>There where the Majesty and Glory of God is.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>The Canons do make mention of Purgatory; and you in your Sermons have used always much to pray for the Poor.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>I have preached the Word of God, and not the Canons.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>Dost thou believe in the Church?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>I believe as the Church regenerated by the Blood of Christ, and founded in his Word, hath appointed.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>What Church is that?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>The Church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a Congregation or Assembly: and so I say, that whensoever the Faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Christian Religion, the Holy Ghost is verily with them.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>By this it should follow, that there be many Churches: and whereas any rustical Clowns do assemble together, there must be a Church.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>It is no absurd thing to say that there be many Churches or Congregations amongst the Christians: and so speaketh <i>St. Paul</i>, <i>To all the Churches which are in Galatia</i>, &c. And yet all these Congregations make but one Church.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>The Church wherein thou believest, is it not the same Church which our Creed doth call the Holy Church?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>I believe the same.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>And who should be head of that Church?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Jesus Christ.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>And not the Pope.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>No.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>And what is he then?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>A Minister, if he be a good Man, as other Bishops be: of whom <i>St. Paul</i> thus writeth; 1 Cor. 4. <i>Let a Man so</i></p>	<p>stem of us, or Ministers and Dispensers of the Secrets of God, &c.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>What then, dost thou not believe the Pope?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>I know not what he is.</p> <p><i>The Judge.</i></p> <p>Dost thou not believe that he is the Successor of Peter?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>If he be like to <i>Peter</i>, and be grounded with <i>Peter</i> upon the true Rock of Christ Jesus, so I believe his Works and Ordinances to be good.</p> <p>Then the Judges leaving him with the Priests, departed from him, counting him as a damned Creature. Notwithstanding, <i>Aymund</i> putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying with <i>St. Paul</i>, Who shall separate me from the Love of God? Shall the Sword, Hunger, or Nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him. But rather I have pity of you, said he, and so they departed. Not long after he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way the Psalms, <i>In exitu Israel de Agypto</i>, &c. And as he passed by the place where he had before been imprisoned, he called to his Prison-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries unto the President. He thanked moreover the Keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor Prisoners. And so taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him; also giving thanks to the Mistress-keeper for her gentleness shewed to him, he proceeded forward toward his Execution. As he came against the Church of <i>St. Andrew</i>, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed <i>St. Mary</i>, and of <i>St. Justice</i>. I ask mercy, said he, of God, and his Justice, but the Virgin, blessed <i>St. Mary</i>, I never offended, nor did that thing for the which I should ask her mercy. From thence he passed forward to the Church of <i>St. Legia</i>, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the Souldiers to the Driver or Carter, willing him to drive apace, for here is preaching, said he, enough. To whom said <i>Aymund</i>, <i>He that is of God, beareth the Word of God</i>, &c. In passing by a certain Image of our Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her. Whereupon he lifted up his Voice to God, praying, that he would never suffer him to invoke any other, saving him alone. Coming to the place where he should suffer, he was tumbled out of the Cart upon the ground, testifying to the Magistrates and to the People standing by, that he died for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and for his Word. More he would have spoken, but he could not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the Officers, crying, Dispatch him, dispatch him, let him not speak. Then he speaking a few words softly in the ear of a little Carmelite whom he had converted, was bid to step up to the Stage. Where the People beginning to give a little audience, thus he said; O Lord, make haste to help me, tarry not, do not despise the Works of thy Hands: And you, my Brethren, that be Students and Scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the Gospel: for the Word of God abideth for ever: labour to know the Will of God, and fear not them that kill the Body, but have no power upon your Souls: And after that, my Flesh, said he, repugneth marvellously against the Spirit, but shortly I shall cast it away. My good Masters, I beseech ye pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my Soul. As he was off repeating the same, the Marignan took and haled him upon the steps in such sort, that he strangled him. And thus that blessed Saint gave up his life: whose Body afterward was with fire consumed.</p>	<p><i>The Pope, what he is.</i></p> <p>PGI. 174.</p> <p><i>Aymund speaketh for his Prison-fellows.</i></p> <p>John 8. Filio, ex- sistite vos a simulachris. 1 John 5.</p> <p>The words of <i>Aymund</i> to the Stu- dents.</p> <p>The death and marty- rdom of <i>Ay- mund</i>.</p>	
162. 9. & Pet. 1.				
			Francis Brihard, Anno 1544.	
			Francis Brihard was said to be the Secretary of the Cardinal of <i>Bellai</i> . Who being also for the Gospel condemned, after his Tongue was cut off, did with like constancy sustain the sharpness of burning. <i>Ibid.</i>	Fr. Brihard.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the cause of their Martyrdom.
K. Hen. 8.	William Hufson an Apothecary at Roan, Anno 1544.	John Boudewinus. John Flesch. Peter Picquere, and John Picquere. John Masson. Elisha Little. Michael Caillon. Francis Clerk. A Weaver of Conberon.	These fourteen dwelt at Melda a City in France, ten miles from Paris, where William Briconatus being their Bishop, did much good, brought to them the light of the Gospel, and reformed the Church. Who, being finally examined for the same, relented: but yet their with many other remained constant; who after the burning of James Pansane before-mentioned, and seeing Superstition to grow more and more, began to congregate in Mangin's house, and to set up a Church to themselves, after the Example of the French Church in Strasbourg. For their Minister they chose Peter Clerk; First, they beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in short time to three or four hundred. Whereupon the matter being known to the Senate of Paris, the Chamber was beset where they were, and they taken. Of whom sixty two Men and Women were bound and brought to Paris, singing Psalms, especially the Psalm seventy and nung. To these it was chiefly objected, that they being Lay-men would minister the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord.
The high Court of Roan.	Whereat the Council was so moved, that they commanded all the Gates of the City to be locked and diligent search to made in all Inns and Houses, to find out the Author. Then the Widow told of the party which was there, and asked of the rising of the Council, and shortly upon the same took his horse and rode away. Then were Posts set out through all quarters, so that the said William was taken by the way riding to Diepe, and brought again to Roan. Who being there examined, declared his Faith holdly, and how he came of purpose to disperse those Books in Roan, and went to do the like at Diepe.	The Doctors of Sorbon, and others.	Of these sixty two, fourteen chiefly did stand fast, which were condemned, and racked to confess more of their Fellows: but they uttered none: the rest were scourged and banished the Country. These fourteen were sent to sundry Monasteries to be converted: but that would not be. Then they being sent in a Cart to Melda, or Moux to be burned; by the way, three miles from Paris, a certain Weaver of Conberon by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cleave fast unto the Lord: who also was taken, and bound with them in the Cart. Coming to the place of Execution, which was before Mangin's house, it was told them, That they which would be confessed, should not have their tongues cut out, the other should. Of whom seven there were, which to save their tongues, confessed; other seven would not. Of the first was Steven Mangin, who having his tongue first cut, notwithstanding spake so that he might be understood, saying thrice, The Lord's Name be blessed. As they were in burning, the people sung Psalms. The Priests seeing that would also sing their Songs; O salutaris hostia, and Salve Regina, while the Sacrifice of these holy Martyrs was finished. Their Wives being compelled to see their Husbands in torments, were after put in Prison; from whence they being promised to be let go, if they would say that their Husbands were damned, refused so to say.
A widow keeping a Victual-ling house in the Suburbs of Roan.	The Week ensuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the Sentence given, he was brought in a Cart, accompanied with a Doctor, a Carmelite Friar, before the great Church, who putting a Torch into his hand required him to do homage to the Image of our Lady, which because he refused to do, his Tongue was cut out. The Friar then making a Sermon, when he spake any thing of the Mercies of God, the said William hearkened to him, but when he spake of the merits of Saints, and other Dreams, he turned away his head. The Friar looking upon the countenance of Hufson, lift up his hand to Heaven, saying with great Exclamation, That he was damned, and was possessed with a Devil.	Fourteen chief Martyrs at Melda.	Ex-Laud Rab. lib. 6.
The hold-ers of a constant Martyr.	When the Friar had ceased his Sermon, this godly Hufson had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pulley was lifted up into the Air, and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the blessed Martyr with a smiling and cheerful countenance looked up to Heaven, never moving nor stirring till he let down his head, and gave up his Spirit. All the people there present were not a little astonished thereat, and were in divers opinions, some saying that he had a Devil; others maintained the contrary, saying, if he had a Devil, he should have fallen into despair.	Not how God work in these Aversaries with their own Song to praise the Sacrifice of these holy Martyrs against their Will.	
Custodie was a sum-mer-fach-rye & John &c.	That he was damned, and was possessed with a Devil.	John And- dre Book- selles-promoter.	
Cruelty of the Avers- fices.	When the Friar had ceased his Sermon, this godly Hufson had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pulley was lifted up into the Air, and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the blessed Martyr with a smiling and cheerful countenance looked up to Heaven, never moving nor stirring till he let down his head, and gave up his Spirit. All the people there present were not a little astonished thereat, and were in divers opinions, some saying that he had a Devil; others maintained the contrary, saying, if he had a Devil, he should have fallen into despair.		
Enter De- lenda con- verted.	This Carmelite Friar abovefaid, was called Delenda, which after was converted, and preached the Gospel. Ex Galile, Hist. Johan. Crisp. lib. 2.		
James Co- bard, Mar- tyr.	James Cobard a Schoolmaster, and many other taken the same time, An. 1545.		
Three Pe- rish Priests.	This James, Schoolmaster in the City of St. Mich. l. in the Dukedom of Barren in Loraine, disputed with three Priests, that the Sacrament of Baptism, and of the Supper did not avail, unless they were received with Faith: which was as much to say, as that the Mass did profit neither the quick nor dead. For the which, and also for his Confession, which he being in Prison sent of his own accord by his Mother unto the Judges, he was burned, and most quietly suffered. Ex Joh. Crisp.		
The Duke of Lotain.	Peter Clerk Reader to John Clerk, burnt be- fore.	Doctors Sorbonists, M. Nico- las Clerich, Doctor of Divinity.	
	Stephanus Mangin. James Boucheb. John Brisch. Henry Hantone. Thomas Hougore.		
			Peter Chapot at Paris, An. 1546.
			Peter Chapot first was a Corrector to a Printer in Paris. After he had been at Geneva, to do good to the Church of Christ, like a good Man he came with Books of the holy Scrip- ture into France, and dispersed them abroad unto the faithful. Which great Zeal of his caused him to be apprehended of John Andre, which was the common Promoter to Lister the President, and to the Sorbonists.
			This good Chapot being taken and brought, before the Commissaries, rendered promptly an account of his Faith: unto whom he exhibited a Supplication, or Writing, wherein he learnedly informed the Judges to do their Office uprightly. Then were three Doctors of Sorbone assigned, Nicholas Clerich, John Picard, and Nicolas Maillard, to dispute with him, who

A Table of the French Martyrs.

	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	K. Hen. 8.
Dr. John Picard.	when they could find no advantage, but rather shame at his hands, they were angry with the Judges for letting them dispute with Hereticks.	was detained, and suffered his Martyrdom; where no kind of Cruelty was lacking, which the innocent Martyrs of Christ Jesus were wont to be sent unto. Ex Hen. Pantal. & Hist. Galie.	Stephen Polliot at Paris, Anno 1546. ¹	
Dr. Nicolas Maillard.	This done, the Judges consulting together upon his Condemnation could not agree: so that Chapot (as it seemed) might have escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the Process fought and wrought his Condemnation, which Condemnation was at length concluded thus, That he should be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The Doctor appointed to be at his Execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly incumbered. For this Frier called upon him still not to speak to the People, but he desired him that he might pray. Then he bad him pray to our Lady, and confesse her to be his Advocate. He confessed that she was a blessed Virgin, and recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and was about to speak of the Mass, but Maillard would not let him, making haste to his Execution, and said, unless he would say Ave Maria, he should be burnt quick. Then Chapot prayed, O Jesus Son of David, have mercy upon me. Maillard then bad him say, Jesus Maria, and so he should be strangled. Chapot again excused, that he was so weak that he could not speak. Say, said Maillard, Jesus Maria, or else thou shalt be burned quick. As Chapot was thus striving with the Frier, suddenly as it happened, Jesus Maria escaped out of his mouth, but he by and by repressing himself, O God, said he, what have I done! pardon me, O Lord, to thee only have I sinned. Then Maillard commanded the Cord to be plucked about his Neck to strangle him: notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, Maillard all full of anger, went to the Council-house, called La Chamber Ardante, declaring what an Uproar had there almost happened amongst the People; saying that he would complain upon the Judges, for suffering those Hereticks to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a Decree was made, that all which were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which Law diligently afterward was observed. Ex Johanne Crispius lib. 6.	The names of his persecutors in the story be not expressed.	Stephen Polliot coming out of Normandy (where he was born) unto Meaux, tarried there not long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a Town called Fera, where he was apprehended and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark Prison. In which Prison he was kept in Bands and Fetters a long space, where he saw almost no light. At length being called for before the Senate, and his Sentence given to have his Tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his Sachel of Books hanging about his Neck; O Lord, said he, is the World in blindness and darkness still? for he thought, being in Prison so long, that the World had been altered from its old darkness to better Knowledge. At last the worthy Martyr of Jesus Christ having his Books about his Neck, was put into the fire, where he with much Patience ended this transitory Life. Ex Hen. Pantal.	Stephen Polliot, Martyr.
To give never so little to the Adversaries, is a great matter.	that he was so weak that he could not speak. Say, said Maillard, Jesus Maria, or else thou shalt be burned quick. As Chapot was thus striving with the Frier, suddenly as it happened, Jesus Maria escaped out of his mouth, but he by and by repressing himself, O God, said he, what have I done! pardon me, O Lord, to thee only have I sinned. Then Maillard commanded the Cord to be plucked about his Neck to strangle him: notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, Maillard all full of anger, went to the Council-house, called La Chamber Ardante, declaring what an Uproar had there almost happened amongst the People; saying that he would complain upon the Judges, for suffering those Hereticks to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a Decree was made, that all which were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which Law diligently afterward was observed. Ex Johanne Crispius lib. 6.	The high Senate of Paris.	John English, Anno 1547.	John English, Martyr.
The cutting off of Tongues being, and by whom it came into France.	Saintinus Nivet at Paris, Anno 1546.	Two false Brethren.	Michael Michelote a Taylor, Anno 1547.	Michael Michelote, Martyr.
Mr. Peter Lefte president of the Council of Paris.	After the burning of those fourteen, whose Names be described before, this Saintinus (which was a lame Cripple) with his Wife removed out of Meaux to Montbéliard, where when he had continued a while in safe liberty of Religion, and saw himself there to do no good, but to be a burden to the Church, cast in his mind to return home to Meaux again, and so did: where at last as he was selling certain small Wares in the Fair, he was there known and apprehended. Whereof when Information was given, he being examined, at the first confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this Inquisition, as they were examining him of certain Points of Religion, and asked him whether he would stand to that he said, or not? He gave this Answer again, worthy to be registered in all Men's hearts, saying, And I ask you again, Lord Judges, dare you be so bold to deny that is so plain and manifest by the open words of the Scripture? So little regard had he to save his own Life, that he desired the Judges both at Meaux, and at Paris, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own Lives and Souls, and to consider how much innocent Blood they spilled daily in fighting against Christ Jesus and his Gospel.	Two false Brethren.	This Leonard going from Dyion to Bar, a Leonardus de Prato, with two false Brethren, and talking with them about Religion, was bewrayed of them, and afterward burned.	Leonardus de Prato, Martyr.
At last, being brought to Paris, through the means of Master Peter Lefte, a great Persecutor, for that they of Meaux should take by him no encouragement, there he		The Senate of Paris.	John Taffington, Joan his Wife. Simon Marechal, Joan his Wife. William Michaut. James Bonlerau. James Brestay.	Seven martyrs.
		The Senate of Paris.	Anno 1547. All these seven being of the City of Langres, for the Word and Truth of Jesus Christ, were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort. But especially Joan, which was Simon's Wife, being reserved to the last place, because she was the youngest, confirmed her Husband, and all the other with words of singular Consolation; declaring to her Husband, that they should the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever. Ex Pant. Crisp. & alius.	Seven martyrs.
		The Senate of Paris.	Michael Marechal. John Camus. Great John Camus. John Serarphin.	These also the same year, and about the same time, for the like Confession of Christ's Gospel,

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
K. Hen. 8	spel, were condemned by the Senate of Paris, and in the same City also with the like Cruelty were burned. <i>Ex Pantal. Crispin.</i>		bert, was put in the fire and burned the ninth of July at Afternoon. <i>Ex Joban. Crisp.</i>
	Octovien Blondel a Merchant of precious Stones at Paris, An. 1548.		Ann Audebert an Apothecaries Wife and Widow at Orleans, An. 1549.
Officer, Martyr.	This <i>Octovien</i> as he was a great Occupier in all Faires and Countries of France, and well known both in Court and elsewhere; so was he a singular honest Man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's Word. Who being at his Hofs house at <i>Lyon</i> , rebuked the filthy Talk, and superstitious Behaviour, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the Hof bearing to him a grudge, chanced to have certain Talk with <i>Gabriel of Sacconex Presteur</i> , concerning the Riches, and a sumptuous Coller set with rich Jewels of this <i>Octovien</i> .		She going to <i>Géneva</i> was taken and brought to Paris, and by the Council there adjudged to be burned at Orleans.
Gabriel of Sacconex presteur.	Thus these two consulting together, did submit a certain person to borrow of him a certain Sum of Crowns; which because <i>Octovien</i> refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for Heresie, thinking thereby to make Attachment of his Goods. But such order was taken by <i>Blondel's</i> Friends, that they were frustrate of their purpose. Then <i>Blondel</i> being examined of his Faith, gave a plain and full Confession of that Doctrine, which he had learned: for the which he was committed to Prison, where he did much good to the Prisoners there.		When the Rope was put about her, she called it her Wedding-girdle wherewith she should be married to Christ. And as she should be burned upon a Saturday, upon <i>Michaelmas-Even</i> : upon a Saturday, said she, I was first married, and upon a Saturday I shall be married again. And seeing the Dung-cart brought wherein she should be carried, she rejoiced thereat, shewing such constancy in her Martyrdom as made all the Beholders to marvel. <i>Ex Jobi Crisp.</i>
With joy and with good Works.	For some that were in debt, he paid their Creditors and loosed them out. To some he gave Meat, to other Raiment. At length, through the importune Persuasions of his Parents and Friends, he gave over and changed his Confession. Notwithstanding the <i>Presteur</i> , not leaving so, appealed him up to the High Court of Paris. There <i>Octovien</i> being asked again touching his Faith, which of his two Confessions he would stick to? he being before admonished of his Fall, and of the Offence given thereby to the Faithful, said he would live and die in his first Confession, which he defended to be consonant to the Verity of God's Word. Which done, he was condemned to be burned, and so haste was made to his Execution, left his Friends in the Court might come between and save his Life, <i>Ex Jo. Crisp. lib. 6.</i>	Henry the second French King.	A poor Tailor of Paris, dwelling in the street of St. Anthony at Paris, An. 1549.
	Hubert Cheriet, alias Burre, a young man a Tailor, at Dyjon, An. 1549.	An Officer of the Kings ho. de.	Amongst many other godly Martyrs that suffered in France, the Story of this poor Tailor is not the least nor worst to be remembered. His Name is not yet fought out in the French Stories for lack of diligence in those Writers, more is the pity. The Story is this: Not long after the Coronation of <i>Henry</i> the second, the French King, at whose coming into Paris divers good Martyrs were there brought that, and burned for a spectacle, as is above said: A certain poor Taylor, who then dwelt not far from the King's Palace, in the Street bearing the Name of St. Anthony, was apprehended of a certain Officer in the King's house, for that upon a certain holy day he followed his Occupation, and did work for his living: Before he was had to Prison, the Officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no Observation to the Holy-day?
Hubert Cheriet, Martyr.	Hubert being a young man of the Age of nineteen years, was burned for the Gospel at Dyjon; who neither by any terrors of death, nor assurances of his Parents, could be otherwise persuaded, but constantly to remain in the Truth unto death. <i>Ibid.</i>	Petrus Castellanus, Bishop of Mascon.	To whom he answered, That he was a poor Man, living only upon his labour: and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully work for the necessity of his living. Then the Officer began to ask of him many Questions: whereunto the poor Tailor did so answer, that oftentimes he was clapt in Prison. After that, the Officer coming into the Court to shew what good Service he had done for the holy Church, declared to certain Estates, how he had taken a <i>Lutheran</i> working upon a Holy-day: shewing that he had such answers of him, that he commanded him to Prison. When the Rumor hereof was noised in the Kings Chamber, through the motion of them which were about the King, the poor Man was sent for to appear, that the King might have the hearing of him.
	Master Florent Vemote, Priest at Paris, An. 1549.		The Tailor imprisoned for breaking a piece of a Holy-day.
Florent Vemote, Martyr.	This <i>Florent</i> remained in Prison in Paris four years and nine hours. During which time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow Prison or Brake so strait, that he could neither stand nor lie, which they call the Hofe or Boote, ad <i>Nellar Hippocentis</i> , because it is strait beneath, and wider above, like to the Instrument wherewith Apothecaries are wont to make their <i>Hypocentis</i> . In this he remained seven weeks, where the Tormentors affirm, that no Thief or Murderer could ever endure fifteen days, but was in danger of Life, or Madnes.		The Tailor brought before the Kings Highness.
Peter Listerus president of the Council of Paris, and other Sobonites.	At last, when there was a great thaw in Paris at the King's coming into the City, and divers other Martyrs in sundry places of the City were put to death, he having his Tongue cut off, was brought to see the Execution of them all; and last of all, in the place of <i>Mant-</i>		Whereupon the King's Chamber being voided, save only a few of the chiefest Peers remaining about the King, the simple Tailor was brought. The King sitting in his Chair, commanded <i>Petrus Castellanus</i> Bishop of <i>Mascon</i> , (a Man very fit for such Inquisitions) to question with him. The Tailor being entred, and nothing appalled at the King's Majesty, after his Reverence done unto the Prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so greatly dignified him being such a wretch, as to bring him where he might tell his Truth before such a mighty Prince. Then <i>Castellanus</i> entering talk, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of Religion. Whereunto the Tailor without fear, or any halting in his speech, with present Audacity, Wit, and Memory, so answered for the sincere Doctrine and simple truth of God's Gospel, as was both convenient to the purpose, and also to his Questions aptly and truly correspondent.
			Notwithstanding, the Nobles there present, with cruel Taunts and Rebukes, did what they could to dash him out of Countenance. Yet all this terrified not him; but with Boldness of heart, and free liberty of Speech, he defended

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	K. Hen. 8.
Petillot Coudel about the King.	defended his Cause, or rather the Cause of Christ the Lord, neither flattering with their Persons, nor fearing their threats; which was to them all a singular Admiration, to behold that simple poor Artificer to stand so firm and bold, answering before a King, to those Questions propounded against him. Whereat when the King seemed to muse with himself, as one somewhat amazed, and which might soon have been induced at that present to further Knowledge, the egregious Bishop and other Courtiers seeing the King in such a muse, said, he was an obstinate and stubborn person, obdurate in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be sent to the Judges, and to be punished: and therefore left he should trouble the Ears of the said Henry the King, he was commanded again to the hands of the Officer, that his Cause might be informed: and so, within few days after, he was condemned by the high Steward of the King's House, to be burned alive. And left any deep consideration of that excellent Fortitude of that poor Man might further peradventure pierce the King's mind, the Cardinals and Bishops were ever in the King's Ear, telling him, That these Lutherans were nothing else, but such as carry vain smoke in their Mouths, which being put to the fire, would soon vanish. Wherefore the King was appointed himself to be present at his Execution, which was sharp and cruel, before the Church of Mary the Virgin; where it pleased God to give such strength and courage to his Servant, in suffering his Martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the King, than all the other did before. <i>Ex Johan. Crisp. Ex Henr. Pant. lib. 7.</i>	Joan, Andreas promoter.	Thomas Sanpaulinus at Paris, Anno 1551.	Thom. Sanpaulinus, Martyr.
A foolish Comparison of a fiery Cardinal.		Peter Li- st Pref- ident of the Coun- cil of Pa- ris. Maillar- dus, Dr. Sor- bonius.	This Thomas a young Man of the age of eighteen years, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked there a Man for swearing. For the which cause he being suspected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken and brought before the Council of Paris, and put in Prison, where he was racked, and miserably tormented, to the intent he should either change his opinion, or confess others of his Profession. His Torments and Rackings were so fore through the setting on of Maillard and other Sorbonists, that the night thereof made Aubertus one of the Council, a cruel and vehement Enemy against the Gospel, to turn his back and weep. The young Man, when he had made the Tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter none, at last was had to Maubert place in Paris, to be burned; where he being in the fire, was plucked up again upon the Gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? To whom he said, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go. Thus this glorious Martyr remaining inextinguishable, glorified the Lord with constant Confession of his Truth. <i>Ibid.</i>	
The death and Martyr- dom of this Tailor.		Aubertus, Concilia- rius.	Maurice Scenate in Province, An. 1551. He first having Interrogations put to him by the Lieutenant of that place, made his Answers thereunto, so as no great Advantage could be taken thereof. But he being greatly compuncted and troubled in his Conscience for dissembling with the Truth, and called afterward before the Lord chief Judge, answered so directly, that he was condemned for the same, and burned in Province. <i>Ex eodem.</i>	Maurice Scenate, Martyr.
Claud. Thierry, Martyr.	Claudius Thierry at Orleans, An. 1549. The same year, and for the same Doctrine of the Gospel, one Claudius also was burned at the said Town of Orleans, being apprehended by the way coming from Geneva to his Country. <i>Ex Johan. Crisp.</i>			
Leonard Galimard, Martyr.	Leonard Galimard, at Paris, An. 1549. This Leonard for the Confession likewise of Christ and his Gospel, was taken and brought to Paris, and there by the Sentence of the Council was judged to be burnt the same time that Florent Venere above-mentioned, did suffer at Paris. <i>Ex Joh. Crisp.</i>	A Citizen of Uzez.	Joannes Putte, or de Puteo, surnamed Medicus, at Uzez in Province, An. 1551. This Medicus being a Carpenter and unlettered, had a Controvercie about a certain Pit with a Citizen of the Town of Uzez, where he dwelled. He to cast this Medicus in the Law, from the Pit, accused him of Heresie, bringing for his Witnesses those Labourers whom Medicus had hired to work in his Vineyard: wherefore he being examined of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was condemned and burned at Uzez in Province. <i>Ex eodem.</i>	Joan de Puteo, Martyr.
Macaeus Morecou, Martyr.	Macaeus Morecou, at Troyes, An. 1549. He was burned in Troyer in Champain (a Town in France) remaining constant to the end in the Gospel, for the which he was apprehended. <i>Ex eodem.</i>			
John Godeau, Gabriel Beraudinus, Martyrs.	Joannes Godeau, Gabriel Beraudinus, Anno 1550. These two were of the Church of Geneva. Afterward for their friendly admonishing a certain Priest, which in his Sermon had abused the Name of God, they were taken at Chamberiase. Godeau standing to his Confession, was burned. Gabriel, though he began a little to shrink for fear of the Torments, yet being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau, recovered again, and standing likewise to his Confession, first had his Tongue cut out. Who notwithstanding, through God's might, did speak so as he might be understood: whereupon the Hangman being accused for not cutting off his Tongue, rightly, said that he could not stop him of his speech. And so these two, after they had confirmed many in God's Truth, gave their Life for Christ's Gospel. <i>Ibid.</i>	The Go- vernour of Lions. The Offi- cial of the Arch-dea- con of Li- on.	Claudius Monerius at Lions, An. 1551. This Man being well instructed in the Knowledge of God's Word, for the which he was also driven from Avenis, came to Lions, and there taught Children. He hearing of the Lord Presidents coming to the City, went to give warning to a certain familiar Friend of his, and so conducted him out of the Town. In returning again to comfort the Man's Wife and Children, he was taken in his house: and so he confessing that which he knew to be true, and standing to that which he confessed, after much Afflictions in Prisons and Dungeons, was condemned and burned at Lions. He was noted to be so gentle and mild of Conditions, and constant withal, and also learned, that certain of the Judges could not forbear weeping at his death. The said Monerius being in Prison wrote certain Letters, but one especially very comfortable to all the faithful, which, the Lord willing, in the end of these Histories shall be inserted. He wrote also the Questions and Interrogatories of the Official, with his Answers likewise to the same; which summarily we have here contracted, as followeth.	Claud. Monerius, Martyr.

A Table of the French Martyrs.

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Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.
K. Hen. 8. The Sacrament.	<p><i>The Official.</i> What believe you of the Sacrament? is the Body of Christ in the Bread, or no?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> I worship Jesus Christ in Heaven, sitting at the right hand of God the Father.</p> <p><i>The Official.</i> What say you by Purgatory?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> Forasmuch as there is no place of Mercy after this life, therefore no need there is of any Purgation; but necessary it is that we be purged before we pass hence.</p> <p><i>The Official.</i> Of the Pope what think you?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> I say, he is a Bishop as other Bishops are, if he be a true Follower of St. Peter.</p> <p><i>The Official.</i> What say you of Vows?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> No Man can vow to God so much, but the Law requirith much more than he can vow.</p> <p><i>The Official.</i> Are not Saints to be invocated?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> They cannot pray without Faith, and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. And again, God hath appointed his Angels about us, to minister in our necessities.</p> <p><i>The Official.</i> Is it not good to salute the blessed Virgin with Ave Maria?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> When she was on this Earth she had need of the Angels greeting; for then she had need of Salvation, as well as other: but now she is so blessed, that no more blessing can be wished unto her.</p> <p><i>The Official.</i> Are not Images to be had?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> For that the Nature of Man is so prone to Idolatry, ever occupied and fixed in those things which lie before his Eyes, rather than upon those which are not seen; Images therefore are not to be set before Christians. You know nothing is to be adored, but that which is not seen with Eyes, that is, God alone, which is a Spirit, and him we must worship only in Spirit and Truth.</p> <p><i>The Official.</i> What say you by the canonical or ordinary hours for prayer?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> To hours and times of Prayer we ought not to be tied. But whensoever God's Spirit doth move us, or when any necessity driveth us, then ought we to pray.</p> <p>Then the Official asked, What he thought of holy Oyl, Salt, with such other like? To whom the Martyr answered, That all these things were a meer * <i>Maranismo</i>; that is, favoured of the Law of <i>Maranorum</i>, and of the Superstition of the <i>Jews</i>.</p>	<p>they were brought to the Stake, the young Man first going up, began to weep. The Master fearing lest he would give over, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to sing. As they were in the fire: the Master standing upright to the Stake, shifted the fire from him to his Servant, being more careful for him than for himself: and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and so expired. <i>Ex Crisp. & alior.</i></p> <p>Hugonius Gravier, a Schoolmaster and Minister after of Cortillon, in the Country of New-castle. <i>At Burg, Anno 1552.</i></p> <p>At Burg in <i>Bresse</i>, a days Journey from Lyons, this Gravier was burned. He coming from Geneva to New castle, there was elected to be Minister. But first he going to see his Wives Friends at <i>Maseon</i>, there, as he was coming away out of the Town, was taken upon the Bridge, with all his Company; and in the end he willing the Women and the rest of the Company to lay the fault in him, for bringing them out, was sentenced to be burned; notwithstanding the Lords of <i>Ben</i> sent their Heralds to save his Life, and also that the Official declared him to be an honest Man, and to hold nothing, but agreeing to the Scriptures. <i>Ex Johan. Crisp. lib. 3.</i></p> <p>Martial Alba, Petrus Scriba, Bernard Seguin. Charles Faber. Peter Navibere. <i>At Lions, An. 1553.</i></p> <p>These five Students, after they had remained in the University of <i>Lausanna</i> a certain time, consulted amongst themselves being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his Country, to the intent they might instruct their Parents and other their Friends in such Knowledge as the Lord had given them. So taking their Journey from <i>Lausanna</i>, first they came to Geneva, where they remained a while. From thence they went to Lions, where they, sitting at the Table of one that met them by the way, and desired them home to his house, were apprehended and led to Prison; where they continued a whole year, that is, from the first day of May to the sixteenth of the same Month again. As they were learned and well exercised in the Scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned Confession of his Faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the Friars, with whom they disputed; especially Peter Scriba or <i>Scripenn</i>, and Seguin.</p> <p>They were examined humbly of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, of Purgatory, of Confession and Invocation, of Free-will, and of the Supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cause by good Scripture, and refuted their Adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, Sentence was given, and they burned in the said Town of Lions. Being set upon the Cart, they began to sing Psalms. As they passed by the Market-place, one of them with a loud voice saluted the People with the words of the last Chapter to the <i>Hibrenes</i>: The God of Peace which brought again from death the great Pastor of the Sheep in the Blood of the eternal Testament, &c. Coming to the place, first the youngest one after another went up upon the heap of Wood to the Stake, and there were fastned, and so after them the rest. Martial Alba being</p>	
Supremacy.			High Gravier, Martyr.
Vows.			
Praying to Saints.			
Images.			
	<p>Renate Poyet, at Salmurc in France, Anno 1552.</p> <p>Renate Poyet, the Son of William Poyet, which was Chancellor of France, for the true and sincere Profession of the Word of God, constantly suffered Martyrdom, and was burned in the City of Salmurc, Anno 1552. <i>Ex Crisp.</i></p> <p>John Joyer and his Servant a young Man at Tholouse, An. 1552.</p> <p>These two coming from Geneva to their Country with certain Books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to Tholouse, where the Master was first condemned. The Servant being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his Master, saying, that he should answer them. When</p>		

* *Maranismo* is an Hebrew word mentioned, x Cor. 16. and signifies all that a Man hath, and thereof cometh *Maranismo*; vld. Nic. 1. r. Renat. Poyet, Martyr.

John Joyer, with his Servant, Martyr.

Person.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Person.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	
	the eldest was the last; who likewise being stripped of his Clothes, and brought to the Stake, desired this Petition of the Governour, which was, That he might go about his Fellows tied at the Stake, and kiss them. Which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, Farewel my Brother. Likewise the other four, following the like Example, bad each one, Farewel my Brother. With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The Hangman had tied a Rope about all their Necks, thinking first to strangle them; but their Faces being smeared with Fat and Brimstone, the Rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed Martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheer, and so departed. <i>Ex Crisp. Pant. &c.</i>		<i>The Martyr.</i> I do arrogate no such Learning unto my self. But this I say, this Parable is not so to be expounded, but is set forth for example of the Lord, to commend to us Charity towards our Neighbour, how one should help another.	
	<i>The Examination briefly touched.</i> <i>The Frier.</i> Thou saiest, Friend, in thy Confession, that the Pope is not Supreme head of the Church: I will prove the contrary. The Pope is Successor of St. Peter: Ergo, he is Supreme Head of the Church.		<i>The Frier.</i> Thou saiest in thy Confession, that we are justified only by Faith, I will prove that we are justified by Works. By our Works we do merit: Ergo, by Works we are justified.	Justification.
	<i>The Martyr.</i> I deny first your Antecedent.		<i>The Martyr.</i> I deny the Antecedent.	
	<i>The Frier.</i> The Pope sitteth in the place of St. Peter: Ergo, he is the Successor of St. Peter.		<i>The Frier.</i> St. Paul, Hebrews the last, saith, <i>Forget not to do good, and to distribute unto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus</i> : That is, <i>For by such Oblations God is merited.</i>	
Supremacy.	<i>The Martyr.</i> I will grant neither of both: first, because that he, which succeedeth in the room of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did; which thing the Pope doth not. Secondly, altho he did so preach as Peter did, he might well follow the Example of Peter, yet should he not therefore be the Head of the Church, but a member only of the same. The Head of Men and Angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith St. Paul.		We merit God by our Works: Ergo, we are justified by our Works.	
The head of the Church.	<i>The Frier.</i> Although Christ be the Head of the whole Church Militant and Triumphant, yet his Vicar here in Earth is left to supply his room.		<i>The Martyr.</i> The words of St. Paul in that place be otherwise, and are thus to be translated: <i>Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus</i> : That is, <i>With such Sacrifices God is delighted, or is well pleased.</i>	
Episc.	<i>The Martyr.</i> I will prove, that although Christ be King both of Heaven and Earth, yet he hath here in Earth many Vicars under him, to govern his People.		<i>The Judge Vilard.</i> Vilard the Judge turned the Book, and found the place even to be so as the Prisoner said: Here the Friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked them, What he thought of Confession?	Confession.
	<i>The Frier.</i> It is one thing to rule in the Civil State, another thing to rule spiritually. For in civil Regiment we have Kings and Princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the Observation of publick Society: In the Spiritual Regiment and Kingdom of the Church it is not so.		To whom the Martyr answered, That Confession only is to be made to God, and that those places which they alledg for Auricular Confession, out of St. James and other, are to be expounded of brotherly Reconciliation between one another, and not of Confession in the Priest's Ear. And here again the Friars stood, having nothing to say against it.	
Reciment civil.	<i>The Martyr.</i> Thou saiest St. Peter is not the Head of the Church, I will prove he is.		<i>A black Frier.</i> Dost thou not believe the Body of Christ to be locally and corporally in the Sacrament? I will prove the same: Transubstantiation. Jesus Christ taking Bread, said, <i>This is my Body.</i> Ergo, it is truly his Body.	
Reciment Spiritual.	<i>The Martyr.</i> Our Lord said to Peter, <i>Thou shalt be called Cephas</i> : which <i>Cephas</i> is as much to say in Latin, as Head: Ergo, Peter is Head of the Church.		<i>The Martyr.</i> The Verb (<i>est</i>) is not to be taken here Substantively in his own proper signification, as shewing the Nature of a thing in Substance, as in Philosophy it is wont to be taken; but as noting the property of a thing signifying, after the manner and Phrase of the Scripture; where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the Sign is called by the Name of the thing signified, &c. So is Circumcision called by the Name of the Covenant, and yet is not the Covenant. So the Lamb hath the Name of the Passover, yet is not the same. In which two Sacraments of the old Law, ye see the Verb (<i>est</i>) to be taken, not as shewing the substance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is spoken of: And so likewise in the Sacrament of the new Law.	
John 1. Cephas.	<i>The Martyr.</i> Where find you that Interpretation? St. John in his first Chapter doth expound it otherwise: <i>Thou shalt be called Cephas</i> , that is as much (saith he) as <i>Petrus</i> , or Stone.		<i>The Frier.</i> The Sacraments of the old Law, and of the new do differ greatly; for these give Grace, so did not the other.	Sacraments give no Grace.
	<i>The Martyr.</i> Then the Judge Vilardur, calling for a New Testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so. Whereupon the Frier was utterly dashed and stood mute.		<i>The Martyr.</i> Neither the Sacraments of the old, nor of the new Law, do give Grace, but shew him unto us which giveth Grace indeed. The Minister giveth the Sacraments, but Jesus Christ giveth Grace by the operation of the Holy Ghost: of whom it is said, <i>This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost</i> , &c.	
Luke 10.	<i>The Frier.</i> Thou saiest in thy Confession, that a Man hath no Free-will, I will prove it. It is written in the Gospel, how a Man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among Thieves, and was spoiled, maimed, and left half dead, &c. Thomas of Aquine expoundeth this Parable to mean Free-will, which he saith, is maimed; yet not so, but that some power remaineth in Man to work.		<i>The Frier.</i> The Fathers of the Old Testament, were they not Partakers of the same Grace and Promises with us?	John's.
	<i>The Martyr.</i> This Interpretation I do refuse, and deny.		<i>The Martyr.</i> Yes, for St. Paul saith, that the Fathers of the Old Testament did eat the same spiritual Meat, and did drink of the same spiritual Drink with us.	
	<i>The Frier.</i> What, thinkest thou thy self better learned than St. Thomas?		<i>The Frier.</i> Jesus Christ saith, <i>John the sixth, Your Fathers did eat Manna in the Desert, and are dead.</i> Ergo, they were not Partakers of the same Grace with us in the New Testament.	The

K. Hen. 8.

The true eating of Manna.

Perfectus. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

The Martyr.

Christ here speaketh of them, which did not eat that *Manna* with Faith, which was a type and figure of that Bread of Life that came from Heaven: and not of them which did eat the same with Faith, as *Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Caleb*, and such others, who under the shadows of the Old Testament, did look for Christ to come. For so it is written of *Abraham, That he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced*; not seeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his Faith.

Here the doltish Doctor was at a stay, having nothing to say, but, *Hear Friend*, be not so hot, nor so hasty, tarry a while, tarry a while. At length, after his tarrying, this came out.

The Frier.

The Fathers of the Old Testament, how they were under the Law and how they were under Grace.

I will prove that they of the Old Testament were not partakers of the same Grace with us. *The Law* (saith *St. Paul*) *worketh anger*; And they that are under the Law, are under Malediction: *Exge*, they of the Old Law and Testament, were not partakers of the same Grace with us.

The Martyr.

St. Paul here proveth, That no Man by the Law can be justified, but that all Men are under the Anger and Curse of God thereby, forasmuch as no Man performeth that which in the Law is comprehended; and therefore, we have need every Man to run to Christ, to be saved by Faith, seeing no Man can be saved by the Law. For whosoever trusteth to the Law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not by Christ only, the same remaineth still under malediction: not because the Law is cursed, or the times thereof under the Curse; but because of the weakness of our natures, which are not able to perform the Law.

The Frier.

St. Paul, *Rom. 7*, declareth in the Old Testament to be nothing but Anger and Threatenings, and in the New Testament to be Grace and Mercy, in their words where he saith, *Wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* The Grace of God by Jesus Christ.

The Martyr.

St. Paul in this place neither meaneth nor speaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Testament, but of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; so that, whereas the flesh is ever rebelling against the spirit, yet the spiritual Man notwithstanding, through the Faith of Christ, hath the Victory. Furthermore, the true translation of that place hath not *Gratia Dei*, but *Gratia ago Deo, per Jesum Christum*, &c.

Primaicus the Official.

The Sacrament.

The Official, seeing the Frier almost here at a point, set in, and said, Thou lewd Heretick, dost thou deny the blessed Sacrament?

The Martyr.

No Sir, but I embrace and reverence the Sacrament, so as it was instituted of the Lord, and left by his Apostles.

The Official.

Thou deniest the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament, and thou callest the Sacrament Bread.

The Martyr.

The Scripture teacheth us to seek the Body of Christ in Heaven, and not in Earth; where we read, *Coloss. 3*. *If ye be risen with Christ, seek not for the things which are upon the Earth: But for the things which are in Heaven, where Christ is sitting at the right Hand of God*, &c.

And whereas I affirm the Sacrament not to be the Body, but Bread, speaking of Bread remaining in its own Substance, herein I do no other but as *St. Paul* doth, who, *1 Cor. 11*, doth call it Bread likewise four or five times together.

The Frier.

Jesus Christ said, that he was the Bread of Life.

The Official.

Thou naughty Heretick, Jesus Christ said that he was a Vine, and a Door, &c. Where he is to be expounded to speak figuratively. But the words of the Sacrament are not so to be expounded.

The Martyr.

Those Testimonies which you alledge, make more for me than for you.

Perfectus. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

The Official.

What sayest thou, lewd Heretick, is the Bread of the Lord's Supper, and the Bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference between them?

The Martyr.

In Nature and Substance there is no difference, in quality and in use there is much difference. For the Bread of the Lord's Table, tho it be of the same nature and substance with the Bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a Sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is set before us to seal the Promise of our Spiritual and Eternal Life. And thus was the effect of their Examinations.

Ex Crisp.

Petrus Bergerius, at Lions, Anno 1553.

The Name of his Persecutor appeared not in his story.

About the same time, when these five Students above specified were apprehended, this *Bergerius* also was taken at *Lions*, and with them examined, and made also the like Confession with them together, and shortly after them suffered the same Martyrdom. He had been before an Occupier or Merchant of Wines. He had Wife and Children at *Geneva*, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable Letters. In the Dungeon with him was a certain Thief and Malefactor, which had lain there the space of 7 or 8 months. This Thief, for pain and torment, cried

out of God, and cursed his Parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with Lice, miserably handled, and fed with such Bread as Dogs and Horses had refused to eat. So it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayer of this *Bergerius*, he was brought to repentance of himself, and knowledge of God, learning much comfort and patience by the Word of the Gospel preached to him. Touching his Conversation, he wrote a sweet Letter to those five Students above mentioned, wherein he praiseth God for them, and especially for this *Bergerius*, declaring also in the same Letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the Gospel, and framed himself to patience; according to the same, his Lice (which he could pluck out before no less than twenty at once betwixt his fingers) now were gone from him, that he had not one. Furthermore, so the Alms of good Men was extended towards him, that he was fed with White-bread, and that which was very good: Such is the goodness of the Lord toward them that love and seek his Truth. The name of this Convert was *John Chambone*. Ex Epist. Joan. Chambone: Ex Crisp. Pantale, &c.

Petrus Bergerius Martyr.

The notable conversion of a Thief in Prison.

Stephanus Pelloquinius.
Dyonisius Pelloquinius, at Ville Franche about Lions.
Anno 1553.

Stephan Pelloquine, Brother to this *Dyonisius*, was taken about two or three years before, *Stephan and Dyonisius Pelloquine, Brethren, & Martyrs.* with *Ann Audubert* above mentioned, and also martyred for the testimony of the Gospel at the same time, with a small fire. After whom followed *Dyonisius Pelloquine*, in the same steps of martyrdom, which was his Brother. This *Dyonisius* had been sometime a Monk, and changing his Weed, took a Wife, with whom he lived a certain space at *Geneva* in godly Order and modestly of Life. Coming afterward to *Ville Franche*, six miles from *Lions*, from thence he was had to *Lions*, where he remained in Prison ten months. From thence he was reverted to *Ville Franche*, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The Articles whereupon he was condemned, were, for the Mass, the Sacrament, Auricular Confession, Purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the Pope's Supremacy. He suffered in the year of our Lord 1553. *Septemb. 11*. In his Martyrdom, such patience and fortitude God gave, that when he was half burned, yet he never ceased holding up his hands to Heaven, and calling upon the Lord, to the great admiration of them that looked on. Ex Jo. Crisp.

K 2

Lodovicus

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	K. Hen. 8.
Ludovick Mar. de Mi- chael Gerard Sec. Grand Martyr.	Ludovicus Marficus. Michael Gerard his Cosin. Stephen Gravot Carpenter. At Lions, Anno 1553.	Buathertius Official.	bid to add also <i>Romanum</i> , that is, the Church of Rome, that he refused. Advocates he knew none, but Christ alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the Cross and Passion of the Lamb, which purgeth the sins of all the World. True Confession, he said, ought to be made not to the Priest once a year, but every day to God, and to such whom we have offended. The eating of the Flesh and Blood of Christ he took to be spiritual: and the Sacrament of the Flesh and Blood of Christ to be eaten with the mouth, and that Sacrament to be Bread and Wine under the name and signification of the Body and Blood of Christ; the Mass not to be instituted of Christ, being a thing contrary to his Word and Will. For the Head of the Church, he knew none but only Christ. Being in Prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his Flesh, but especially with the temptation of his Parents, Brethren, and Kinsfolks, and the sorrow of his Mother: nevertheless, the Lord so assisted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spake much to the People, and was heard with great attention. He suffered July 15. 1553.	Ex Crisp.
The Kings Lieutenant at Lions.	At Lions the same year these three also were apprehended, and sacrificed. Ludovicus had been of the Order of the <i>Diminances</i> , which served the King in his Wars. Afterward, coming to Geneva, he was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Upon divers Articles he was examined, as invocation of Saints, and of the Virgin Mary, Free-will, Merits, and good Works, Auricular Confession, Fasting, the Lord's Supper. In his second examination, they enquired of him, and also of the other two, touching Vows, the Sacraments the Mass, and the Vicar of Christ. In all which Articles, because his and their Judgment differed from the Doctrine of the Pope's Church, they were condemned. The Answers of Marficus to the Articles, are to be seen at large in the Book of the French Martyrs, set out by Jo. Crisp.	Orm In- quisitor.	Christ to be eaten with the mouth, and that Sacrament to be Bread and Wine under the name and signification of the Body and Blood of Christ; the Mass not to be instituted of Christ, being a thing contrary to his Word and Will. For the Head of the Church, he knew none but only Christ. Being in Prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his Flesh, but especially with the temptation of his Parents, Brethren, and Kinsfolks, and the sorrow of his Mother: nevertheless, the Lord so assisted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spake much to the People, and was heard with great attention. He suffered July 15. 1553.	Ex Crisp.
The Official.	The Lieutenant, among other blasphemies, had these words; Of the four Evangelists, but two were pure, Matthew and John; the other two, Mark and Luke, were but gatherers out of the other. The Epistles of St. Paul, but that the Doctors of the Church had authorized them, he would otherwise esteem them no better than the Fables of Æsop.	Legoux the Dean, the- riensis.	William Neel, an August Friar, at Eureux in France. Anno 1553.	Will. Neel, martyr.
Notes, viz. Opinion the Papists have of the Law of God, when it hath been not with their Law.	Item, The said Lieutenant said to Mr. Cope's Maid, speaking somewhat of the Law, Cursed be the God of that Law. When the Sentence of Condemnation was given against these three, they were so glad thereof, that they went out praising God, and singing Psalms. Which troubled the Judges sore, to see them so little to esteem their death: inasmuch that the Lieutenant caused them to be made to hold their peace, saying, Shall these vile Abjects so vaunt themselves against the whole State of the Realm? Then as Marficus was going in a Corner by to pray, one of the Soldiers would not suffer him. To whom he said, That little time which we have will you not give us to pray? With that the Soldier being astonished went his way. As they should be brought out of Prison to the Stake, the Hangman tied a Rope about the Necks of the other two. Marficus seeing himself to be spared because of his Order and Degree, called by the way to the Lieutenant, that he might also have one of the precious Chains about his Neck, in honour of his Lord; the which being granted, so were these three blessed Martyrs committed to the fire, where they with meek patience yielded up their lives to the hands of the Lord, in testimony of his Gospel. Ex Crisp. Pant.	M. Simon Vigier, the Penitenti- ary of Eu- reux.	Hen. Pant. lib. 9. & Crisp. & Adrian, maketh mention also of one William Neel, a Friar Augustine, who suffered in much like sort the same year, and was burned at Eureux in France. The occasion of his trouble rose first, for the rebuking of the vicious demeanour of the Priests there, and of the Dean named Legoux. For the which the Dean caused him to be sent to Eureux to the Prison of the Bishop. The story of this Will. Neel, with his answers to their Articles objected, is to be read more at large in the ninth Book of <i>Pantalion</i> , and others.	
At this ve- ment rage.	Mattheus Dimonetus, Merchant, at Lions. Anno 1553.	The Bailiff or Sew- ard of the City Dy-	Simon Laloe, at Dyion, Anno 1553.	Sim. Laloe, martyr.
The Lieu- tenant of Lions.	This Merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life, full of much corruption and filthiness. He was also a secret Enemy, and searcher out of good Men, when and where they convened together. Who being called notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledge and favour of his Word, shortly after was taken by the Lieutenant, and Buathertius the Official, in his own house at Lions, and so after a little examination was sent to Prison. Being examined by the Inquisitor and the Officials, he refused to yield any answer to them, knowing no authority they had upon him, but only to the Lieutenant. His Answers were, that he believed all that the holy universal Church of Christ did truly believe, and all the Articles of the Creed. To the Article of the Holy Catholick Church, being		Simon Laloe a Spectaclemaker, coming from Geneva into France for certain business, was laid hand of by the Bailiff of Dyion. Three things were demanded of him. First, Where he dwelt. Secondly, What was his Faith. Thirdly, What Fellows he knew of his Religion. His dwelling, he said, was at Geneva. His Religion was such as was then used at Geneva. As for his Fellows, he said, he knew none, but only them of the same City of Geneva, where his dwelling was. When they could get of him no other answer but this, with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his Sentence, and pursued the execution of the same, which was Nov. 21. 1553.	
Primaries Official.			The Executioner, who was named James Silvesters, seeing the great faith and constancy of that heavenly Martyr, was so compuncted with repentance, and fell in such despair of himself, that they had much ado, with all the promises of the Gospel, to recover any comfort in him. At last, through the Mercy of Christ, he was comforted, and converted; and so he with all his Family removed to the Church at Geneva. Ex Jo. Crisp.	The Execu- tioner con- verted.
			Nicholas Nayle, at Paris. Anno 1553.	Nich. Nayle, martyr.
			This Nicholas, a Shoemaker, coming to Paris with certain fardels of Books, was there apprehended; who stoutly persisting in confessing the Truth, was tried with sundry torments, to utter what Fellows he had besides of his Profession, so cruelly, that his body was dissolved almost one joint from another; but so constant he was in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the Stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound	Torments.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Cause of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Cause of their Martyrdom.
K. Hen. 8.	bound with cords to the hinder part of his head, so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an Hospital, where they willed him to worship the Picture of St. Mary standing at the Gate: but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For the which the blind People were so grieved, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord, and so the blessed Martyr departed. <i>Ex Jo. Crisp.</i>	The Governor of Marches,	Stephen King, Petrus Denochus, at Chartres. Anno 1553. Stephen King, after he had been at Strasbourg a while, returned again into his Country, dwelling in a Town bearing the name of St. George, not far from Chauxfont; where he served in the place of a Notary, and had under him a Clerk named Peter Denoch, who also had been at Geneva, and was there zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous Swearers, and other Offenders. These two were not long together but they were suspected both of Lutheranism, and so were apprehended by the Governor of the Marches, or Marthal, and so were carried to Chartres: where after their constant confession, upon their examination made, they were enclosed in Prison, and there sustained long and tedious endurance. During the which mean time, Stephen King made many worthy Songs and Sonets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his Spirit in that doleful captivity. At length, when after long persuasions and fair promises of the Bishop, and of other, they could not be moved from the Doctrine of their Confession, they were condemned. From that condemnation, they appealed to the Court of Paris. But the Council there, confirming their former Sentence, returned them again to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel punishment of fire. <i>Ex Hist. Gallie. per Jo. Crisp.</i>
Peter Serre, martyr.	Peter Serre, about Tolouse, Anno 1553. Peter Serre first was a Priest, then changing his Religion, he went to Geneva, and learned the Shoemakers Craft, and so lived. Afterward upon a singular love he came to his Brother at Tolouse, to the intent to do him good. His Brother had a Wife, which was not well pleased with his Religion and coming. She in secret counsel told another Woman, one of her Neighbours, of this. What doth she, but goeth to the Official, and maketh him privy of all. The Official thinking to foreclose no time, taking counsel with his Fellows, laid hands upon this Peter, and brought him before the Inquisitor. To whom he made such declaration of his Faith, that he seemed to reduce the Inquisitor to some feeling of Conscience, and began to instruct him in the Principles of true Religion. Notwithstanding, all this helped not but that he was condemned by the said Chancellor, to be degraded, and committed to the secular Judge. The Judge enquiring of what Occupation he was, he said, that of late he was a Shoemaker. Whereby the Judge, understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest science of all other in the whole World besides. The Judge and the People, supposing that he had been some Thief or Cutpurse, enquired to know what it was; but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamour, he was constrained to declare the Truth, and said, That he had been a Priest. The Judge thereupon was so moved, that he condemned him; first, enjoining him in his condemnation, to ask the King forgiveness, then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned. From this Sentence, he appealed to the Parliament of Tolouse: Nor for that he thought thereby to save his life, but because he was enjoined to ask the King forgiveness, whom he had never offended. Also because he was judged to have his tongue cut off, wherewith he would praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the Sentence of that Parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned; only he was pardoned for asking forgiveness of the King, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their Religion.	Priests of Burges.	Antonius Magnus, or Magnus, at Paris. Anno 1554. Antonius Magnus, was sent by the five which were in Prison at Lions, above-mentioned, and by other also that were in in Captivity at Paris, unto Geneva, to commend them to their prayers unto God for them. Who, after certain business there dispatched returned again into France, and there within three hours of his coming, was betrayed and taken by certain Priests at Burges, and there delivered by the said Priests unto the Official, after a few days the King's Justices took him from the Official, & sent him to Paris; where after great rebukes and torments he suffered in the Prison, and firmly persisting in the profession of the Truth, by their capital Sentence he was adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and so was burned at Maulbert-place in Paris. <i>Ex Jo. Crisp.</i>
A woman of Tolouse.	The Inquisitor and Chancellor of the Bishop of Tolouse.	William Alencon Book-seller. A certain Shereman. At Montpeliers, Anno 1554.	Will. Alencon, martyr.
Priests cross, a vile and a filthy Art.	As he went to burning, he passed by the College of St. Martial, where he was bid to honour the Picture of the Virgin standing at the gate. Which because he refused, the Judge commanded his tongue to be cut off; and so being put to the fire, he stood so quiet, looking up to Heaven all the time of burning, as tho he had felt nothing, bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the Parliament said, that way not to be belied, to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that would do more hurt than good. <i>Ex Jo. Crisp.</i>	False Brethren.	This Alencon did much good in the Provinces of France by carrying Books. Coming to Montpeliers, he was there circumvented by false Brethren, detected, and laid in Prison. In his Faith he was firm and constant, to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the 7th of January, 1554. There was the same time at Montpeliers a certain Shereman or Clothworker, who had been long in durance for Religion, but at length for fear and infirmity he revolted. To whom it was enjoined by the Judges to make publick recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alencon afore said. At the beholding of whose death and constancy, it pleased God to strike into this Man such boldness, that he desired the Judges, that either he might burn with this Alencon, or else be brought again into Prison, saying, That he would make no other recantation, but so. Wherefore within three days after he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned in the Town afore said. <i>Ex Jo. Crisp.</i>
Constancy notable.			Paris

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	K.Hen. 8
Paris Panier Martyr.	Paris Panier, a Lawyer, at Dola, Anno 1554. At Dola was beheaded a good and godly Lawyer, named <i>Paris Panier</i> , for constant standing to the Gospel of Christ; Anno 1554. <i>Ex Pantal.</i>	there was nothing amended. Where behold the Judgment of God: In the mean time, while they were at <i>Paris</i> , the wretched persecutor, <i>Giles le Pers</i> , was suddenly stricken mad and died in a Frenzy: which made many Men to wonder, and especially the Martyrs to be more constant. At last, the Decree of the Sentence was read against them. 1. For speaking against the Sacrament; which they denied. 2. For speaking against Baptism; which also they de- nied. 3. For speaking contumely against the Saints; which they in like manner denied.	Note the just vengeance of God upon a wicked Per- secutor.	
Peter du Val martyr.	Peter du Val Shoemaker, at Nismes, Anno 1554. At <i>Newman</i> in <i>Delphinat</i> , <i>Peter du Val</i> sustained fore and grievous rackings and tor- ments; where with his Body being broken, dis- solved, and maimed, yet he notwithstanding manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there consumed, Anno 1554. <i>Ex</i> <i>Jo. Crisp.</i>	After this, the Officer, to cause them to recant, threatned them with torments, which they sustained very extreme, the space from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a Friar <i>Du-</i> <i>minick</i> , a Man captious and sophistical, to press them in disputation. But as he could do no hurt unto them, so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their exe- cution did approach, the Officer aforesaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden Cross, which they took with their teeth, and flung it away: for the which, the Officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Wherein ap- peared another marvellous Work of the Lord: For never- theless that their tongues were taken from them, to the in- tent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, say- ing, We bid Sin, the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, fare- wel for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereaf- ter. Divers other words they spake besides, which the Peo- ple did hear and note. At last when the Tormenter came to linear them with Brimstone and Gunpowder: Go to, said <i>Filiolus</i> , salt on, salt on the stinking and rotten flesh. Fi- nally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they, per- sisting constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms. <i>Ex Jo. Crisp. & Hen. Pant. & alii.</i>	Torments.	
John Filol, Joh. le Ville martyr.	Joannes Filiculus, or Filiculus, Carpenter. Julianus le Ville, Point-maker, at Sancer- re, Anno 1554. These two blessed and constant Martyrs, as they were going toward <i>Geneva</i> , with one of their Sons and a Daughter, were apprehend- ed by <i>Giles le Pers</i> ; who in the way over- taking them, and most wickedly and judally pretending great favour to them, and to their Religion, which he (as he said) supported them to be of, with these and many other fair words circumvented and allured them, to con- fess what was their Faith; whither they went with their Children; and also that their Wives were at <i>Geneva</i> . When they had declared this, the wretched Traitor gave a sign to the Horre- men, and so were these simple Saints of Christ entrapped and brought to the Castle of <i>Nivern</i> . Being in Prison, they were examined of many things: Whereunto they answered uprightly, according to their Faith.			
John Ber- geronius, another Inquisitor or Coun- sellor.	John Bergeronius, another Inquisitor or Coun- sellor.			
Translu- scantion.	First, Touching the Sacrament, they affirmed the Tran- scantion of the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> to be against the Ar- ticle of the Creed, which saith that Christ is gone up to Heaven, and there sitteth at the right Hand of God: and therefore the Bread and Wine must needs remain in their Properties, being notwithstanding a Sacrament, or a holy sign of the Body and Blood of the Lord. For like as by Bread and Wine the heart of Man is comforted, so the Bo- dy of Christ crucified, and his Blood shed spiritually, hath the like operation in the Souls of the Believers.			
A strife be- tween the Bread and the Body of Christ.	For the Mass, they said it was a thing most superstitious, and meer Idolatry. And if we put any part of Salvation therein, they said, it was utterly a robbing the Passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be na- med out of a Christian mouth. Also, that they which say that <i>Pater</i> either was Pope, or Author of the said Mass, are far deceived. And as for turning Bread into the Body of Christ by the words of Consecration, it was an error, they said, more of mad-men than any sad-men: forasmuch as God is neither subject to Men, nor to the tongues or ex- orcisms of Men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the Blood of Jesus Christ.			
The Mass.	Furthermore, as they would not bereave the Saints of God of their due honour, so neither the Saints themselves, said they, will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.			
Honour to God, not to Saints.	As touching Confession, their opinion was, that the wounds and cafes of Conscience belong to no Man, but only to God. After these answers given and written, they were sent to the Monastery of <i>Sainpeter</i> , there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the Judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by Inventory, and them to be banished. But <i>Bergeronius</i> at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to hear Mass. From that Court they appealed to the Court of <i>Paris</i> : but the matter			
		Dionysius Vayre, at Roan, Anno 1554. In the same year suffered at <i>Roan</i> , <i>Denis Vayre</i> , who, first leaving his popish Priesthood, went to <i>Geneva</i> , where he learned the Art of Bookbind- ing, and brought many times Books into <i>France</i> . After that, in the reign of King <i>Edward</i> the 6th, he came to <i>Geneva</i> , and there was Minister and preached. After the death of King <i>Edward</i> , the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to re- turn again to <i>Geneva</i> , he came into <i>Normandy</i> with his Books, into a Town called <i>Fuaille</i> : Whereas he going out to hire a Cart, <i>William</i> <i>Langlois</i> , with <i>John Langlois</i> his Brother, came in and stayed his Books, and him also which had the custody of them. <i>Denis</i> , albeit he might have escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his Books to be in trouble, came, and presenting himself, was committed, the other was delivered. First, after two months and a half im- prisonment, he was charged to be a Spy, because he came out of <i>England</i> . Then from that Prison he was removed to the Bishop's Prison, and then to <i>Roan</i> ; where Sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thrice lifted up, and let down again into the fire. After the Sentence gi- ven, they threatned him with many terrible torments, un- less he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom he answered, That the founder part of all <i>France</i> , and of the Senate, was of that Religion: Notwithstanding, he would utter no Man's Name unto them. And as for their torments, he said, he passed not; for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him so little to pass for their tor- ments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and first, they put a Cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he coming by the Image of the Virgin <i>Mary</i> , would not adore the same, they cried, Cut out his tongue: and so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken up, but the flame went so high, that the Hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people standing by to help, and so did the Officers with their staves lay upon the People, to help their Tormentors, but never a Man would stir. And this was the end and mar- tyrdom of that blessed <i>Denis</i> . <i>Ex Henric. Pantal. l. 10.</i>	Denis Vayre Priest and martyr.	

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
K. Hen. 8. A Merchant famous for jesting against the Friars.	There was a rich Merchant of <i>Paris</i> , who said in jest to the Friars of <i>St. Francis</i> , You wear a rope about your bodies, because <i>St. Francis</i> once should have been hanged, and the Pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope. Upon this the Franciscan Friars of <i>Paris</i> caused him to be apprehended, and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant, and so did. The Friars hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, if he continued so, he should be saved; and so calling upon the Officers, caused them to make haste to the Gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way, said they, left he fall again. And so was this Merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the Friars. <i>Ex Pantal. lib. 7.</i>	Inquisitor. Dost thou believe the Church of <i>Rome</i> ?	This Inquisitor was not Advocate which the Lieutenant sent with the Notary.
The Judge of God.	To this Merchant may also be adjoined the Brother of <i>Tamer</i> , who when he had before professed the truth of the Gospel, and afterward by the counsel and instruction of his Brother was removed from the same, fell into desperation, and such sorrow of mind, that he hanged himself. <i>Ex Jo. Manlio in dictis Phil. Melanct.</i>	<i>The Martyr.</i> No, I do believe the Catholick and Universal Church.	
Thomas Cal- bergne, Mar- tyr.	<i>Thomas Calbergne</i> , a Coverlet-maker, at <i>Tourney</i> , Anno 1554. This <i>Thomas</i> had copied out certain spiritual Songs out of a Book in <i>Geneva</i> , which he brought with him to <i>Tourney</i> , and lent the same to one of his fellows. This Book being espied, he was called for of the Justice, and examined of the Book, which he said contained nothing but that was agreeing to the Scripture, and that he would stand by.	<i>Inquisitor.</i> What Catholick Church is that?	
Nicholas Paul, Martyr.	Then he was had to the Castle, and after nineteen days was brought to the Town-houle, and there adjudged to the fire; whereunto he went cheerfully, singing Psalms. As he was in the flame, the Warden of the Friars stood crying, Turn, <i>Thomas</i> , <i>Thomas</i> , yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour. To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, And I trust to be one of that sort; and so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit. <i>Ex Cris. lib. 4.</i>	<i>The Martyr.</i> The Congregation or Communion of Christians.	
Richard Fe- russ, Martyr.	Add also to this, one <i>Nicholas Paul</i> beheaded at <i>Gaunt</i> . These two should have been placed among the Dutch Martyrs in the Table before.	<i>Inquisitor.</i> What Congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist?	
Lattrave. Lator, or Under- marshal, or Examiner of Dolphe- ny.	<i>Richard Ferruss</i> , a Goldsmith at <i>Lions</i> , Anno 1551. <i>Ferruss</i> a Goldsmith, born at <i>Rosn</i> , first being in <i>England</i> , and in <i>London</i> , there received the taste and knowledge of God's Word, as in his own Epistle he recordeth. Then he went to <i>Geneva</i> , where he remained nine or ten years. From thence returning to <i>Lions</i> , there he was apprehended and condemned. Then he appealed to the High-Court of <i>Paris</i> , through the motion of his friends. Where in the way as he was led to <i>Paris</i> , he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and so set at liberty, which was Anno 1551.	<i>The Martyr.</i> Where is the Congregation, or how is it known?	
The Lieu- tenant.	After this, continuing at <i>Geneva</i> about the space of three years, he came upon business to the Province of <i>Dolphins</i> , and there as he found fault with the Grace said in Latin, he was detected, and taken in his Inn in the night, by the Under-marshal, or him which had the examination of Malefactors. The next day he was sent to the Justice, from him to the Bishop, who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the Lieutenant, who sent his Advocate with a Notary to him in Prison, to examine him of his Faith. The whole Proceeds of his Examinations, with his Adversaries and the Friars, in his Story described, is long, the principal contents come to this effect.	<i>Inquisitor.</i> It is consilient in the number of God's Elect, whom God hath chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the head.	The Church.
The ex- amination of Richard Ferruss.		<i>The Martyr.</i> It is dispersed through the universal World, in divers Regions, and is known by the spiritual direction wherewith it is governed, that is to say, both by the Word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's Sacraments.	
		<i>Inquisitor.</i> Do you think the Church that is at <i>Geneva</i> , <i>Lausanne</i> , <i>Berne</i> , and such other places, to be a more true Church than the holy Church of <i>Rome</i> ?	
		<i>The Martyr.</i> Yea, verily, for these have the Notes of the true Church.	
		<i>Inquisitor.</i> What difference then make you between those Churches and the Church of <i>Rome</i> ?	
		<i>The Martyr.</i> Much; for the Church of <i>Rome</i> is governed only with Traditions of Men, but those are ruled only by the Word of God.	Difference between the Church of <i>Rome</i> , and the Church of Christ.
		<i>Inquisitor.</i> Where learned you this Doctrine first?	
		<i>The Martyr.</i> In <i>England</i> , at <i>London</i> .	
		<i>Inquisitor.</i> How long have you been at <i>Geneva</i> ?	
		<i>The Martyr.</i> About nine or ten years.	
		<i>Inquisitor.</i> Dost thou not believe the Virgin <i>Mary</i> to be a Mediatrix and Advocate to God for Sinners?	The Virgin <i>Mary</i> so Advocate.
		<i>The Martyr.</i> I believe, as in the Word of God is testified, Jesus Christ to be the only Mediator and Advocate for all Sinners; albeit the Virgin <i>Mary</i> be a blessed Woman, yet the Office of an Advocate belongeth not unto her.	
		<i>Inquisitor.</i> The Saints that be in Paradise, have they no power to pray for us?	Whether Saints do pray.
		<i>The Martyr.</i> No, but I judge them to be blessed, and to be contented with that grace and glory which they have, that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God?	
		<i>Inquisitor.</i> And what then judge you of them which follow the Religion of the Church of <i>Rome</i> ? think you them to be Christians?	
		<i>The Martyr.</i> No, for that Church is not governed with the Spirit of God, but rather fighteth against the same.	The Church of <i>Rome</i> is not the Church of Christ.
		<i>Inquisitor.</i> Do you then esteem all them which separate themselves from the Church of <i>Rome</i> to be Christians?	
		<i>The Martyr.</i> I have not to answer for others, but only for my self Every Man (saith <i>St. Paul</i>) shall bear his own Burden.	Gal. 6.
		And thus the Advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had said, and had obtained the same, he went to dinner.	
		At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciscan Friar, who, first entering with him touching the words that he spake in his Inn, asked him, why that Grace might not	not

Perfectus. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

not be said in Latin? Because, said he, by the Word of God Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most understood, and (seventh best) to the edification of the hearers. Then the Friar bringing forth his *Benedictus, Agimus tibi gratias, &c. Laus Deo, Pax vivis, Requies defunctis, &c.* began thus to reason.

The Friar.

Praying in a
strange
tongue.

God understandeth all tongues, and the Church of Rome hath prescribed this form of praying, receiving the same from the ancient Church and the Fathers, which used then to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be to be observed in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as to pray in the French?

The Martyr.

My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, so that the same be understood, and may edify the hearers.

The Friar.

When Christ entered the City of Jerusalem, the People cried, hailing him with *Hosanna filio David*, and yet understood they not what they said, as Jerome writeth.

The Martyr.

It may be that Jerome so writeth, that they understood not the prophetic meaning, or the accomplishment of these words upon Christ his coming; but that they understood the phrase of that Speech or Language which they spake, speaking in their own Language, Jerome doth not deny.

Then the Friar, declaring that he was no fit person to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin Tongue, inferred the authorities of Councils and Doctors, and testimonies of Men, which seemed to move the Officer not a little; who then charging him with many things, as with words spoken in contempt of the virgin Mary, and of the Saints, also with rebellion against Princes and Kings, came at last to the matter of the Sacrament, and demanded thus:

Inquisitor.

Doth thou believe the Holy Host which the Priest doth consecrate at the Mass or no?

The Martyr.

I believe neither the Host, nor any such Consecration.

Inquisitor.

Why? doth thou not believe the holy Sacrament of the Altar, ordained of Christ Jesus himself?

The Martyr.

Touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, I believe that whensoever we use the same according to the prescription of St. Paul, we are refreshed spiritually with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true spiritual meat and drink of our Souls.

The Friar.

The Friar then inferred the words of St. John's Gospel, saying, *My flesh is meat indeed, &c.* and said, that the Doctors of the Church had decided that matter already, and had approved the Mass to be an holy memory of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Martyr.

The Sacrament of the Supper I believe to be ordained of the Lord for a memorial of his death, and for a stirring up of our thanksgiving to him. In which Sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thanksgiving the benefits offered of God to us most abundantly in Christ Jesus his Son.

And thus the Advocate with the Friar, bidding the Notary to write the words that he had spoken, departed. Who after eight days, being accompanied with the said Franciscan, and other Friars more of the Dominicks, sent for the said Richard Ferrus again to his house, and thus began to enquire:

Inquisitor.

Purgatory.

Doth thou believe any Purgatory?

The Martyr.

I believe that Christ with his precious Blood hath made an end of all Purgatory, and purgation of our Sins.

Perfectus. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

K.Hen.8.

Inquisitor.

And dost thou think then there is no place after this life, where Souls of Men departed remain so long till they have made satisfaction for their sins?

The Martyr.

No; but I acknowledge one satisfaction once made for the Sins of all Men, by the Blood and Sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the sins of the whole World.

The Friar.

In the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, Christ speaking by way of a parable or similitude, of a certain cruel Servant, who, because he would not forgive his fellow-servant, was cast into prison, saith, *That he shall not come out from thence till he hath paid the uttermost farthing.* By the which similitude is signified unto us a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sins.

The Martyr.

First, the satisfaction for our Sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures; as in these places: *Come to me, all you that labour and be burdened, and I will refresh you.* Mat. 11. *I am the Door, he that entereth by me, shall be saved.* John 10. *I am the way, verity and life.* John 13. *Blessed be they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours.* Apoc. 13. Also to the Thief which hanged with the Lord, it was said, *This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise, &c.* Secondly; As touching this similitude, it hath no other demonstration but to admonish us of our duty, in shewing charity, and forgiving one another, which unless we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God.

The Friar.

If this be true that you say, then it should follow that there is neither Purgatory nor any Limbus, which were against our Christian Faith and our Creed, which saith, *He descended into Hell, &c.*

The Deputy.

Doth thou believe there is a Limbus?

The Martyr.

Neither do I believe to be any such place, neither doth the Scripture thereof make any mention.

The Friar.

Where were the old Fathers then before the death of Christ?

The Martyr.

In life (I say) eternal, which they looked for, being promised before to Adam, Abraham, and the Patriarchs in the seed to come.

The Deputy.

Then the Deputy: What (saith he) dost thou believe that the Pope hath any power?

The Martyr.

Yea verily.

The Deputy.

Doth thou believe that the Pope, as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, can here bind and loose?

The power
of the Pope.

The Martyr.

That I do not believe.

The Deputy.

How then dost thou understand the power of the Pope?

The Martyr.

I understand the Power of the Pope so as St. Paul declareth, 2 Thess. saying, *That because the World refused to receive the love of the truth unto salvation, therefore God hath given to Satan, and to his Ministers, power of illusions and errors, that Men should believe lies, and set up to themselves Pastors and Teachers such as they deserve.*

The Friar.

Christ gave to Saint Peter power to bind and loose, whose Successor, and Vicar of Christ, is the Pope, for the government of the Church, that it might have one head in the World, as it hath in Heaven. And tho the Pastors do not live according to the Word which they preach, yet their Doctrine is not therefore to be refused, as Christ teacheth, Mat. 23.

Christ's vicar in Sacri.

Mat. 23.

The Martyr.

If the Pope and his adherents would preach the Word purely and sincerely, admixing no other inventions of their own,

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
K. Hen. 8.	own, nor obtruding Laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, howsoever their life were to the contrary: according as Christ doth tell us of the Scribes and Pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives, <i>Mat. 23.</i> But there is great difference, whether they that take the Governance of the Church do fit in <i>Moses's</i> chair, which is the seat of truth, or else do fit in the chair of abomination, spoken of by <i>Daniel</i> , and also by <i>St. Paul</i> , where he saith, <i>That the man of perdition shall sit in the Temple of God, vaunting himself insolently above all that is called God.</i> 2 <i>Thess. 2.</i>	only for orders sake, serving unto commodity.	
Mar. 29.	And as touching the keys of binding and loosing, given to <i>Peter</i> , Christ therein assigned to <i>Peter</i> and other Apostles, the office of preaching the Word of the Gospel, which they did also well observe, in preaching nothing else but only the Word, in the which Word is all the power contained of binding and loosing. Neither is it to be granted, the Church to have two Heads, one in Heaven, another in Earth: the Head whereof is but one, which is Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath appointed to be Head alone both in Heaven and Earth, as <i>St. Paul</i> in many places of his Epistles doth teach. <i>Ephes. 1. Coloss. 1. &c.</i>	And as touching that any thing should be left for Doctors and Councils to be decided, without the express Word of God, that is not so; for that all things be expressed and prescribed by the Word, whatsoever is necessary either for government of the Church, or for the salvation of Men; so that there is no need for Doctors of the Church, or Councils, to decide any thing more than is decided already.	Rom. 15. a John.
a Thefl. 2.	And as touching the keys of binding and loosing, given to <i>Peter</i> , Christ therein assigned to <i>Peter</i> and other Apostles, the office of preaching the Word of the Gospel, which they did also well observe, in preaching nothing else but only the Word, in the which Word is all the power contained of binding and loosing. Neither is it to be granted, the Church to have two Heads, one in Heaven, another in Earth: the Head whereof is but one, which is Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath appointed to be Head alone both in Heaven and Earth, as <i>St. Paul</i> in many places of his Epistles doth teach. <i>Ephes. 1. Coloss. 1. &c.</i>	<i>Paul</i> saith, <i>That he durst utter nothing but what the Lord had wrought by him.</i> Rom. 15. <i>St. John</i> speaking of the Doctrine of Christ Jesus, <i>willeth us to receive no man, unless he bring with him the same Doctrine.</i> 2 <i>John.</i> <i>St. Paul</i> warneth the <i>Galatians</i> , not to believe an Angel from Heaven, bringing another Doctrine than that which they had already received. Gal. 2. Christ, calling himself the good Shepherd, <i>saith them to be his Sheep which hear his voice, and not the voice of others.</i> John 10. And <i>St. Peter</i> admonishing the Pastors of the Church, <i>forewarns them to teach only the Word of God, without any feeling of Lordship or Dominion over the Flock.</i> From the which moderation how far the form of the Pope's Church doth differ, the tyranny which they use, doth well declare.	The Church ought to be governed only by the Word of the Lord's word.
The keys of binding and loosing.	<i>The Friar.</i> You have no understanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old Doctors have expounded the Scriptures, and holy Councils, whose judgments are to be followed. But what say you to auricular Confession?	<i>The Friar.</i> In the old Church Priests and Ministers of the Church were wont to assemble together for deciding of such things as pertained to the government and direction of the Church, whereas in <i>Geneva</i> no such thing is used, as I can prove by this your own Testament here in my hands, that you the better may understand what was then the true use and manner of the Church.	2 Pet. 5.
Epist. 1. Coloss. 1.	<i>The Martyr.</i> I know no other Confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our Neighbour, which Christ and his Apostles have commended to us.	<i>The Martyr.</i> What was the true order and manner that the Apostles did institute in the Church of Christ, I would gladly hear, and also would desire you to consider the same; and when you have well considered it, yet shall you find the institution and regiment of the Church of <i>Geneva</i> not to be without the publick counsel and advice of the Magistrates, Elders, and Ministers of that Church, with such care and diligence as <i>Paul</i> and <i>Silas</i> took in ordering the Church of <i>Thessalonica</i> , <i>Berea</i> , &c. wherein nothing was done without the authority of God's Word, as appeareth, <i>Acts 17.</i> As likewise also in establishing the Church of <i>Antioch</i> , when the Apostles were together in counsel for the same, there was no other Law nor Doctrine followed, but only the Word of God, as may appear by the words of the Council, <i>And tentis Deum, jugum imponere?</i> &c. And albeit the Ministers of the Church of <i>Rome</i> , and the Pope were not called to the institution of the foresaid Church of <i>Geneva</i> , yet it followeth not therefore, that there was no lawful order observed, either in establishing that Church or any other.	
Articular Confession.	<i>The Friar.</i> Have you not read in the Gospel, how Christ doth bid us to confess to the Priest, where he commanded the Leper, being made whole, to shew himself to the Priest?	<i>The Friar.</i> You were first baptized in the Church of the Pope, were ye not?	
	<i>The Martyr.</i> The true Church of the Lord Jesus Christ never observed this strange kind of confession, to carry our Sins to the Priest's ear. And tho the Church of <i>Rome</i> hath intruded this manner of confessing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be received. And as touching the Leper whom the Lord sent to the Priest, he was not sent therefore to whisper his sins in the Priest's ear, but only for a testimony of his health received according to the Law.	<i>The Martyr.</i> I grant I was, but yet that nothing hindreth the grace of God; he may renovate and call to further knowledge whom he pleaseth.	
	Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of the Prophet <i>David</i> full in the Psalms 32, 51, 106. where he saith, <i>That he confessed his sins unto the Lord, and received forgiveness of the same.</i>	<i>A Confessor.</i> I would wish you not to stick to your own wisdom and opinion. You see the Churches in <i>Germany</i> , how they dissent one from another. So that if you should not submit your judgment to the authority of the General Councils, every day you shall have a new Christianity.	
	<i>The Friar.</i> After this, the Friar proceeding further to make comparison between the Church of <i>Rome</i> and the Church of <i>Geneva</i> , would prove that the Pope hath power to set Laws in the Church without any express word of God; for so it is written (saith he) <i>That there were many other things beside, which are not written in this Book.</i> John 21. Also, where Christ promiseth to his Disciples, to send unto them the Holy-Ghost, which should induce them into all truth. Moreover, such Decrees and Ordinances as are in the Church were decided (saith he) and appointed by the Doctors of the Church, and by all the Councils, directed (no doubt) by the Holy-Ghost. Furthermore he inferred, that the Church also of <i>Geneva</i> had their Ordinances and Constitutions made without any Word of God. And for example, he brought forth the Order of the Psalms and Service publicly observed and appointed upon Wednesday in the Church of <i>Geneva</i> , as tho that day were holier than another.	<i>The Martyr.</i> To mine own wisdom I do not stick, nor ever will, but only to that wisdom which is in Christ Jesus, altho the World doth count it foolishness. And the Churches of <i>Germany</i> dissent among themselves one from another; that is not so, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principal grounds of Christian Faith. Neither is there any such fear that every day should rise up a new Christianity, unless the Church be ballanced with authority of the Councils, as you pretend. For so we read in the Prophet <i>David</i> , <i>Psal. 33.</i> and in other places of Scripture more: <i>That the Councils of the Nations and People shall be overthrown and subverted of the Lord, &c.</i> Wherefore the best is, that we follow the counsel of God and his Word, and prefer the authority thereof	Agreement in the principal points of Doctrine in the Churches reformed. Psal. 33.
	<i>The Martyr.</i> To this the Martyr answered again, declaring that the Ordinance of those publick Prayers and Psalms on Wednesday in the Church of <i>Geneva</i> , was not to bind Conscience, or for any superstitious observation, or for any necessity, which either should bind the Conscience, or could not be altered at their arbitrement; but only for an order or commodity for publick resort to hear the Word of God, according as ancient Kings and temporal Magistrates have used in old time to do, in congregating the People together; not to put any holiness in the day, or to bind the conscience to any observation, (as the Pope maketh his Laws) but		

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	K.Hen.8.
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The burning of Richard Ffeurus.



Persecut.
Ffeurus
Ffeurus
Ffeurus
Ffeurus
Ffeurus

thereof before all other counsels and judgments of Men; and thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and settle my self in this little Christianity, be it never so small, than in that populous Papality, be it never so great in multitude.

And thus was this godly *Ffeurus* commanded again by the Deputy to the Bishop's Prison, and from thence shortly after removed to *Lions*, not by the open and beaten way, but by secret and privy Journeys, lest perhaps he should be taken from them again, as he was before.

Tig-natius,
D. Ffeurus,
Sectonistis.

After he was come to *Lions*, he was brought before *Tig-natius* the Judge, and a Doctor of *Sorbon*, called *Fumofus*, who questioned with him touching sundry Articles of Religion. But in conclusion, when they neither with arguments could convict him, nor with promises allure him, nor with threatening terrors stir him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray them whom he knew not, which took him away before from his Keepers, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him first to have his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he received willingly and quietly for righteousness sake, thus finishing his Martyrdom, July 7. Anno 1554. *Ex Crisp. Pant. & alii.*

Nicholas
Chelms,
Martyr.

Nicholas du Chesne, at *Gry* by *Bezanfon*. Anno 1554.

The cause and occasion why this *Nicholas* came in trouble was, for that he going from *Laufanna*, (where he abode for his conscience) to fetch his Sister, and her Husband, and certain other of his friends, as he went from *Bezanfon*, toward the Town of *Gry*, did not homage to a certain Cross in the way, where a certain Monk, which was an Inquisitor, overtook him, and thereby suspected him. He was guided by the same Monk, craftily dissembling his Religion, to a Lodging in *Gry*: where the Justice of the place coming in incontinent took him. *Nicholas* seeing how he was by the Monk his Conductor betrayed; O false Traitor, said he, hast thou betrayed me? Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of Martyrdom, by the way he was promised, that if he would kneel down and hear a Mass, he

should be let go as a Passenger. But *Nicholas*, armed with perseverance, said, he would rather die than commit such an act. Who, calling upon the name of the Lord, took his death patiently. *Ex Crisp. lib. 6.*

John Bertrand, a Forester, or keeper of the Forest of *Marchevain*.

John Ber-
trand, Mar-
tyr.

At *Bleys*, Anno 1556.
For the Religion, and Gospel of Christ this *John* was apprehended by these persecutors here specified, and led bound to *Bleys*, where he was examined by *Denis* the Councillor, of divers points: as, Whether he had spoken at any time against God, against the Church, and the He-Saints, and the She-Saints of Paradise? Whereunto he said, No. Item, Whether at any time he had called the Mass abominable? Which he granted, for that he finding no Mass in all the Scripture, was commanded by St. Paul, That if an Angel from Heaven would bring any other Gospel besides that which was already received, he should account it accursed. After his condemnation they would have him to be confessed, and presented to him a Cross to kiss. But he bad the Priars with their Cross depart; that is not the Cross (said he) that I must carry. Entering into the Cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murder, theft, or blasphemy, but only for the quarrel of our Saviour. Being tied to the post, he sung the five and twentieth Psalm. Of age he was young, his countenance was exceeding cheerful and amiable, his eyes looked up to Heaven. O the happy Journey, (said he, seeing the place where he should suffer,) and the fair place that is prepared for me! When the fire was kindled about him, O Lord, (cried he) give thy hand to thy servant; I commend my soul unto thee; and so meekly yielded up his spirit. Whose patient and joyful constancy so astonished the People, that of long time before nothing did seem to them so admirable. *Ex Gallic. Hist. per Crisp. lib. 6.*

Peter

Falsc de-
clara in a Pa-
pist.

An In-
quisitor
Monk.

The Sen-
iors or
Lords of
Eftney &
Gyngne-
nes, dwel-
ling by the
Town of
Mache-
neir.

Denis
Barbier,
Counsell-
or of
Bleys.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
Kilten. 8.	<p>Peter Rouffean, Anno 1556.</p> <p>Peter Rouffean, coming from Geneva and Lausanne to his Country, partly to communicate with certain of his acquaintance in the Word of God, partly for other certain affairs, because he required his inheritance of his Brother-in-law, was by him betrayed. Then being constant in his Confession which he offered up, he was put to the Rack three times, which he suffered constantly with great torments. Afterward he had his tongue cut off, and a Ball of Iron put in his mouth. He was drawn upon a hurdle, all broken and maimed, to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air, and let down three times: and when he was half-burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and he with a loud voice called on the name of God, saying, Jesus Christ assist me. And so this blessed Martyr gave up his life to God. Ex Joan. Crisp.</p>		<p>the Preas in the Street called <i>Potevin</i>, in such sort that he was fain to be carried to <i>Pichon's</i> Houfe, a Widow, and there cried within, <i>Hide me, save my life, I am dead; I see even the like matter as at the last commotion.</i> My Friends, <i>hide my Mole, that no man see her nor know her.</i> Briefly, such was the fear which came upon them, that every Man shut up their Houses. After the fear was past, every Man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the Enemies of God's truth perceive who was he that put them so to flight and fear, without any semblance of any Adversary about them. This Story is testified, and to be found both in the Volume of the French Martyrs, printed by <i>John Crispine</i>, lib. 6. also in the Book of Dutch Martyrs, written by <i>Adrianus</i>.</p>
A Brother in law of this Peter.	<p>Arnold Moniere, John de Cases.</p> <p>At Bourdeaux, Anno 1556.</p> <p>After that <i>Arnold Moniere</i> was taken and examined of the Justice, and so was laid in prison, <i>John de Cases</i> resorting to the same Town of <i>Bourdeaux</i>, and hearing of him, and being admonished moreover, that if he went to him he should be appeached of Heresy, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their Martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon an hurdle to the place, accompanied with a number of Bills, Glaves, Gunners, and Trumpeters. Moreover, albeit there was no such cause (they being two simple poor Men) yet the Magistrates commanded (upon what occasion I know not) all the Gates of the City to be shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed Martyrs were brought and bound to the Post, which was before the Palace, they much rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many exhortations unto the People. But to stop the hearing of these Saints, the Trumpeters were commanded to found, which during all the time of their suffering never ceased. The Hangman, preparing himself first to strangle <i>Cases</i>, chanced to fall down from the top of the Post to the Pavement, and brake his head in such sort, as the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding he recovering himself, went to <i>Moniere</i>, and him he strangled, who patiently rendered up his life. <i>Cases</i>, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the Hangman came, suffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience: for as his Legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, crying, My God, my Father, and so gave up his life.</p> <p>And further, to note the work of God that followed, when these two mild and martyred Saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly without matter or cause such a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the Justices and the People, notwithstanding that they had the Gates locked to them, and were defended with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took them to their legs, in such haste flying away, that they over-ran one another. The Prior of St. <i>Antonie</i> fell down, so that a great number went over him. The Judge <i>Pontacke</i> on his Mule, with his red Robe, flying as the other did, was overthrown with</p>		<p>Philip Cene, James his Fellow.</p> <p>At Dyion, Anno 1557.</p> <p>This <i>Philip Cene</i> was an Apothecary at Geneva. He was taken at <i>Dyion</i>, and there imprisoned, and in the same Town of <i>Dyion</i> he with one <i>James</i> his companion was burned. As this <i>Philip</i> went to his death singing Psalms, the Friar standing by stopped his mouth with his hand. The most part of the People wept bitterly, saying, Be of good courage, Brethren, be not afraid of this death. Which when one of the adversary part heard, he said to one of the Magistrates, Do you not see how almost the half part of the People is of their side, and doth comfort them. Ex Joan. Crisp. lib. 6.</p>
Arnold Moniere, John de Cases, Martyrs.			<p>Archambant Seraphon, M. Nicholas du Rousseau.</p> <p>At Dyion, Anno 1557.</p> <p>These two were in prison together with <i>Philip</i> and <i>James</i> above-said, at <i>Dyion</i>. <i>Archambant</i> going about with a packet of Pedlary-wares to get his living, and coming towards his Wife, heard of certain Prisoners at <i>Dyion</i>, to whom he wrote to comfort them with his Letters. The next day after he was searched at <i>Amfione</i>, and Letters of certain Scholars of <i>Paris</i> found about him. Then he was brought to <i>Dyion</i>, where he, with the other called <i>Master Nicholas du Rousseau</i>, constantly suffered.</p> <p>The same <i>Archambant</i> had been also condemned three years before at <i>Tule</i>, and as he was led to <i>Bourdeaux</i> he escaped. Ex ejus Epist. ad uxorem, apud Crisp. lib. 6.</p>
Trumpets brought in to stop the hearing of Gods Saints.			<p>Philbert Hamlin, at Bourdeaux, Anno 1557.</p> <p><i>Philbert Hamlin</i> first was a Priest, then he went to Geneva, where he exercised Printing, and sent Books abroad. After that he was made Minister at the Town of <i>Allenart</i> in <i>Saintonge</i>, in which and in other places more he did much good in edifying the People. At last he was apprehended at <i>Saintes Ville</i>, and with him his Host a Priest, whom he had instructed in the Gospel; and after confession made of his Faith, he with the said Priest was carried to <i>Bourdeaux</i> before the President. As he was in Prison on a Sunday a Priest came in with all his furniture, to say Mass in the Prison; whom <i>Philbert</i> seeing to be reverted, came and pluck'd his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the Mass-garments, with the Chalice and Candlesticks, fell down and were broken; saying, Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in Churches, but you must also pollute</p>
Anthony de Le Court, the King's Attorney.			
Fear fell among Gods enemies.			

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	K.Hen. 8
Philbert pro- phets.	the Prison with your Idolatry? The Jaylor hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him: where- by he was removed to the common Prison, and laid in a low Pit, laden with great Irons, so that his Legs were swollen withal, and there continued eight days. A little before he, perceiv- ing the Priest his Host to decline from the Truth, did what he could to confirm him in the same: but when he knew he had flatly re- nounced Christ and his Word, he said unto him, O unhappy and more than miserable! is it pos- sible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the course of Nature, so to start away, and to deny the Truth? Know you therefore, that altho you have by your foolishness avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer: for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause, and you shall be an example to all Apostates. He had no sooner ended his talk, but the Priest go- ing out of prison, was slain by two Gentlemen which had a quarrel to him. Whereof when Master Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation to the Providence of God, which by the occasion here- of moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.	The King's Procurator.	Receiver, with a Canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithstanding that the Lords of Berne wrote for him to the Town of Ost, requiring to have their own Subject deliv- ered unto them, they hastened the execution, and pronounced sentence that he should be burned. Which sentence he received with such constancy, that neither the King's Recei- ver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the Gospel, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remained in his body. Ex Jo. Crisp. lib. 6.	
The miracu- lous judg- ment of God against Apo- states.	At last the foresaid Philbert, after his condem- nation, was had to the place of his Martyrdom before the Palace: and as he was exhorting the People, to the intent his words should not be heard, the Trumpets blew without ceas- ing. And so being fastened to the post, this holy Martyr, praying and exhorting the People, was strangled, and his body with fire consumed on Palm-Sunday-Eve. Ex Gallic. Hist. Crisp. lib. 6.		George Tardif, with one of Tours, a Broderer. Nicholas, a Shoemaker of Jenville. At Tours, Anno 1558. At Jenville, Anno 1558.	
Trumpets blown to stop the hear- ing of Phil- bert.	Nicolas Sartorius, at Ost, by Piedmont, Anno 1557. Nicolaus Sartorius, of the age of six and twenty years, born in Piedmont, came to the parts of Chamberie in Lent, where a certain Warden of the Friars in the Town of Ost had preached on Good-Friday upon the passion. The report of which Sermon being recited to this Sartorius, by one that heard him, Sartori- us reprehended the error and blasphemies there- of, which were against the holy Scriptures. Shortly after the Party that told him went to a Secretary, named Ripet, who covertly came to entrap Nicolas, demanding him of the Friar's Sermon: And did not our Preacher, said he, preach well? No, said Nicolas, but he lied falsely. Ripet entring further with him, de- manded: And do you not believe the Body of the Lord to be in the Host? To whom Nicolas then answered again, That would be against our Creed, which saith, That he ascended up, and sitteth, &c. Incontinent Ripet went to the Friar and his companions, to cause him to be ap- prehended. The friends of Nicolas perceiv- ing the danger, willed him to avoid and save himself, and also accompanied him out of the Town about the space of three leagues. Then was great pursuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the Town of Saint Remy, at the foot of the mountain of great St. Bernard, where he was examined before Anthony Eschaux, Bayliff of the Town, and other Justices, before whom he answered with great boldness for his Faith. Then they brought him to the Rack, and when the Sergeant refused to draw the Cord, the Bayliff himself, and the	The Ac- cusers be not named in the ite- ry.	The Printer of the Story of the French Mar- tyrs, named Crispina, among other more, mak- eth also memorial of George Tardif, a Broder- er of Tours, and Nicholas of Jenville, declaring that all these three together were in prison, and afterward were delivered, to suffer in sundry places one from the other; of whom first, George Tardif was executed at Sens. The Broderer of Tours, as he was coming with five or six other out of a Wood, being at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he should be examined, he desired the Judges that he might pray. Which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the Judges, for the King, and all Es- tates, and for the necessity of all Christ's Saints, he answered for himself with such grace and modesty, that the hearts of many were broken unto the shedding of tears, seeking (as it seemed) nothing else but his deliverance. Not- withstanding he at last was sent unto Tours, and there was crowned with martyrdom. The third, which was Nicolas, being but young of years, and newly come from Geneva to his Country, for certain Money, by means of a Lady there dwelling was caused to be ap- prehended. When he was condemned and set in the Cart, his Father, coming with a staff, would have beaten him, but the Officers not suffering it, would have smitten the old Man. The Son crying to the Officers, desired them to let his Father alone, saying, that his Father had power over him, to do with him what he would. And so going to the place where he should suffer, having a ball of Iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the Town of Jenville, where he patiently took his death and martyrdom, Anno 1558. Ex Typograph. Crisp. lib. 6.	George Tar- dif, Martyr. A Broderer of Tours, Martyr. Nicolas of Jenville, Mar- tyr.
Ripet, a Secretary.	Anthony Eschaux, Bayliff.		The Congregation of Paris persecuted, the number of three or four hundred, at Paris, Anno 1558. Anno 1558, September the fourth, a com- pany of the Faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were together convened at Paris in a certain House, having before it the College of Plestis in the Street of St. James, and behind it the College of Sorbon, who there assembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lord's Supper: But incontinent that was discovered by certain Priests of Plestis, who gathering to- gether such as were of that Faction, came to beset the House, and made an outcry, that the Watch might come to take them; so that in short time almost all the City Paris was up in Armour, thinking some Conspiracy to have been	A terrible Persecution at Paris a- gainst the Congregati- on.

and

Perfect.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Perfect.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
Notewell the true notes of the Pope's holy Church.	and thereupon (making no mention at all either of Preaching, or Ministration of Sacraments) thus he inferreth: That their Church, which was the Catholick Church, had Bells by the which their Assemblies be ordinarily called together; and the other Church, which is of the Lutherans; hath Claps of Harquebusses and Pistolets for signs, whereby they (as it is commonly bruited) are wont to congregate together. Upon this supposal, as upon a sure foundation, he grounding his matter, vaunted and triumphed as one having gotten a great Conquest, and made a long <i>Antithe- sis</i> or Comparison, by the which he would prove that Bells were the marks of the true Church. The Bells, said he, do sound; the Harquebusses do crack or thunder. The Bells do give a sweet tune and melodious; the signs of the Lutherans do make a foul noise and terrible. The Bells do open Heaven, the other do open Hell. Bells chase away Clouds and Thunder; the other engender Clouds and counterfeite Thunder: With many other properties more, which he brought out to prove that the Church of Rome is the true Church because it hath those Bells. Mark, good Reader, the profound reasons and arguments which these great Doctors had, either to defend their own Church, or to impugn the Apologies of the Christians.		<i>Taurin Gravelle</i> , a Lawyer at Paris. Anno 1558. <i>Taurin Gravelle</i> first was a Student of the Law at <i>Tolose</i> ; after that he was made an Advocate in the Court of <i>Paris</i> : Lastly, for his godliness he was ordained an Elder to the said Congregation, with <i>Cline</i> above-mentioned. This <i>Taurin</i> having in his hands the keeping of a certain House of one Master <i>Barthomier</i> his Kinsman, and seeing the Congregation destitute of room, received them into the said House. And when he perceived the House to be compassed with enemies, albeit he might have escaped with the rest, yet he would not, but did abide the adventure, to the intent he would answer for the fact, in receiving the said Assembly into the House. The constancy of this Man was invincible, in sustaining his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Dr. <i>Mail- lard</i> especially he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know so well even from his youth upward, that whensoever the said Doctor would open his mouth to speak against the Saints for their night- ly Assemblies, he again did reproach him with such filthy acts of Buggery and infamous Sodom- ity, that neither they which heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being so notorious that almost all the Children in the Streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical Doctor flamed not to impeach good Men of Whoredom for their godly Assemblies in the night, whose Life was so far from all chastity, as were their holy Assemblies clear from all impu- rity. In fine, these two godly Elders in cruel pains of the fire finished their martyrdom.
Bells made the mark of the true Church.	Briefly, to finish the residue of this Story: As the faith- ful Christians were thus occupied in writing their Apolo- gies, and in comforting their Brethren in prison with their Letters, the Adversaries again with their Faction were not idle, but sought all means possible to hasten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the Prison and other open places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of them whose Religion they hated.	Dr. Mail- lard, Sor- bonist.	
The com- modity of Bells in the Pope's Church.	Finally, the seventeenth day of September Commission was directed out by the King, and certain Presidents and Counsellors appointed to oversee the expedition of the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor afflicted Gospellers were brought forth to their Judgment and Martyrdom, as anon (Christ willing) you shall hear.		Note the ho- ly life of these Sorbo- nical Do- ctors.
God's help in time of need.	<i>Henricus Pantat</i> , lib. 11. partly touching this Persecution of the Parilians, referreth the time thereof to the year of our Saviour 1557, which the French Chronicles do assign to the year 1558, and addeth moreover, that the Germans being the same time in a certain Colloquy at <i>Wormes</i> , di- vers learned Men resorted thither from <i>Genova</i> and other quarters, desiring of the Princes and Protestants there, that they by their Embassadors sent to the French King, would become Suiters unto him for the innocent Prisoners, which for the cause above said were detained in bands at Paris. By the means of whose Intercession, faith he, and especially for that the French King was then in War (as God provided) with <i>Philip</i> King of <i>Spain</i> , a great part of the Captives were released and delivered; albeit certain of the said number were executed before the coming of the Ger- man Embassadors, the Names and Martyrdom of whom hereunder do ensue: <i>Ex Crisp. & Pant. lib. 11.</i>	A Gentle- man called <i>Perrier</i> .	<i>Bartholomew Helior</i> , at <i>Turin</i> , 1556. First, this <i>Helior</i> was a traveller about the Country, and a seller of books, having his Wife and Children at <i>Genova</i> . As he came into the Vale of <i>Angroign</i> in <i>Piedmont</i> , to get his living with selling of books, he was taken by a cer- tain Gentleman, and there arrested and sent to <i>Thurin</i> , then examined, at last condemned. Being condemned, he was threatened, that if he spake any thing to the People, his tongue should be cut off; nevertheless he ceased nothing to speak. After his prayers made, wherein he prayed for the Judges, that God would forgive them, and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the stake, if he would convert; which he refused. Then he prepared himself to his death, which he took patiently. Whereat ma- ny of the People wept, saying, Why doth this Man die, which speaketh of nothing but of God? <i>Ex Hist. Gall. per Crisp. lib. 6.</i>
Nicholas Cline, Sen- ior of the Church, and Martyr.	<i>Nicholas Cline</i> , at Paris. Anno 1558. Of this godly Company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the first was <i>Ni- cholas Cline</i> , of the age of sixty years, who first being a Schoolmaster to Youth at <i>Saintonge</i> (where he was born) was there pursued, and had his Image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where for his godly conversation he was made one of the Elders or Governors of the Church. For his age he was suspected of the Judges to be a Minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chiefest of the Sorbo- nists, namely <i>Maillard</i> , whom he did so confute both by the Scriptures, and also their own Sorbonical Divinity, (wherein he had been well exercised and expert) in the presence of the Lieutenant Civil, that the said Lieutenant confessed that he never heard a Man better learn- ed, and of more intelligence.	M. Bar- tholomew Helior, President.	<i>Philip de Luns</i> , Gentlewoman, at Paris. Anno 1558. Next unto <i>Cline</i> and <i>Gravelle</i> above-said, was brought out Mrs. <i>Philip</i> , Gentlewoman, of the age of twenty three years. She came first from the parts of <i>Gascogne</i> with her Husband (who was Lord of <i>Graveron</i>) unto Paris, there to join her self to the Church of God, where her Husband also had been a Senior or Elder, who in the month of May before was taken with an Ague, and deceased, leaving this <i>Philip</i> a Wi- dow, which nevertheless ceased not to serve the Lord in his Church, and also in the house was taken with the said company. Many conflicts she had with the Judges and the Sorbonists, namely, <i>Maillard</i> ; but the always sent him a- way with the same reproach as the other did be- fore, and bad him, Avaunt Sodomite, saying, he would not answer one word to such a Villain. To the Judges her answer was this, That he had learned the Faith which he confessed in the Word of God, and in the same would live and die.
Pleists of the Col- lege of <i>Platini</i> .		M. Augu- stine de E- glis, Coun- cillor.	<i>Philip de Luns</i> , Gentlewoman and Martyr.
Dr. Mail- lard con- futed.		The Lic- entenant Ci- vil.	
		Dr. Mail- lard, Sor- bonist.	
		<i>Mail- lard</i> , Lieute- nant.	
		Bail- Neigh- bour.	
		<i>Bernard</i> Lord- Kee- per of the Seal, and Cardinal of Sens.	
		The Mar- quis of Tran.	

K. Hen's
The Sacrament.

Persecut.

Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

And being demanded whether the Body of Christ was in the Sacrament: How is that possible, said she, to be the Body of Christ, to whom all power is given, and which is 'exalted above all Heavens, whereas we see the Mice and Rats, Apes and Monkeys play with it, and tear it in pieces? Her Petition to them was, that seeing they had taken her Sister from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort himself Her wicked Neighbours, altho they could touch her conversation with no part of dishonesty, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was singing of Psalms in her house, and twice or thrice an infinite number of Persons were seen to come out of her house. Also when her Husband was in dying, no Priest was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their Infant to be baptized; for it was baptized in the Church of the Lord. Among other her Neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at St. Germain in the Suburbs; between whom incontinent rose a strife, wherein one of them flouted the other with a Knife. The death of this Gentlewoman was the more hastened of the Lord-keeper of the Seal, *Bertrand*, Cardinal of Sens, and his Son-in-Law the Marquess of Trane, to have the consecration of her Goods.

The just hand of God against false and bloody Witnesses.

The martyrdom of Cliney, Gravelle, and Philip de Lamo.

These three holy Martyrs above-recited, were condemned *Septemb. 27.* by the Process of the Commissioners, and the Lieutenant Civil: and then being put in a Chappel together, certain Doctors were sent to them, but their valiant constancy remained unmoveable. After that they were had out of their Prison, and sent every one in a Dung-cart to the place of Punishment. *Cliney* ever cried by the way, protesting, that he said or maintained nothing but the Verity of God. And being asked of a Doctor, Whether he would believe St. *Augustin*, touching certain matters? he said, Yea; and that he had said nothing but which he would prove by this Authority.

The Crois.

The Gentlewoman, seeing a Priest come to confess her, said, That she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certain Counsellors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden Crois, according to the custom of them that go to their death; alledging how Christ commanded every one to bear his Crois: she answered, My Lords, said she, you make me in very deed to bear my Crois, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ. Who willeth us to bear our Crois, but no such Crois as you speak of.

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and shewed a cheerful colour, declaring how little he passed for his condemnation: and being asked of his Friends to what death he was condemned; I see well (said he) that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And coming from the Chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unless he would return, he said, that was not so contained in the Article, and therefore he was unwilling to grant unto it: but afterward perceiving the same to be agreed by the Court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut, and incontinent spake plainly these words; I pray you pray to God for me.

The Gentlewoman also, being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words: Seeing I do not flick to give my Body, shall I flick to give my Tongue? No, no. And so these three, having their Tongues cut out, were brought to *Malbert-place*. The constancy of *Gravelle* was admirable, calling up his sighs and groans to Heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. *Cliney* was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of Nature and his Age. But the Gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, which neither changed countenance, nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

Persecut.

Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

After the death of her Husband, she used to go in a mourning Weed, after the manner of the Country. But the same day, going to her bunnings, she put on her French hood, and decked her self in her best Array, as going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her Spouse Jesus Christ. And thus the three, with singular constancy, were burned; *Gravelle* and *Cliney* were burned alive. *Philip* the Gentlewoman was strangled, after she had a little talked the flame with her feet and visage; and so she ended her martyrdom. *Ex Joan. Crisp. lib. 6.*

Precious in the sight of God, is the seat of his saints.

Nicholas Cene, Peter Gabart, at Paris, Anno 1558.

The Lieutenant.

Of the same Company was also *Nicholas Cene* a Physician, Brother to *Philip Cene* above mentioned, and martyred at *Dyon*, and *Peter Gabart*: which two, about five or six days after the other three before, were brought forth to their death, *Ozab. 2.*

Nich. Cene, Peter Gabart, Martyrs.

Doctor Mailard.

Nicholas Cene was but new come to Paris the same day, when he was advertised of the Assembly which then was congregate in the street of St. *James*, and (as he desired nothing more than to hear the Word of God) came thither even as he was, booted, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of God's holy Gospel unto death.

Counsellors.

The other was *Peter Gabart*, a Solicitor of Proceffes, about the Age of thirty years, whose constancy did much comfort the Prisoners. He was put among a great number of Scholars in the little Castle. Who when he heard to pass the time in talking of Philosophy; No, no, said he, let us forget these worldly matters; and learn how to sustain the heavenly Cause of our God, which lie here in defence of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ our Saviour: And so he began to instruct them how to answer to every point of Christian Doctrine so well, as if he had done no other thing in all his life, but only studied Divinity; and yet was he but very simply learned. Then was he sent from them apart to another Prison, full of filthy stench and vermin; where notwithstanding he ceased not to sing Psalms that the other might well hear him. He had a Nephew in a Prison by, being but a Child, of whom he asked what he had said to the Judges? He said, that he was constrained to do reverence to a Crucifix painted. O thou naughty Boy, said he, have not I taught thee the Commandments of God? Knowest thou not how it is written; *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image*, &c. And so began to expound to him the Commandments; whereunto he gave good attention.

A wholesome Lesson for all Students.

The Friers.

In their Examinations, many Questions were proposed by the Doctors and Friers, touching matters both of Religion, and also to know of them what Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were there present at the ministrition of the Sacrament. Whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their own cause, and also to save their other Brethren from blame, saying, that they would live and die in that they had said and maintained.

Images for all Students.

When the time of their Execution was come, they perceived that the Judges had intended, that if they would relent, they should be strangled, if not, they should burn alive, and their Tongues be cut from them. Which torments they being content to suffer for our Saviour Jesus Christ, offered their Tongues willingly to the Hangman to be cut. *Gabart* began a little to sigh, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his Tongue. Whom then *Cene* did comfort. Then were they drawn out of Prison in the Dung-cart to the Suburbs of St. *Germain*. Whom the People in rage and madness, followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as tho they would have done the execution themselves upon them, maugre the Hangman. The cruelty of their death, was such as hath not lightly

Their tongues cut out.

Cruelty. been

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Perfecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	R. Hen. 8.
See here, how the whole tower of the World was con- siderate to- gether against the poor Saints of God, according to the prophecy of the Ieremial Chap. XLIX. Reges terræ & principes conveniunt in unum, adversus dominum, &c.	<p>been seen: for they were holden long in the Air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before that the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed Saints ceased not in all these Torments to turn up their eyes to Heaven, and to shew forth infinite testimonies of their Faith and constancy.</p> <p>In the same fire many Testaments and Bibles the same time also were burnt.</p> <p>Upon the sight of this cruelty, the Friends of the other Prisoners which remained behind, fearing the tyranny of these Judges, presented certain causes of refusal against the said Judges, requiring other Commissioners to be plac- ed. But the King, being hereof advertised by his Solicitor, sent out his Letters Patents, commanding the said Causes of refusal to be frustrate, and willed the former Judges to proceed, all other Lets and Obstacles to the contrary notwith- standing: and that the Presidents should have power to chuse to them other Counsellors, according to their own ar- bitrement, to supply the place of such as were absent: a- mongst whom also the said Solicitor was received, instead of the King's Procurator, to pursue the Process. By the which Letters Patents it was decreed, that these stubborn Sacra- mentaries (as they were called) should be judged accord- ingly, save only that they should not proceed to the execu- tion, before the King were advertised. These Letters afore- said, stirred up the fire of this Persecution not a little, for that the Judges at this refusal took great Indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithstanding so it pleased God, that a young man, a German, called <i>Al- bert Hartung</i>, born in the Country of <i>Brandenburg</i>, and Godson to <i>Albert Marquês of Brandenburg</i>, by the King's Commandment was delivered, through the importunate suit of the said Marquês. <i>Ex Jo. Cripp. lib. 6.</i></p>	<p>I recognize that to be the true Church where the Go- spel is truly preached, and the Sacraments rightly mi- nistrated, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his Apo- stles.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>And is the Church (think you) of <i>Geneva</i> such a one as you speak of?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>I so judge it to be.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Yes, if you shall prove it by the Scripture?</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Or will you believe <i>St. Austin</i> and other holy Doctors innumerable?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Yes, for they dissent not from the Scripture and the Word of God.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>By the Authority of <i>St. Augustine</i>, the Church is there where is the Succession of Bishops. Whereunto I frame this Argument:</p> <p>There is the Church, where is the perpetual succession of Bishops.</p> <p>In the Church of <i>Paris</i> is such Succession of Bi- shops:</p> <p>Ergo the Church of <i>Paris</i> is the true Church.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>To your <i>Major</i> I answer, That if <i>St. Austin</i> mean the succession of such as are true Bishops indeed, which truly preach the Gospel, and rightly administer the Sacra- ments; such Bishops I suppose to be at <i>Geneva</i>, where the Gospel is truly preached, and the Sacraments du- ly ministrated, and not in the Church of <i>Paris</i>. But otherwise, if <i>St. Austin</i> mean the succession of false Bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's Word, so is the same in no wise to be gran- ted.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p><i>Calvin</i> is there by his own thrusting in only, and by the chusing of the People.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>And that foundeth more for him to be of God's Divine Election, for so much as by him the Gospel of God is preached truly, and from this no Man shall bring me.</p> <p>After this disputation, the ninth of the same month came against him another Doctor with two Sorbonists; who, bringing forth a scroll out of his Bosom, pre- tended that a certain Scholar coming from <i>Geneva</i>, made his confession, wherein was contained, that, in receiving of the Bread and Wine, the Body and Blood of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whe- ther he would receive the same Confession.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Whatsoever I have said unto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word [<i>really</i>] I know right well that they of <i>Geneva</i> do not take it for any carnal presence, as you do; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imagination.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>I marvel much that you so refuse the Word <i>really</i>, and use only <i>spiritually</i>, seeing that <i>Calvin</i> himself doth use the same word <i>really</i>.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p><i>Calvin</i> meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>What say you by Confession Auricular?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>The same that I said before to Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, That I take it for a Plantation, not planted by God in his Word.</p>	<p>The Church.</p>	
Albert Har- tung deli- vered.	<p>Frederick Danville. Francis Rebezes. At Paris, Anno 1558.</p>			
Frederick Danville, Francis Rebezes, Martyrs.	<p>Two Pro- fidents.</p> <p>Twenty five Coun- sellors.</p> <p>The Lieu- tenant Ci- vil.</p> <p>Doctore.</p> <p>Friers.</p> <p>Mat. 10. Sorbonists</p> <p>Benedictus Jacobin.</p> <p>Demochi- ro.</p> <p>Matillard.</p>	<p>Mention was made above of certain young Scholars and Students which were in the little Cattle with <i>Peter Gabert</i>. Of which number of Scholars were these two, <i>Frederick Danville</i>, and <i>Francis Rebezes</i>, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they be- haved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what con- fession they made, what conflicts they had, dis- puting with the Doctors of <i>Sorbon</i>, their own Letters left in writing do make record: the ef- fect whereof briefly to touch is this; and first, touching <i>Frederick Danville</i>.</p> <p>The Lieutenant Criminal, who before was half suspected, but now thinking to prove him- self a right Catholick, and to recover his esti- mation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture; <i>Whosoever denieth me before Men, him will I deny before my Father</i>, &c. That done, he asked him what he thought of the Sacrament, To whom <i>Frederick</i> answered, That if he should think Christ Jesus to be be- tween the Priest's Hands after the Sacramental words (as they call them) then should he be- lieve a thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, and to the Creed, which saith, <i>That he sitteth on the right hand of the Father</i>. Also to the Testimo- ny of the Angels, which spake both of the as- cending of Christ, and of his coming down a- gain, <i>Alas</i>! After this he questioned with him touching invocation of Saints, Purgato- ry, &c. Whereunto he answered so, that he ra- ther did astonish the Enemies, than satisfy them.</p> <p>Furthermore, the 12th of September the said <i>Frederick</i> again was brought before <i>Benedictus Jacobin</i>, and his Companion, a Sorbonist, called <i>Noster Magister</i>; who thus began to argue with him.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Which think you to be the true Church, the Church of the Protestants, or the Church of <i>Paris</i>?</p>		

<p>Perfect.</p> <p>K. Hen. 8.</p> <p><i>Melancthon</i> in his Common Places speaking of the popish Confession which consisteth in the enumeration of his faults, that it is a snare of conscience, and against the Gospel, and otherwise maketh there no mention of Evangelium secretum more doubt, the confession of the Almes.</p>	<p>Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>The <i>Almes</i>, in their Confession which they sent to our King to be approved, have these words; <i>Confessione auriculari non improbamus; est enim Evangelium secretum</i>: That is, We do not reject Auricular Confession; for it is a Gospel secret and privy. And also <i>Melancthon</i> in his Book of Common Places, doth call it <i>Evangelium secretum</i>.</p> <p>Another time the said <i>Frederick</i> was called again before the Lords, the twentieth of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain Questions, where he was born, and whether he had heard in his Country at <i>Oléron</i>, that <i>Mr. Gerard</i> the Bishop there did sing Mass. Yea, said he, And why do not you also, said they, receive the same. He answered, Because he did it to retain and keep his Bishoprick. The Martyr, for lack of Paper, could proceed herein no further.</p> <p><i>The Examination of Francis Rebezies.</i></p> <p>Rebezies had three sundry Examinations: The first with the Lieutenant Civil: the second with the Presidents and the Counsellors: the third with the Friars. First, The Lieutenant enquiring of his Name, Country, and Parents, asked whether he was at the Communion, whether he received with them the Bread and Wine, and whether he was a Servitor to <i>Mr. Nicholas Cote</i>, Senior of the Congregation? Whereunto he said, Yea. Also whether he was a distributor of the Tokens, whereby they were let in that came? That he denied. Then he was brought into the Council Chamber, before two Presidents, and 25 Counsellors; who, after other Questions about his Country and Parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? He answered, Yea. What he had to do there? To hear the Word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No Man. How he durst, or would enter, knowing no Person there? Truth it was, said he, that he knew there two or three. Who were they? <i>Mr. Gravell, Clinet, and John Sanson</i>, saying that name of himself. Whether he knew the Preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the Act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to resort unto their beautified Temples, to hear Mass, or whether he did not take the Mass to be an holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered again contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up of the Devil. Whether he did not acknowledge Purgatory? Yea, that Purgatory, which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the World. The death of Christ is the principal, said they, but thou must also believe another. Alas, said he, can we never content our selves with the simplicity of the Gospel, but Man always will be putting to something of his own brain: in so many places of the Scripture we see the Blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as <i>John 1. Apocalypse 5. Heb. 9. Isa. 43.</i> Where the Lord himself saith; <i>That it is he, who for his own sake purgeth away our Iniquities, &c.</i> As <i>St. Paul</i> also saith, <i>That God was in Christ, reconciling the World unto himself, &c.</i> And contrary, when they objected the words of the Parable, <i>Mat. 5. Thou shalt not come out, till thou hast paid the last farthing.</i> To this he answered, That the words of that Parable had no such relation, but to matters civil: and this word [until] meaneth there, as much as never. After that, he was charged there by one, for reading the Books of <i>Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger</i>. The President asked, if he were not afraid to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his Parents into such dishonour? He answered, that he knew well, <i>That all which would live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution.</i> And that to him either to live or to die, were advantage in the Lord. And as touching his Parents, Christ, said he, doth premonish himself, <i>That whosoever loveth Father or Mother more than him, is not worthy to be his, &c.</i> <i>Jesus Maria!</i> said the President, What youth is this now-days, which call themselves so headlong into the fire! and so was he commanded away.</p> <p>Thirdly, He was brought before <i>Bene</i>, Master of the Doctors of <i>Sorbon</i>, and another called <i>Jacobine</i>, the</p>	<p>Persecut.</p> <p><i>Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.</i></p> <p>fourteenth of <i>October</i>; whereas he, chancing to speak of the Lord, the Doctor began thus to object as followeth.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>See how you, and all such as are of your company, simply name the Lord, without putting to the Pronoun, <i>our</i>. So may the Devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>The Devils call the Lord in such sort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the Adultres before him, and called him Master: yet neither attended they to his Doctrine, nor intended to be his Disciples: whose cause I trust is nothing like to ours, which know, and confess (as we speak) him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to do.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>I know well you hold the Church to be; where the Word is truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely ministered, according as they are left of Christ and his Apostles.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Do you not believe, that whosoever is without that Church, cannot obtain remission of his sins?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Whosoever doth separate himself from that Church, to make either Sect, Part, or Division, cannot obtain as you say.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Now let us consider two Churches, the one wherein the Word is rightly preached, and the Sacraments administered accordingly as they be left unto us: the other, wherein the Word and Sacraments be used contrarily. Which of these two ought we to believe?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>The first.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Well said. Next is now to speak of the Gifts given to the said Church: as the power of the Keys, Confession for remission of sins, after we be confessed to a Priest. Also we must believe the seven Sacraments in the same Church truly administered, as they be here in the Churches of <i>Paris</i>, where the Sacrament of the Altar is ministered, and the Gospel truly preached.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Sir, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I do not receive in the Church more than two Sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole communality of Christians. And as concerning the power of the Keys, and your Confession, I believe that for remission of our sins, we ought to go to none other but only to God, as we read <i>1 Job. 1. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to pardon our Offences, and he will purge us from all our Iniquities, &c.</i> Also in the Prophet <i>David</i>, <i>Psalm 19. & 32. I have opened my sin unto thee, &c.</i></p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Should I not believe that Christ, in the time of his Apostles, gave to them power to remit sins?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>The power that Christ gave to his Apostles, if it be well considered, is nothing disagreeing to my saying: and therefore I began to say (which here I confess) that the Lord gave to his Apostles to preach the Word, and so to remit sins by the same Word.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Do you then deny Auricular Confession?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Yea verily I do.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Ought we pray to Saints?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>I believe no.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Tell me that I shall ask; Jesus Christ being here upon the Earth, was he not then as well sufficient to hear the whole World, and to be intercessor for all, as he is now?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i> Yea.</p>
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Perfect.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	K. Hen. 8.
Intercession of Saints.	<p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>But we find, that when he was here on Earth, his Apostles made intercession for the People; and why may they not do the same as well now also?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>So long as they were in the World, they exercised their Ministry, and prayed one for another, as needing humane succours together: but now they being in Paradise, all their Prayer that they make, is this, That they wish that they which be yet on Earth may attain to their felicity; but to obtain any thing at the Father's hand, we must have recourse only to his Son.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>If one Man have such charge to pray for another, may he not be then be called an Intercessor?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>I grant.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Well then, you say there is but one Intercessor. Whereupon I infer, that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jesus Christ to have him an Intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so ought we verily to believe.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>You understand not, Sir, that if God do not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then shall we never be able to stand in his sight. For if he shall look upon us, he can see nothing but sin. And if the Heavens be not pure in his Eyes, what shall be thought then of Man, so abominable and unprofitable, which drinketh Iniquity like water, as Job doth say?</p> <p><i>Then the other Frier, seeing his Fellow to have nothing to answer to this, inferred as followeth.</i></p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Nay (my Friend) as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand, and now to speak of our selves, this we know, that God is not displeased with them which have recourse unto his Saints.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Sir, we must not do after our own wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth. For this is the truth that we have in him, that if we demand anything after his Will, he will bear us. 1 John 5.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>As no Man cometh to the presence of an earthly King or Prince, without means made by some about him; so, or rather much more, to the heavenly King above, &c.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>To this earthly Example, I will answer with another Heavenly Example of the prodigal Son, who sought no other means to obtain his Father's Grace, but came to the Father himself.</p> <p><i>Then they came to speak of Adoration, which the said Rebezies disproved by the Scripture, Acts 10. 13, 14. Apoc. 19. 22. Heb. 10. 14, 12. Where it is to be noted, that where the Martyr alleged the 12th to the Hebrews; the Doctors answered, that it was in the 11th Chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the 11th, nor in the 12th, but in the 14th Chapter of the Acts. So well seen were these Doctors in their Divinity.</i></p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Touching the Mass, what say you? believe you not that when the Priest hath consecrated the Host, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample sort, as he was hanging upon the Cross?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>No verily; but I believe that Jesus Christ is sitting, at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth Heb. 10. 1 Cor. 15. Col. 3. and therefore (to make short with you) I hold your Mass for none other, but for a false and counterfeited Service, set up by Satan, and retained by his Ministers, by the which you do annihilate the precious Blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own Body; and you know right well that the same is sufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>You deceive your selves in the word reiteration, for we do not reiterate it so as you think: as by Example I will shew you. You see me now in this religious Garment;</p>	<p>but if I should put upon me a Souldiers Weed, then should I be disguised, and yet for all that I should remain the same still within my Doublet, that I was before in my Friers Weed. So is it with the Sacrifice: We confess and grant, that <i>Naturaliter</i>, that is, naturally, he was once offered in Sacrifice; and also in fitting, <i>Naturaliter</i>, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his Father; but <i>Supernaturaliter</i>, & <i>scriptivè</i>, that is, supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration. <i>Supernaturaliter</i> we sacrifice him; but that Sacrifice is only disguised, to understand that he is contained under that curtain and whiteness which you see.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>Sir, this I say, that such a disguised Sacrifice, is a diabolical Sacrifice; and this you may take for a resolution.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>And how is your Belief touching the holy Supper?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>That if it be ministered unto me by the Minister, in such usage, as it hath been left of Christ and his Apostles, preaching also the Word purely withal, I believe that, in receiving the material Bread and Wine, I receive with lively Faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ spiritually.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>Say corporally.</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>No Sir, for his words be Spirit and Life; and let this content you.</p> <p><i>The Doctor.</i></p> <p>What say you, Is it lawful for a Priest to marry?</p> <p><i>The Martyr.</i></p> <p>I believe it to be lawful for him, in such sort as the Apostle saith, <i>Whosoever hath not the gift of Continence, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn.</i> And if this do not content you, further you may read what the writeth of Bishops and Elders, 1 Tim. 3. and Tit. 1.</p> <p>And thus these Doctors, affirming that he denied Priesthood, gave him leave to depart, saying, God have mercy on you. So be it, said he.</p> <p>After this, about Octob. 22. the said Rebezies and Frederick Danville, were brought up to a Chamber in the Castle to be racked, to the intent they should utter the rest of the Congregation. In the which Chamber they found three Counsellors, who thus began with them: Lift up thy hand. Thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose Image here thou seest, shewing him a great Marmouset there painted in a paper, &c. Whereunto Rebezies answered, Monsieur, I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart. Why dost not thou swear to us, said the Counsellors, as we say unto thee: Because, said he, it is a great blasphemy against the Lord. Then the Counsellors read their Depositions, and first beginning with Rebezies, said: Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what Companions thou knowest to be of this Assembly? Rebezies named, as he did before, Gravel, Clines, (which were already burnt) and John Sanfon. To whom they said, that the Court had ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should be put to the Torture or Rack, and so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a Cross put in his hand, being bid to commend himself to God & the Virgin Mary; but he neither would receive the Cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying, That God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the Lion's mouth; and so, being drawn and stretched in the Air, began to cry, Come Lord and shew thy strength, that Man do not prevail, &c. But they cried, Tell truth Francis, and thou shalt be let down. Nevertheless he continued still in his invocation and prayer to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the Counsellors said, Wilt thou say nothing else? I have nothing else, said he, to say. And so they commanded him to be loosed, and he was put by the fire side. Who, being loosed, said to them: Do you handle thus the poor Servants of God? And the like was done to Frederick Danville also, his Companion, of whom they could have no other answer (who at the same time was also very sick) but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his Servants, as ever he did any else, as by their own Letters and Confession it doth appear. <i>Ex literis Franci. Rebez. in Crisp. l. 6.</i></p>	<p>Naturaliter, Supernaturaliter, or scriptivè.</p> <p>The disguised Sacrifice of the Papists.</p> <p>The body of Christ spiritually received in the Sacrament, spiritually, Corporally.</p> <p>Matrimony of Bachelors.</p> <p>The martyrs racked.</p> <p>The constancy of these Martyrs.</p>	

Note this Blasphemous Doctrine, which maketh Saints equal Intercessors with Christ.

Worthily, young of Saints.

The presence of Christ in the Host.

Blas.

K. Hen. 8.

Persecut. Mar yrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Brotherly compulsion.

The comfort of Gods Spirit.

Y^e. M^{rs}. laid open his Soul.

John Morel was afterwards burned.

The death Martyrdom of John Morel and his Disciples lib. 6.

The Swissers make supplication to the French King for the Martyrs.

These constant and true Martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the Torture unto their fellow Prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. *Frederick* did fight oftentimes, and being asked of his fellows, Why he so did? he said it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the Evils that he knew they should suffer afterward. Notwithstanding, said he, be strong, Brethren, and be not afraid, assuring your selves of the aid of God, which hath succoured us, and also will comfort you. *Rebezies* with the Rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his Neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not move himself: and therefore desiring his Brethren to lay him upon his Bed, there he wrote his Confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with Meditation of the Life to come, and contempt of this World, singing Psalms together till it was day. *Rebezies* cried twice or thrice together, Away from me Satan. *Frederick* being in Bed with him, asked why he cried; and whether Satan would stop him of his Course? *Rebezies* said, that Satan set before him his Parents; but by the Grace of God, said he, he shall do nothing against me.

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the Counsellors, and required to shew what Fellows they had more of the said Assembly. Which when they would not declare, the Sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a Dung-cart to *Maulbert* place, and there, having a Ball in their Mouths, be tied each one to his Post, and afterward be strangled, and so be turned into Ashes.

Afterward came the Friars and Doctors, *Demiscars*, *Mailard*, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a Cross to kiss, which they refused: then *Demiscars* by force made *Rebezies* to kiss whether he would or no, crying to them moreover, that they should believe in the Sacrament. What, said *Frederick*, will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of his Father? *Demiscars* said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any Miracles as the Apostles, and other holy Martyrs did. *Frederick* asked them, if they required any Miracle? No, said they, and so stood mute, save only that *Demiscars* prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. *Mailard* also added, that he would give his Soul to be damned, but it was true. *Frederick* answered, That he knew it was contrary.

At last, being brought to the place of Execution, a Cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a Priest standing by, bad them believe in the Virgin Mary. Let God, faith they, reign alone. The People standing by, Ah mischievous Lutheran! said they: Nay, a true Christian I am, said he. When they were tied to their Stakes, after their Prayers made, when they were bid to be dispatched, one of them comforting the other, said; Be strong, my Brother, be strong: Satan away from us. As they were thus exhorting, one standing by, said, These Lutherans do call upon Satan. One *John Morel* (which afterward died a Martyr) then standing by at liberty, answered; I pray you let us hear (said he) what they say, and we shall hear them invoke the Name of God. Whereupon the People listened better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their Mouths being stopped could utter; Assist us, O Lord. And so they, rendering up their Spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant Martyrdom. *Ex Crispino lib. 6.*

After the Martyrdom of these two above-said, the intention of the Judges was to dispatch the rest one after another in like sort, and had procured already process against twelve or thirteen ready to be judged. But a certain Gentlewoman, then Prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of Exceptions or Refusals against them, whereby the cruel rage of the Enemies was staid to the Month of July following. In the which mean time, as this Persecution was spread into other Countries, first the faithful Cantons of the *Swissers* perceiving these good Men to be afflicted for the same Doctrine which they preached in their Churches, sent their Ambassadors to the King to make supplication for them.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

The same time also came Letters from the County Palatine Elector, tending to the same End, to solicit the King for them: The King starting the same time in great need of the Germans for his Wars, was contented at least that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire for that time ceased. Most of them were sent to Abbies, where they were kept at the charge of the Priors, to be constrained to be present at the Service of Idolatry, especially the young Scholars: of whom some strunk back, other, being more loosely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the Official to make their Confession, and to receive Absolution ordinary. Divers made their Confession ambiguous and doubtful, &c. *Ex Johan. Crisp. lib. 6. Ex Pantat. lib. 11.*

Counter Palatine making intercession to the French King for the Christian Prisoners.

Rena Sean, John Almarick died in Prison.

Rena Sean, John Almarick, at Paris, Anno 1558.

These two young Men were also of the Company above specified, and were in Prison, where they sustained such Cruelty, being almost racked to death, that *Almarick* could not go when he was called to the Court to be judged. And being upon the Rack, he rebuked their Cruelty, and spake so freely, as though he had felt no grief; and as they said, which came to visit him, he testified unto them, that he felt no labour so long as he was upon it. Both these died in Prison, continuing still firm and constant in the pure Confession of Christ's Church. *Ibidem.*

John Borel, Math. Vermil, Peter Bordon, Andrew de Fois.

At the Country of Bretil, An. 1558.

John Borel, Mar. Vermil, Peter Bordon, Math. Fois.

Mention is made in the French Story of one *Villegaignon*, Lieutenant for the French King, who made a Voyage into the Land of *Bresil* with certain French Ships, and took an Island near to the same adjoining, and made therein a Fortrell. After they had been there a while, *Villegaignon* (for lack of Victuals, as he pretended) sent certain of them away in a Ship to the River of *Plais*, toward the Pole Antartick, a thousand miles off: In the which Ship were these four here mentioned: who forsaking their Ship by occasion of Tempest, were carried back again, and so came to the Land of *Bresil*, and afterward to their own Countrymen. *Villegaignon* being much grieved thereat, first charged them with departing without his Letter. Moreover, being terrified in his mind with false Suspicion and vain Dreams, fearing and dreaming lest they had been sent as privy Spies by the *Bresilians*, because they came from them, and had been friendly entertained of them; he began to devise how he might put them to death under some colour of Treason: but the Cause was Religion: for albeit sometime he had been a Professor of the Gospel, yet afterward growing to some dignity, he fell to be an Apostate, and cruel Persecutor of his Fellows. But when no Proof or Conjecture probable could be found to serve his cruel purpose, he knowing them to be earnest Protestants, drew out certain Articles of Religion for them to answer, and so intrapping them upon their Confession, he laid them in Irons and in Prison, and secretly, with one Executioner and his Page, he took one after another, beginning with *John Borel*, and first brought him to the top of a Rock, and there being half strangled, without any judgment threw him into the Sea, and after the like manner, ordered also the rest. Of whom three were thus cruelly murdered and drowned; to wit, *John Borel*, *Mathew*

He sent them far then escape, because they should never return, pretending that he lacked Victuals, but the cause was Religion.

Villegaignon a French Captain.

Villegaignon.

K. Hen. 8

Fifteen
fifty
pre-
dication
in
his
pre-
dication
quam
fili
latis

Good Coun-
fel of his
advocate

The Frier
still blow
up the Cole
of Persecu-
tion.

The Cause
of Romain
removed to
the Parlia-
ment of Aix.

The Sentence
and Con-
demnation
of Romain.

Romain
brought to
Aix.
The Kings
Advocate
represents.

Romain
eured a-
gain from
Aix to Dra-
guignan.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the cause of their martyrdom.

Christians of the said Town, fearing left by this racking, danger might happen to the Brethren, sent to Romain a- gain several Instructions and means how he might be aided, such as should not be against God. But when the Lieuten- ant came, the poor Man forgot his Instructions: so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtilties of this World.

When the time came that the Judges were set, and the Process should be read, Barbofi with others, whom the Frier had procured, had agreed before, that he should be fired alive, and put to the Rack, to disclose his Fellows, and also gagged that he might not speak and infect the residue. On the other part, one there was of the Advoca- tes (albeit a Man wholly superstitious) who, seeing the rage of the other, gave contrary advice; saying, That he should be sent home again, for that he was a Town- dweller of Geneva, neither had taught there any kind of Doctrine, nor brought any Books, neither had they any Informations against him: and that which he had spoken, was a thing contrained by his Oath, forced by the Justice. And as touching his Opinion, it was no other, but as o- ther young Men did follow, which were either of the one part, or of the other: and therefore that there remained no more, but only the Lieutenant to give his Verdict, &c. Thus much being spoken, and also because the Lieutenant was before suspected, and the time of dinner drew near, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The Frier observant in this mean while was not idle, inciting still the Consuls and the People, who at the ringing of a Bell being assembled together, with the Of- ficial and the Priests in a great rout, came crying to the Lieu- tenant to burn the Heretick, or else they would fire him, and all his Family: and in semblable wise did the same to the other Judges and Advocates: the Official moreover added, that if it were not better seen into than so, the Lu- therans would take such courage, and so shut up their Church doors, that no Man should enter in. Then, be- cause the Lieutenant would not take to him other Judges after their minds, in all post-haste the People contributed together, that at their own Charge the matter should be purified at the Parliament of Aix, and so compelled the Lieutenant to bring the Process unto Judgment, every Man crying, To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned.

The Lieutenant being not able any otherwise to appease the People, promised to bring the matter to the High Court of Aix, and so he did. They hearing the Informa- tion of the Cause, commanded the Lieutenant and the other Judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the Process and Prisoner unto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of Draguignan, which would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon Barbofi was sent out to the Parliament of Aix, where he so practised and la- boured the matter, that the Cause was sent down again to the Lieutenant, and he enjoyed to take unto him such at- tending Advocates, as their old Order required, and to certify them again within eight days. And so Romain, by the Sentence of those old Judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be strangled, and before the Execution to be put upon the Rack, to the intent he should disclose the rest of his Company. From the which Sentence Romain then appealed, saying, That he was no Heretick. Whereupon he was carried unto Aix, singing the Commandments as he passed by the Town of Draguignan. Which when the King's Advocate did see, looking out of his Window, he said unto him, That he was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him. Romain answered again, God will judge us all in the last day of Judgment. After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the Counsellors before whom he remained no less constant and firm, than afore. Then was a sumish Frier sent, who being three hours with him, could not remove him, came out to the Lords, and said that he was damned: by reason whereof, the Sentence given before of his Condemnation was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

At this return again from Aix, the Consuls of Dra- guignan sent abroad by Parishes to the Curates, that they should signify to their Parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come: also caused to be cried through the Town by the found of a Trumpet, that all

Persecut. Martyrs, and the cause of their martyrdom.

good Christians should bring Wood to the great Market- place to burn the Lutheran. The day being come, which was Saturday, the sixteenth of May, the poor Servant of God first was brought to the Rack or Torture: where, at his first entry, were brought before him the Coris, Irons, and Weights to terrifie him. Then, said they, he must ut- ter his Complices, and renounce his Religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, That he had no other Complices nor Companions, neither would he hold any other Faith, but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his Apostles. Then was he demanded of his Fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the Faith of Rome, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the Town, or in the Province to be of his Faith? He said, No. Item, what he had to do in that Town? He said, to sell his Coral. Item, who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this he was put upon the Gin or Rack, where he being torn most outrageously, ceased not still to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but he would not. Whereupon his Torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead. For the which they sent him to the Barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid left he had been past, and halsted to bring him to the fire. So after they had assayed him by Priests and Friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the Hangman to bear him, all broken and dis- membered as he was, unto the heap of Wood, where they tied him to a Chain of Iron which was let down upon the Fagots. Romain seeing himself to be alone lying upon the Wood, began to pray to God: whereat the Friars be- ing moved, ran to him again to cause him to say Ave Ma- ria. Which when he would not do, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his Beard. In all these Anguishes the meek Saint of God had recourse still to God in his Prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead: but so soon as they descended down from the Wood, he began to pray to God again, in such sort, as one would would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great Frier, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came up to the Wood unto him to admonish him. Romain thought at first, that he had been a faithful Christian by his gentle speech, but afterward when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romain lifted up his Head and his Eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great Tentation. Then, a certain Father, a Warden, to bring the people in more hatred, cried out and said, He blasphemeth, he blasphemeth, he speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary. Whereat Barbofi cried, Stop his Mouth, let him be gagged. The People cried, To the fire, let him be burned. Then the Hangman set fire to the Straw and little Sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. Romain still remained hang- ing in the Air till he died: and was burned all his neither parts well near, when he was seen to lift up his Head to Heaven, moving his Lips, without any cry: and so this blessed Saint rendered his Spirit to God.

Of this Assembly there were divers Judgments and sundry Bruis. Some said, that if good Men had been about him, it had gone better with him, and that those Priests and Monks which were about him, were Whoremasters, and infamous. Others said, that he had wrong, and that an hundred of that Company there were, which more deserved death than he, especially among them which con- demned him. Other went away marvelling, and dispu- ting of his Death and Doctrine. And thus was the Course finished to this valiant and thrice blessed Martyr and Servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God. Ex Crisp. lib. 6. pag. 902.

Francis Civaux at Dyjon, Anno 1558.

This Francis Civaux was Secretary to the French Am- bassador here in England in Queen Mary's time, who afterward being desirous to hear the Word of God, went to Geneva. Also he

Romain
drawn most
pitiously up-
on the Rack.

Romain
broken with
the Rack,
and not able
to go, was
born to the
fire.

Crucified
Friars.

A hanging
Frier.

Crucified,
Crucified
again.

The cruel
death and
Martyrdom
of blessed
Romain.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom. Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom. K.Hen.

he was placed to be Secretary to the Senate or-Council of Geneva; where he continued about the space of a year. Having then certain Buſineſs he came to Dyion.

There was the ſame time a Prieſt that Preach- ed at Dyion ſuch Doctrines, whereat the ſaid Francis being worthily offended, came friendly unto the Prieſt, and reaſoned with him touch- ing his Doctrines, ſhewing by the Scriptures, how and where he had erred. The Prieſt ex- cused himſelf, that he was not ſo well ſufficient to diſpute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned Man, whom he knew there in the Town, and deſired the ſaid Francis to go with him to Breakfaſt, where he would be glad to hear them two in Conference to- gether. Whereunto when Francis had conſented, the Prieſt incontinent went to the Jacobin Friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the Breakfaſt-time Francis there un- aware ſhould be apprehended.

When the next day came, the Prieſt brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin Friar, who pretending much fair Friendſhip unto him, as one glad and deſirous of his company, beſought him to take a Breakfaſt with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this alſo Francis was content, and to prepare himſelf the better to that Conflict, ſate up almoſt all the night writing with his Fellow. The next morrow, as Francis with his Fellow were preparing themſelves to- ward the Breakfaſt, the Jacobin in the mean time went to the Juſtice of the Town, to admoniſh him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was ſtanding at the Juſtices door, The Companion of Francis ſeeing the Friar there ſtand, began to miſtruſt with himſelf, and told Francis, willing him to beware of the Friar. More- over, the ſame night Francis had in his Dream, that the ſaid Friar ſhould commit him to the Juſtice. But he, either not caring for his Dreams, or elſe not much paſſing for the danger, committed himſelf to the Hands of God, and went. As they were together diſputing in the Covent of the Jaco- bins, Francis, thus betrayed of the Prieſt, was apprehended by the Officers, carried to Priſon, and within ſeven dayſ af- ter, being Saturday before the Nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of Execution, where firſt he was ſtra- gled, and then burned. Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Geneveſi.

And as touching the Fellow and Companion of this Francis above-mentioned, he was alſo apprehended with him, and put in Priſon; but becauſe he was but a young Novice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was delivered.

Peter Arondeau, at Paris, An. 1559.

The Town of Rochel, as it is a place of great commodity becauſe of the Sea, ſo was it not inferior to other good Towns in France, for nourishing and ſupporting the holy Aſſemblies of the Lord. Unto the which Town about the year of our Lord, 1559, reſorted one Peter Aron- deau, a Man of bale Condition, with a little Packet of Mercery Ware there to ſell. Who there being known to adjoin himſelf to the Church and Congregation of the faithful, was demanded of certain Miniſters of Antichriſt, Whether he would go to hear Maſs or no? He ſaid, that he had been there too oft to his great grief: and that ſince the time that the Lord had taken the Veil from his Eyes, he knew the Maſs to be a- bominable, forged in the Shop of the Enemy of all Mankind. They to whom he thus answered were Prieſts; amongst whom was one named Monroy, who, taking the other there preſent for Witneſſes, brought him ſtraight to the Lieutenant. The Depoſition being taken, and Information made, it was decreed incontinent, that his Body ſhould be attached. And although by one of his Friends he was admoniſhed to ſave him- ſelf, and to avoid the Danger, yet he feared

not to put himſelf into his Enemies hands; and ſo was led Priſoner. As he was in Priſon many of the faithful came to comfort him, but rather he was able to comfort not only them which came to comfort him, but alſo the other which were there Priſoners with him. The Prieſts left no diligence unthought to ſtir up the Lieutenant, which was of himſelf too much inflamed in ſuch matters.

Arondeau, after many Interrogations, and threatening words, and alſo fair Promiſes of his Pardon, full continued one Man. Then the Lieutenant ſeeing his Conſtancy, condemned him to death. Arondeau praiſing God for his Grace given, did not a little rejoyce that he might ſuffer in that Quanel, and in token of rejoycing did ſing a Psalm, being fully reſolved to accept the ſaid Condemnation, without any Appeal. But his Friends not pleaſed with his Reſolution, came to him, and ſo perſwaded with him, not to give his Life ſo good cheap over to his Enemies hands, that he was turned from that, and made his Appeal. The Appeal being entred, the Lieutenant ſeeking to gratifie the Adverſaries of the Goſpel, and eſpecially the Cardinal of Lorain, ſecretly by the back- ſide of the Town, and out of the High-way con- veyed the poor Priſoner unto Paris: who being brought unto Paris by privy Journeys, as is ſaid, was put into Priſon, committed to the Cuſtody of two Presidents, to wit, Magiſtri, and St. Andre. By the means of whom the Sentence of the Lieutenant was confirmed, and alſo put in Execution the fifteenth day of November, in the year above ſaid: on the which day the ſaid Arondeau was burned quick at the place called St. John in Greve at Paris. The conſtancy heroical which God gave him, and wherein he endured victorious unto death, was a Mirror or Glaſs of Patience unto M. Anne du Bourge, Conſellor in the Parliament of Paris, and to divers others then Priſoners; and was to them a Preparation toward the like death, which ſhortly after they ſuffered.

Not long after the happy end of this bleſſed Martyr, the forenamed Monroy, which was the principal Accuſer and party againſt him, was ſtricken with a Diſeaſe called * Apoplexia, and there- upon ſuddenly died.

By this, and many other ſuch like Examples, the mighty Judgment of God moſt evidently may appear; who, al- beit commonly he doth ſue to begin his Judgment with his own Houſhold in this World, yet neither do his Adver- ſaries themſelves always eſcape the terrible hand of his Ju- ſtice.

Alſo the Lieutenant which was Condemner carried not long after the Prieſt, but he was arreſted perſonally to ap- pear before the Kings Council, through the procurement of a certain Gentleman of Polonia, called Ambroy de Le- giſte, againſt whom the ſaid Lieutenant had given falſe and wrong Judgment before. By reaſon whereof the ſoreſaid Gentleman ſo inſtantly did purſue him before the Lords of the Council, that all the Extortions and Pollings of the Lieutenant were there openly diſcovered, and ſo he con- demned to pay to the Gentleman a thouſand French Crowns of the Sun, within fourteen days, upon pain of death as Note much. Alſo he was depoeſed of his Office, and there de- clared unworthy to exerciſe any Royal Office hereafter for ever, with Infamy and Shame perpetual. Ex Criſp. lib. 6. pag. 907.

Thomas Moutard at Valenciennes. Anno 1559.

In the Town of Valenciennes, not far from France, the ſame year, which was 1559, in the Month of Oſtober, ſuffered Thomas Moutard: who firſt being converted from a diſor- dered life to the Knowledge of the Goſpel, is

K.Hen.
Peter Aron- deau con- demned.

Peter Aron- deau ap- pealed.

* Apoplexia is a ſickneſs reſented in the Brain by abundance of groſs hu- mours, which de- prive them that have it of Speech, Feeling and Moving; moſt com- monly it at- tacks Clun- tons, Drum- mers and Sorſterers, Gods juſt reſpance upon the Lieutenant a Perſecutor.

as Note much.

Thomas Moutard, Martyr.

59

K. Hen. 8.
Persecut.

Against the
bodily pre-
sence of
Christ in the
Host:

Confessory
of a good
Conscience.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

to use a Spectacle of God's great gracious Mercy towards his elected Christians. This *Monsieur* was attached for certain Words spoken to a Priest, saying thus, That his God of the Host was nothing but an abomination, which abused the People of God. These words were taken first as spoken in his Drunkenness. But the next day after, when the same words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or no? He said, Yea: For it is an abuse, said he, to seek Jesus Christ any other where than in Heaven, sitting at the Glory and right hand of God his Father: And in this he was ready to live and die. His Process being made, he was condemned to be burned quick. But as he was carried from the Town-house to the place of Punishment; it was never seen a Man with such constancy to be so assured in heart, and so to rejoice at that great Honour which God hath called him unto. The Hangman halted as much as was possible, to bind him, and dispatch him. The Martyr in the midst of the flaming fire, lifting up his Eyes unto Heaven, cried to the Lord, that he would have mercy on his Soul, and so in great integrity of Faith and Perseverance, he gave up his life to God. *Ex Jo. Crisp. lib. 6.*

This Dutch Story should have gone before with the Dutch Martyrs; but seeing *Valencien* is not far distant from *France*, it is not much out of order to adjoin the same with the *French* Martyrs: who altogether at length shall be joyned in the Kingdom of Christ: which day the Lord send shortly. *Amen.*

Thus have we (through the assistance of the Lord) deduced the Table of the *French*, and also of the Dutch Martyrs unto the time and reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that is,

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

to the year 1560. Since the which time divers also have suffered both in *France*, and in the lower Country of *Germany*; whose Story shall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of Q. *Elizabeth*. In the mean season it shall suffice for this present to insert their Names only, which here do follow.

The Residue of the French Martyrs:

A. Nedu Burge, Councillor of *Paris*. *Andrew Coffer*, *John Isabeau*, *John Indet*, Martyrs of *Paris*; *Geffery Guen*, *rien*, *Jo. Morel*, *Jo. Barbaulle*, *Pet. Chevet*, *Marin Marie*, *Margaret Rich*, *Adrian Dausst*, *Giles le Court*, *Philip Parmentier*, *Marin Rossieu*, *Peter Miles*, *John Berfoy*; besides the tumult of *Ambosie*, the Persecution of *Vassil* *Anglin Marlorat*, Master *Matonis*.

The residue of the Dutch Martyrs:

James de Le, of the Isle of *Flanders*, *John de Buiffons* at *Antwerp*, *Peter Petit*, *John Denys*, *Guymon Guilmein*, *Simon Herme* of the Isle of *Flanders*, *John de Lannoy* at *Tournay*, *Andrew Michel*, a blind Man at *Tournay*, *Francis Varlut* at *Tournay*, *Alexander Dayken* of *Brancaste*, *William Cornu* in *Honant*, *Anthony Caron* of *Cambray*, *Renaudine de Francueil*: Certain suffered at *Tournay*, *Michel Robilert* of *Atas*, *Nicaise de le Tomb* at *Tournay*, *Roger du Mont*.

To the Catalogue of *French* Martyrs above-rehearsed, the Story of *Merindol* and *Cabriery*, with the lamentable handling of them, were also to be annexed. But because the Tractation thereof is prolix, and cannot well be contracted into a short Discourse, therefore we have deferred the same to a more convenient room, after the Table here following next of the *Spanish* and *Italian* Martyrs, where better opportunity shall be given to prosecute more at full that tragical Persecution, the Lord so permitting.

A Table of such Martyrs as for the Cause of Religion suffered in Spain.

The Spanish Martyrs.

French
Martyr.

The Con-
version of
San
Roman.

Spanish
Merchants
in Ant-
werp.

The Fri-
ers of Ant-
werp.

Franciscus san Romanus, at Burges
in Spain.

ANNO 1540 this *Francis* was sent by certain *Spanish* Merchants of *Antwerp*, to *Breme*, to take up Money due to be paid of certain Mercants there. Where he being at a Sermon, hearing Master *Jacobus*, Prior sometimes of the *Austrian* Friars of *Antwerp*, preach, was so touched and drawn (through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, albeit having no perfect understanding of the Dutch Tongue, that not only he understood all that was there said, but also coming to the Preacher, and accompanying him home (all his other worldly Business set apart) there recited the whole Contents of his Sermon every word (as they said, which heard the said Minister of *Breme* preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little taste, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned Men, that in short space he was grown to great towardsness and ripe Knowledge in the Word of Life. The Minister marvelling at the sudden mutation of the Man, and also seeing the vehemency of his Zeal joyned withal, began to exhort him how to temper himself with Circumspection and Discretion, still more and more instructed him in the Word and Knowledge of the Gospel, which he so greedily did receive, as one that could never

be satisfied: and so remained he with the Minister three days together, committing his worldly Business, and Message that he was sent for, unto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for temporal trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch Books which he could get to read; and again, read the same so diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by Master *Jacobus*, and also by Master *Macchabeus* (which was there the same time) he was able in short time to judge in the chief Articles of our Religion. Informing that he took upon him to write Letters unto his Country-men the Merchants of *Antwerp*: in the which Letters first he gave thanks to God for the Knowledge of his holy Word which he had received. Secondly, he bewailed the great Cruelty and gross Blindness of his Countrymen; desiring God to open their Eyes and Ears, to see and understand the Word of their Salvation. Thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them at *Antwerp*, to confer with them touching the Grace of God, which he had received. Fourthly, declared to them his purpose in going also to *Spain*, intending there likewise to impart to his Parents and other Friends at *Bruges*, the wholesome Doctrine which the Lord had bestowed upon him.

Before this, he addressed other Letters also to *Charles* the Emperor, opening to him the Calamities and miserable Estate of Christ's Church; desiring him to tender the quietness thereof; especially that he would reform the miserable Corruption of the Church of *Spain*, &c. Over and besides all this, he wrote there a Catechism, and divers other Treatises in the *Spanish* Tongue. And all this he did in one Month's space.

Martyrs:

Martyrs:

Touching
the story of
Merindol.
Vide infra

Francis
wrote to
the Merchants
of Antwerp.

Francis
wrote to
the Emper-
or.

Persecut. | Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Francis be-
trayed by
Spanish
Merchants

The Faith
and Confes-
sion of San
Roman.

**The Pope
Antichrist.**

The Popes
Crown and
the Friars
bellies are
not to be
touched.

Francis
brought in
to Prison.

San Roma
delivered
out of Pri-
son

Francis Dry
ander.

In the mean time the *Spanish Merchants of Antwerp* understanding by his Letters, both his Change of Religion, and also his purpose coming to *Antwerp*, sent him Letters again, pretending outwardly a fair Countenance of good Good-will, but secretly practicing his Defundition. For at the day appointed of his coming, certain Friers were fetched to receive him, which took him coming down from his Horse, rifled his Books, had him into a Merchant's Houfe near hand, where they examined him; with whom he again disputed mightily; and when they found him not agreeing to their Faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran, and burnt his Books before his face, threatening to burn himself also. At this Disputation within the house divers *Spaniards* were present, which made the Friers more bold. Being demanded to shew of what Faith and Religion he was; My Faith (said he) is to confesse and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true Faith of the Universal Church of Christ through the whole World; but this Faith and Doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of Life, and by your Impiety have brought the most part of the World into blindness most miserable. And to explain his Faith to them more expressly, he recited all the Articles of the Creed.

ally, which done, then the Friars asked, Whether he believed the Bishop of *Rome* to be Christ's Vicar, and Head of the Church, having all the Treasures of the Church in his own power, being able to bind and loose? also to make new Articles, and abolish the old; at his own Will and Arbitrement? Hereunto *Francis* answered again, That he believed none of all this, but contrary did affirm, that the Pope was Antichrist, born of the Devil, being the Enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself Gods Honour, and which moreover, being incited by the Devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the sincerity of Christ's Religion, partly by his false pretences, beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying the poor flock of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he altered his mind likewise against the Mass and Purgatory. The Friars could suffer him meanly well to speak, till he came to the Pope, and began to speak against his Dignity, and their profit; then could they abide no longer, but thundered against him words full of Cruelty and Terror. As they were burning of his Books, and began also to cast a New Testament into the fire, *Francis* seeing that, began to thunder out against them again. The *Spaniards* then supposing him not to be in his right Senses, conveyed him into a Tower six miles distant from *Antwerp*, where he was detained in a deep Cave or Dungeon, with much misery, the space of eight months. In which time of Imprisonment many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speak more modestly. *Francis* answered again, That he maintained no Opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the Friars, that was not to be ascribed to him, so much as to their own Impertinency; hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Whereupon the *Spaniards* thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of Prison, which was about the time when the Emperor was in his Council of *Ratisbone*. An. 1542.

San Romancing thus freed out of Pifnon, came to *Antwerp*, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to *Luxen* unto a certain Friend of his, named *Franciscus Dryander* (who also afterward died a Martyr) to whom he had much conference about divers matters of Religion: who gave him counsell not to alter the state of his Vocation, being called to be a Merchant, which state he might exercise with a good Conscience, and do much good. And as touching Religion his Counsel was, That he should say or do nothing for favour of Men, whereby the Glory of God should be diminished; but so, that he required notwithstanding in the same a found and right judgment conformed to the rule of God's Word, left it might chance to him, as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their Vocations, and while they think to do good, and to edifie, they destroy and do harm, and call themselves needles into danger. It is God, said he, that hath the care of his Church, and will fit up faithful Ministry for the same; neither doth he care for such, which rashly intrude themselves

Persecut. | Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

K.Hen.8

into that Function without any calling.

This Advertisement of *Dryander*, *Francis* did willingly accept, promising hereafter to moderate it himself more considerably : But this Promise was shortly broken, as you shall hear. For, passing from *Dryander* he went to *Ratibone*, and there having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the Emperor, he stepped boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his Country and Subjects of *Spain* from false Religion, and to restore again the Innocency of *Christ's* Doctrine, declaring and protesting, that the Princes and Protestants of *Germany* were in the true part, and that the Religion of *Spain* being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly different from the true and perfect Word of God, with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The Emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider upon the matter, and lo do therein, as he thought should behoove the best. This quiet answer of the Emperor ministered to him no little encouragement of better hope : and albeit he might perceive there in the City many Examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged not him, but he went the second, and also the third time, unto the Emperor, who quietly again to answered him as before. And yet this our *Francis* not fatished in his mind, fought with greater ardency the fourth time to speak to the Emperor, but he was repulsed by certain of the *Spaniards* about the Emperor, who incontinent, without all further bearing or advising the Cause, would have thrown him headlong into the River of *Danubius*, had not the Emperor staid them, and willed him to be judged by the Laws of the Empire. By which Commandment of the Emperor he was relieved and detained with other Malefactors in bands, till the Emperor took his Voyage into *Africa*. Then *Francis*, with other Captives following the Court, after that the Emperor was come into *Spain*, was there delivered to the Inquisitors ; by whom he was laid in a dark Prison under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to Examination, where he suffered great Injuries and Contumelies, but ever remained in his Conscience firm and unmovable. The Articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned, were these :

That Life and Salvation in the sight of God, cometh to no Man in his own Strength, Works, or Merits, but only by the free Mercy of God, in the Blood and Sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

That the Sacrifice of the Mass, which the Papists do recount available, ex opere operato, for the Remission of sin, both to the quick and the dead, is horrible Blasphemy.

That Auricular Confession with numbring up of sins, that Satisfaction, Purgatory, Pardons, Invocation of Saints, worshipping of Images, be meer Blasphemy against the living God.

Item, That the Blood of Christ is prophaned and injured in the same aforesaid.

After the Inquisitors perceived, that by no means he could be reclaimed from his Affections, they proceeded at last to the Sentence, condemning him to be burned for an Heretic. Many other Malefactors were brought also with him to the place of Execution, but all they were pardoned and dismissed; he only for the Gospel, being odious to the whole World, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a Miter of Paper, painted full of Devils, after the Spanish guise.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the City-gate to be burned, there flood a wooden Croſs by the way, where- unto *Francis* was required to do homage : which he reſe- ded, anſwering, That the manner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip Wood, and he was, ſaid he, a Chriſtian. Here- upon aroſe great Clamour among the vulgar People, for that he denied to worſhip the wooden Croſs. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blind muſcets of that People, that they did impute this to the Divine Virtue, as given to the Croſs from Hea- ven, for that it would not ſuffer it ſelf to be worſhip- ped of an Heretick : and immediately, for the opinion of that great Miracle, the Multitude with their Swords did hew it in pieces, every Man thinking himſelf happy that might carry away ſome Chip or Fragment of the ſaid Croſs.

The boldness
of San Roman to the
Emperor.

The Empe-
rors gentle
Answer,

Francis San
Roman
brought in
to Spain.

The Arti-
cles of San
Roman.

Barabbas delivered, and Christ taken.

The manner
of Christians
is not to
worship
Wood.

A great
Spanish Mi-
racle.

Perfect. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom. Perfect. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom. Perfect. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

K. Hen. 8. When he was come to the place where he should suffer, the Friars were buſie about him to have him recant, but he continued ever firm. As he was laid upon the heap of Wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling of the fire, to lift up his head toward Heaven; which when the Inquifitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his Doctrine, they caſted him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing like in him, the Adverſaries being fruſtrate of their Expectation, willed him to be thrown in again, and ſo was he immediately diſpatched.

The death and Martyrdom of Fr. San Roman. The Inquifitors of Spain take Grifts Office to judge the quick and the dead. The English Ambaffador hath ſent the Spaniſh Court.

After that the Martyrdom of this bleſſed Man was thus confirmate, the Inquifitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in Hell, and that none ſhould pray for him; yea, and that all were Hereticks whoſever doubted of his Damnation. Nevertheleſs certain of the Emperours Souldiers gathered of his Almes. Alſo the English Ambaffador procured a portion his Bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a Martyr. Yet this could not be ſo ſecretly done, but it came to the Ears of the Inquifitors, and of the Emperor. Wherefore the Souldiers going in great danger of life, were compell'd to Priſon. Neither did the Ambaffador himſelf eſcape clear from the danger of the Popes Scourges; for he was upon the ſame ſequell'd from the Court, and commanded to be abſent for a ſpace. And thus much concerning the notable Martyrdom of this bleſſed San Roman. Ex Franc. Encena. *ſilpſano, teſte oculato.*

Rochoſus, at San Lucar in Spain, Anno 1545.

Rochoſus was born in Brabant, his Father dwelling in Antwerp. By his Science he was a Carver or Graver of Images; who, as he ſeem as he began fiſt to taſte the Goſpel, he fell from making ſuch Images as uſe to ſerve for Idolatry in Temples, and occupied himſelf in making Seals, ſave only that he kept hanging on his ſhall an Image of the Virgin Mary artificially graven, for a Sign of his Occupation. It happened unhappily, that a certain Inquifitor paſſing by in the ſtreet, and beholding the carved Image, asked of Rochoſus what was the price thereof? which when Rochoſus had ſet (not willing belike to ſell it) the Inquifitor had him ſcarce half the Money. The other answered again, Thathe could not ſo live of that Bargain. But ſill the Inquifitor urged him to take his offer. To whom Rochoſus again, It ſhall be yours (ſaid he) if you will give me that which my Labour and Charges ſtand me in, but of that price I cannot afford it; yet had I rather break it in pieces. Yea, ſaith the Inquifitor, break it? let me ſee thee; Rochoſus with that took up a Chifel, and daſhed it upon the Face of the Image, wherewith the Noſe, or ſome other part of the Face was blemiſhed. The Inquifitor ſeeing that, cried out as he were mad, and commanded Rochoſus forthwith to Priſon. To whom Rochoſus cried again, that he might do in his own Works what he liſted. And if the Workmanſhip of the Image were not after his fancy, what was that to them? But all this could not help Rochoſus, but within three days after Sentence was given upon him, that he ſhould be burned, and ſo was he committed to the Executioners. As Rochoſus was entering the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there flood by, if any Man of Flanders were there? It was answered, yea; and alſo that there were two Ships already fraught, and appointed to fail to Flanders. Then, ſaid he, I would deſire ſome of them to ſignifie to my Father dwelling in Antwerp, that I was burned here in this City, and for this Cauſe which you all have heard. And thus after his Prayers made to God, this good Man being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this bleſſed end. An. 1545.

The death and Martyrdom of Rochoſus. And left this ſo rare and ſtrange Example of Cruelty ſhould ſeem to lack credit, in the fifth Book of the Hiſtory of Panisalon there is recorded, That a certain Spaniard coming to Antwerp, made diligent Inquifition there amongſt

the Image-makers, to find out the Parents of this Rochoſus, and ſignified to them what had happened to their Son, as hath been by his ſaid Parents and Friends declared: inſomuch that it alſo testified, that his Father at the hearing of the ſaid Meſſage, for ſorrow thereof died ſhortly after. Ex Pantal. lib. 5.

Furthermore, beſides theſe above-recited, and alſo before their time, I hear and underſtand by faithful Relation, that divers other have been in the ſaid Country of Spain, whoſe Hearts God had marvelouſly illuminate and ſuſtained up, both before, and alſo ſince the coming in of the Inquifition, to ſtand in defence of his Goſpel, and which were alſo perſecuted for the ſame, and are ſaid to have died in Priſon: Albeit their Names as yet are unknown, for the Stories of that Country be not ſo come to light, but, I truſt, ſhortly ſhall, as partly ſome Intelligence I have thereof. In the mean time we will come now to the Inquifition of Spain, ſpeaking ſomewhat of the ceremonial Pomp, and alſo of the barbarous Abufe and Cruelty of the ſame.

The execrable Inquifition of Spain.

THE cruel and barbarous Inquifition of Spain firſt began by King Ferdinandus and Elizabeth his Wife, and was inflituted againſt the Jews, which after their Baptiſm maintained again their own Ceremonies. But now it is practiſed againſt them that be never ſo little ſuſpected to favour the Verity of the Lord. The Spaniards, and eſpecially the great Divines there, do hold, That this holy and ſacred Inquifition cannot err, and that the holy Fathers the Inquifitors cannot be deceived.

Three forts of Men moſt principally be in danger of theſe Inquifitions. They that be greatly rich, for the ſpoil of their Goods. They that be learned, becauſe they will not have their Midealinges and ſecret Abules to be eſpied and detected. They that begin to increaſe in Honour and Dignity, left they being in Authority, ſhould work them ſome ſhame or diſhonour.

The Abule of this Inquifition is moſt execrable. If any Word ſhall paſs out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, tho no Word be ſpoken, yet if they bear any grudge or evil Will againſt the Party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in an horrible Priſon, and then find out Crimes againſt him at leiſure, and in the mean time no Man living is ſo hardy once to open his Mouth for him. If the Father ſpeak one word for his Child, he is alſo taken and caſt into Priſon as a Favourer of Hereticks. Neither is it permitted to any perſon to go in to the Priſoner; but there he is alone in ſuch a place where he cannot ſee ſo much as the ground where he is; and is not ſuffered either to read or write, but there indureth in darkneſs palpable, in horrors infinite, in fear miſerable, wreſtling with the Affaults of death.

By this it may be eſteemed, what trouble and ſorrow, what penſive thoughts and cogitations they ſuſtain, which are not throughly inſtructed in holy Doctrine. Add moreover to their Diſtreſſes and Honors of the Priſon, the Injuries, Threats, Whippings, and Scourgings, Irons, Tortures, and Racks which they indure. Sometimes alſo they are brought out, and ſhewed in ſome higher place to the People, as a Spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they detained there ſome many years, and murdered by long Torments, and whole days together intreated much more cruelly (out of all compariſon) than if they were in the Hangman's Hands to be ſlain at once. During all this time, what is done in the proceſs, no perſon knoweth, but only the holy Fathers and the Tormentors, which are ſworn to execute the Torments. All is done in ſecret, and (as great Myſteries) paſs not the hands of theſe holy ones. And after all theſe Torments ſo many years indured in the Priſon, if any Man ſhall be ſaved, it muſt be by gyeſting. For all the Proceedings of the Court of that execrable Inquifition are open to no Man, but all is done in hugger-mugger, and in cloſe corners, by Ambages, by Covertales, and ſecret Councils: The Accuſer is ſecret, the Crime ſecret, the Witneſs ſecret, whatſoever is done is ſecret, neither is the poor Priſoner ever advertiſed of any thing. If he

Divers good men died in Priſon. The form and manner of the Inquifition of Spain. The Spaniſh Inquifition cannot err. Three forts of men conſtantly in danger of the Inquifition. Example of the ſame will appear in the ſixth above-mentioned. The miſerable handling of Gods people in Spain.

Persecuted.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecutor.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	K.Hen. 8.	
	<p>cangues who accused him whereof, and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his Life: but this is very seldom, and yet he shall not incontinent be set at liberty before he hath endured long time infinite Torments, and this is called their Penitence, and so is he let go; and yet not so, but that he is enjoyed, before he pays the Inquisitor's hands, that he shall wear a Garment of yellow Colours for a note of publick infamy to him and his whole race: and if he cannot guess right, shewing to the Inquisitors by whom he was accused, whereof, and wherefore, (as is before touched) incontinent the horrible Sentence of Condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall be burned for an obdurate Heretick. And so yet the Sentence is not executed by and by, but after that he hath endured Imprisonment in some heinous Prison.</p> <p>And thus have ye heard the form of the Spanish Inquisition. By the Vigour and Rigour of this Inquisition, many good true Servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these later years, since the Royal and peaceable Reign of this our Queen <i>Elizabeth</i>. The Names and Stories of whom partly we will here recite, according as we have faithful Records of such as have come to our hands by writing. The other which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will defer, till further intelligence and opportunity, by the Lord's aid and leave, shall serve hereafter.</p> <p><i>Ann 1556 Maii 21</i>, in the Town of <i>Valledolid</i>, where commonly the Council of the Inquisition is wont to be kept, the Inquisitors had brought together many Prisoners, both of high and low estate, to the number of thirty; also the Coffin of a certain Noble Woman, with her Picture lying upon it, which had been dead long before, there to receive Judgment and Sentence. To the hearing of which Sentence, they had ordained in the said Town three mighty Towers or Stages: Upon the first was placed <i>Dame Jane</i>, Sister to <i>K. Philip</i>, and chief Regent of his Realms; also <i>Friar Charles</i>, King <i>Philip's</i> Son, with other Princes and <i>Peers of Spain</i>. Upon the other Scaffold mounted the Archbishop of <i>Sevil</i>, Prince of the Synagogue of the Inquisition, with the Council of the Inquisition; also other Bishops of the Land, and the King's Council with them.</p> <p>After that the Princes and other spiritual Judges and Councillors were thus set in their places, with a great guard of Archers and Halberdiers, and harnessed Souldiers, with four Heraults also of Arms giving their attendance to the same, and the Earl of <i>Buendia</i> bearing the naked Sword, all the Market-place where the Stages were, being invironed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the World there standing, and gazing out of Windows and Houles to hear and see the Sentences and Judgments of this Inquisition: Then after all were brought forth, as a Spectacle and Triumph, the poor Servants and Witnesses of Jesus Christ, to the number (as is above said) of thirty, clothed with their <i>Sanbenitos</i>, (as the Spaniards do call it) which is a manner of Vesture of yellow Cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red Croffes, and having burning Cierges in their hands: also before them was born a Crucifix covered with black linen Cloths, in token of Mourning. Moreover, they which were to receive the Sentence of death, had Miter of Paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call <i>Coracae</i>. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one under another, according as they were esteemed culpable; so that first of all stood up Doctor <i>Casalla</i>, an Austen Frier, a Man notable and singular in knowledge of Divinity, Preacher sometime to <i>Charles</i> the ninth Emperor, both in higher and Lower Germany.</p> <p>These things thus disposed, then followed a Sermon made by a Dominick Frier, which endured an hour. After the Sermon finished, the Procurator General, with the Archbishop went to the Stage where the Princes and Nobles stood, to minister a Solemn Oath unto them upon the Crucifix painted in the Table-Book; the Tenor of which Oath was this: Your Majesties shall swear, that you will favour the holy Inquisition, and also give your consent unto the same; and not only that you shall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the same; but also you shall employ the uttermost of your help and endeavour hereafter</p>	<p>to see all them to be executed, which shall swerve from the Church of <i>Rome</i>, and adjoyn themselves to the Sect of the Lutheran Hereticks, without all respect of any Person or Persons of what Estate, Degree, Quality, or Condition soever they be.</p> <p>And thus much for the first Article of the Oath; the second was this as followeth:</p> <p><i>Item</i>, Your Majesties shall swear, that you shall constrain all your Subjects to submit themselves to the Church of <i>Rome</i>, and to have in reverence all the Laws and Commandments of the same; and also to give your aid against all them whosoever shall hold of the Heresie of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.</p> <p>In this sort and manner, when all the Princes and States every one in their degree had received their Oath, then the Archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his Benediction, saying, God blefs your Highnesses, and give you long life. This solemn Pageant thus finished, at last the poor Captives and Prisoners were called out, the Procurator fiscal, or the Pope's great Collector, first beginning with <i>Dr. Casalla</i>, and so proceeding to the other in order, as hereafter in the Table which followeth, with their Names and their Judgments, is described.</p> <p>1. <i>Dr. Casalla a Frier Augustine.</i></p> <p>Before the Pope's great Proctor, or Collector fiscal, first was called forth Doctor <i>Augustin Casalla</i>. This Doctor was a Frier of <i>Augustin's</i> Order, and Priest of the Town of <i>Valledolid</i>, and Preacher sometimes to the Emperor <i>Charles</i> the fifth, a Man well accounted of for his Learning. Who for that he was thought to be as the Standard-bearer to the Gospellers (whom they called Lutherans) and Preacher and Prisoner unto them; therefore he being first called for, was brought from his Stage next to the Proctor fiscal, there to hear the Sentence of his Condemnation, which was, That he should be degraded, and presently burned, and all his Goods confiscate to the Profit and Advancement of Justice.</p> <p>2. <i>Francis de Bivero Priest of Valledolid, and Brother to the foresaid Casalla.</i></p> <p>The second Prisoner, and next to Doctor <i>Casalla</i> that was called, was <i>Francis de Bivero</i> his Brother, Priest also of <i>Valledolid</i>, who received likewise the same Sentence of Condemnation. And to the intent he should not speak any thing to the prejudice, or against the Abuse of the sacred Inquisition, as he before had done, both within and without the Prison, with much boldness; and also because he was much favoured of the People; to the end therefore that no Commotion should come by his speaking, his Mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could not speak one Word.</p> <p>3. <i>Dame Blanch de Bivero.</i></p> <p>The third was <i>Dame Blanch</i>, Sister to the other two aforesaid, against whom also was pronounced the like Sentence, as upon her Brother before.</p> <p>4. <i>John de Bivero.</i></p> <p>The fourth was <i>John de Bivero</i>, Brother to the same Kindred, who was also judged an Heretick, and condemned to perpetual Prison, and to bear his <i>Sanbenito</i> all his Life long; which is an habilliment of dishonour.</p>	<p>The Inquisitors of Spain.</p> <p>The Pope's great Collector, or Procurator fiscal.</p> <p>The Archbishop of Sevil.</p> <p>The Bishop of Valence.</p>	<p><i>Dr. Casalla, a Frier Augustine, Preacher sometimes to Charles 5th. Martyr.</i></p> <p><i>Francis de Bivero, Priest and Brother to Casalla, Martyr.</i></p> <p><i>Dame Blanch de Bivero, Sister to them, Martyr.</i></p> <p><i>John de Bivero, Brother to the same, Martyr.</i></p>	

Where Martyrs in Spain were the time of Q. Elizabeth.

Thirty Christian Prisoners brought before the Council of the Inquisition.

Three Stages.

The tremendous Power of the Spanish Inquisition.

The Spanish Mantle of St. Peter of the yellow colour with red Croffes burnt face and bound called Sanbenito.

The Dominick Frier of the M. A. C. C. C.

The Oath given to the Prisoners by the Inquisition of Spain.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.
R. Hen. 8.	<p>4. Dame Constance de Bivero, Sister to the same aforesaid.</p> <p>Dame Constance de Bivero, was the fifth Sister to the other before specified, and Widow of <i>Perdinando Orti</i>, dwelling sometime at <i>Valledolid</i>, who was also condemned, with the like Sentence with her Brethren, to be burned.</p> <p>6. The Coffin with the dead Corps of Dame Leonore de Bivero, the Mother of these aforesaid.</p> <p>The sixth Thunderbolt of Condemnation was thundred out against a poor Coffin, with the dead Corps of Dame Leonore de Bivero, Mother to these above-named, being her self the sixth, and being already dead long before at <i>Valledolid</i>. Above her Coffin was her Picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead Corps to be burned for an Heretick: and yet I never heard of any Opinion that this Picture did hold, either with or against the Church of Rome. This good Mother, while she lived, was a worthy maintainer of Christ's Gospel, with great integrity of life; and retained divers assemblies of the Saints in her house for the preaching of the Word of God. In fine, her Corps and Image also, being brought before the Fiscal, was condemned likewise (as the Mother with her seven Children in the Book of <i>Macabees</i>) to be burned for a Lutheran Heretick, and all her goods to be seized to the behoof of the superior Powers, and also her house utterly to be razed and cast down to the ground: and for a memorial of the same, a Marble Stone was appointed to be set up in the house, whereas in the like cause of her burning should be engraved.</p> <p>7. Mr. Alonso Perez, Priest of Valencia.</p> <p>In the seventh place was condemned Master <i>Alonso Perez</i>, Priest of <i>Valencia</i>, first to be degraded, and after to be burned as an Heretick, and all his goods confiscate and likewise seized to the behoof of the Superiority.</p> <p>When these seven aforesaid had received their Sentence, then the Bishop of <i>Valencia</i>, in his Pontificalibus, caused <i>Dr. Cacalla</i>, Francis his Brother, and <i>Alonso</i>, to be apparelled and vested in Priestly Vesture. Which done, he took from them first the Chalice out of their hands, and so all their other Trinkets in order, according to their accustomed solemnity. And thus they being degraded, and all their Priestly Unctions taken from their fingers, also their Lips and their crowns razed, so were their yellow Habits of <i>Sanbenito</i> put over their Shoulders again, with their Meters also of Paper upon their Heads. This done, <i>Dr. Cacalla</i> began to speak, praying the Princes and Lords to give him audience: but that being not granted unto him, he was rudely repulled, and returned again to his standing. Only thus much he protested clearly and openly, That his Faith, for which he was so handled, was not heretical, but consonant to the pure Word of God. For the which also he was prest and ready to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as an Heretick: Besides many other worthy Sentences of great consolation, which he there uttered in the mean space, whiles the Judges were busy in their Sentences against the residue of the Martyrs.</p> <p>8. Don Peter Sarmiento, Knight of the Order of Alcantara.</p> <p>The eighth that was brought before the aforesaid Fiscal was Don Peter Sarmiento, Knight of the Order of <i>Alcantara</i>, dwelling at <i>Valencia</i>,</p>	<p>and Son of <i>Marques de Pozza</i>, who was pronounced an Heretick, and judged to bear the mark and habit of dishonour all his life, and condemned to perpetual Prison, with the loss of his Order, and of all his Goods. To whom moreover it was enjoined, never to wear any more Gold, Silver, Pearls, or any precious Stone about him.</p> <p>9. Dame Mencia, Wife of the said Don Peter.</p> <p>Ninthly, after him was called Dame Mencia de Figuera, Wife of the aforesaid Don Peter Sarmiento. Who likewise, being proclaimed for an Heretick, was condemned to the same punishment as her Husband was.</p> <p>10. Don Louis de Roxas, Son and Heir of the Marques de Pozza.</p> <p>Next after her was called and brought forth Don Louis de Roxas, Son and Heir of the Marques de Pozza: who also being declared an Heretick, for the great suit and labour that was made for him, was condemned only to bear his <i>Sanbenito</i> unto the Town-house, and his Goods to be confiscate.</p> <p>11. Dame Anne Henriques.</p> <p>After whom, in the eleventh place, followed Dame Anne Henriques, Daughter of the Marques <i>Afcanzar</i>, and Mother to the forenamed Marques de Pozza, and Wife to the Lord <i>Alphonfus de Fonseca</i>: Who in like sort was declared an Heretick, and condemned to bear her <i>Sanbenito</i> to the Town-house, and her Goods to be confiscate.</p> <p>12. Christopher Del Campo.</p> <p>Christopher Del Campo, Citizen of <i>Samora</i>, was the twelfth, who, after he was declared an Heretick, was judged to be burned, and his Goods to be seized.</p> <p>13. Christopher de Padilla.</p> <p>The like Sentence was also given upon Christopher de Padilla, Citizen of <i>Samora</i>.</p> <p>14. Antonio de Huetzuello.</p> <p>The fourteenth was Antonio de Huetzuello, Bachelor of Divinity, dwelling at <i>Toro</i>. Who after he was proclaimed Heretick, and his Goods confiscate, was condemned to be burned; and moreover had his mouth stopped, for that he should not speak and make confession of his Faith unto the People.</p> <p>15. Katharine Roman.</p> <p>Then followed Katharine Roman, dwelling in <i>Pedrofa</i>, called from her standing: who, receiving the like Sentence, was condemned to be burned, and all her Goods confiscate.</p> <p>16. Frances Errem.</p> <p>The sixteenth was Frances Errem, born in <i>Pegnaranda</i>; whom they condemned to be burned alive, and all her Goods likewise to be confiscate.</p>	
D. Leonore de Bivero, Mother to these Martyrs above, burnt after her death.		The Inquisitors of Spain.	
This good mother, with her children, burned by Sancti Spiritu, refused to the mother with her 7 children burned in the Book of Macabees.			
M. Alonso Perez, martyr.			
The degradation of Dr. Cacalla, Francis his Brother, and Alonso.			
Dr. Cacalla not suffered to speak.			
Don Peter Sarmiento, Knight condemned for a perpetual Prisoner.			

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	K. Hen. 8.
Kat. Ortega, martyr.	17. Katharine Ortega. After her, succeeded in the next Sentence of Martyrdom, <i>Katharine Ortega</i> , dwelling in <i>Valledolid</i> , Daughter of <i>Hernando Pizarro</i> Fiscal, and Widdow of Captain <i>Louis</i> , pronounced with the other to be an Heretick; and forso-much as she was reckoned to be a Schoolmistress to the rest, she was judged to be burned, and her Goods confiscate.		27. Anthony Dominick. <i>Anthony Dominick de Pedrofa</i> , being then brought out, was judged and condemned to three years penance in Prison for his Heresy, clothed with the Mantle of Yellow, and all his Goods confiscate.	Anthony Dominick enjoined Penance; i
Fab. Strada, J. Valeques, Martyrs.	18. Isabell Strada. 19. Jane Valeques. In the eighteenth and nineteenth place, stood <i>Isabell de Strada</i> , and <i>Jane Valeques</i> , both dwelling in <i>Pedrofa</i> ; which likewise were condemn'd to be burned, and all their Goods confiscate.		28. Anthony Bafor an Englishman. Last of all was produced <i>Anthony Bafor</i> , who for that he was an Englishman, he was judged to bear his Mantle of Yellow to the Town-house in penance for his Crime, and incontinent was thrust into a Cloister for one year, to the intent he might there be instructed in the Catholick Ordinances of the Church of <i>Rome</i> , as they be called.	Anth. Bafor an Englishman, enjoined penance.
A Smith martyr.	20. A Smith. A certain Workman of white Iron, or Smith, for entertaining Assemblies in his House, and for watching with them, received also with them the like Sentence, to lose both Life and Goods for the Gospel's sake.		After these Sentences being thus pronounced, they which were condemn'd to be burned, with the Coffin of the dead Lady and her Picture upon the same, were committed to the secular Magistrate, and their Executioners, which were commanded to do their endeavour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one set upon an Ais, their Faces turned backward, and led with a great Garrison of armed Souldiers unto the place of punishment, which was without the Gate of the Town, called <i>Del Campo</i> .	24 Martyrs in Spain burned.
A few burned.	21. A Jew. With these also was joined a <i>Portugal</i> , named <i>Gonzalo Vaz</i> of <i>Lisbon</i> , which was born a Jew, afterward baptized, and then returned again to his Judaism: who, for more shame to the other, was put also in the same tale and number, as the two Thieves were joined with Christ, and was also with them condemn'd to be burned, and his Goods seized.		When they were come to the place, there were fourteen Stakes set up of equal distance one from another, whereunto every one severally being fastned according to the fashion of <i>Spain</i> , they were all first strangled, and then burned and turned to Ashes, save only <i>Anthony Huezuello</i> , who forso-much as he had, both within and without the Prison, vehemently defied the Pope's Spirituality, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth stopp'd from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure Word of God, were led to death as Sheep to the Shambles: who not only most Christianly did comfort one another, but also did so exhort all them there present, that all Men marvelled greatly, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.	
Dame Jane de Silva, cont. den. rec. for an Heretick.	22. Dame Jane de Silva. After these was called <i>Dame Jane de Silva</i> , Wife to <i>John de Bivero</i> , Brother to Dr. <i>Cacalia</i> , to whom it was enjoined to bear a Mantle all her life for penance, in token of her trespass, and all her Goods confiscate.		It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behind thirty seven other Prisoners, at the said Town of <i>Valledolid</i> , reserved to another Tragedy and Spectacle of that bloody Inquisition. <i>Ex quin. parte Mart. Gall. Impress. pag. 474.</i>	
Leonore de Lisueros.	23. Leonore de Lisueros, Wife of Huezuello. In like manner was called for <i>Leonore de Lisueros</i> , Wife of the aforesaid <i>Anthony Huezuello</i> , Bachelor of Divinity.		Furthermore, whereas the story of the said Inquisition being set out in the French Tongue, doth reckon the number of the Martyrs above-mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said Company were returned back without judgment into the Prison again.	
Marina de Sajavedra.	24. Marina de Sajavedra. <i>Item, Marina de Sajavedra</i> , Wife of <i>Cifuentes de Sarglio</i> .		And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the Church of <i>Spain</i> , in their Inquisition against the <i>Lutherans</i> , that is, against the true and faithful Servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other Countries also, besides <i>Spain</i> , subject unto the same Inquisition, as <i>Naples</i> and <i>Sicily</i> : in which Kingdom of <i>Sicily</i> , I have it credibly reported, That every third year are brought forth to Judgment and Execution a certain number, after the like sort of Christian Martyrs, sometimes twelve, sometimes six, sometimes more, sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, <i>Ann 1559</i> : who coming from <i>Genova</i> to <i>Sicily</i> , upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hand on; and being condemn'd the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the Hangmen to be strangled, having the Cord ready about his Neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said, That he would feel the fire: and so endured he, singing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of Speech and Life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant Souldier	A Christian Martyr burned in Sicily
Dan Quadra condemn'd to perpetual Prison.	25. Daniel Quadra. <i>Item, Daniel Quadra</i> born at <i>Pedrofa</i> : all which three Persons were pronounced Hereticks, and condemn'd to do penance in perpetual Prison, with their Mantles, and confiscation of all their Goods.			
D. Mary de Royas enjoin'd Penance.	26. Dame Mary de Royas. <i>Dame Mary de Royas</i> , Sister of the Marques of <i>Royas</i> , because she was in a Cloister, and was come of a good House, was therefore judged to bear her Mantle to the Town-house; and all her Goods confiscate.			

K. Hen. 8

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Souldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, which being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify, that he then saw.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious Table, to comprehend all such Martyrs as suffered for the Verity and true Testimony of the Gospel, in the Places and Countries of Italy: which Table consequently here next ensueth.

A Table of such Martyrs as suffered for the Testimony of the Gospel in Italy.

The Italian Martyrs.

N. Encenas, otherwise called Dryander, at Rome, Anno 1546.

THis Encenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard, born at Bruges, was Brother to Francis Encenas the learned Man, so oft before mentioned: and was also the teacher or instructor in knowledge of Religion to Dianus the godly Martyr above recorded. He was sent of his superstitious Parents, being young, unto Rome; Who there, after long continuance, growing up in Age and Knowledge, but especially being instructed by the Lord in the truth of his Word, after he was known to mislike the Pope's Doctrine, and the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended and taken of certain of his own Country-men, and some of his own household Friends at Rome, at the same time when he was preparing to take his journey to his Brother Francis Encenas in Germany. Thus he, being betrayed and taken by his own Country-men, was brought before the Cardinals, and there committed to strait Prison. Afterward he was brought forth to give testimony of his Doctrine, which he in the presence of the Cardinals, and in the face of all the Pope's Retinue, boldly and constantly defended. So that not only the Cardinals, but especially the Spaniards being therewith offended, cried out upon him that he should be burned. The Cardinals, first before the Sentence of Death should be given, came to him, offering, if he would take it (after the manner of the Spaniards) the Badg of Reconciliation; which hath the name of *Sanbonis's* Cloth, made in form of a Mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the red Crocs. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of Truth, denied to receive any other Condition or Badg, but only the Badg of the Lord, which was to seal the Doctrine of his Religion with the testimony of his Blood. At last the matter was brought to that issue, that the faithful Servant and Witness of Christ was judged and condemned to the Fire; where he, in the sight of the Cardinals, and in the face of the Apostolick See pretended, gave up his life for the testimony of the Gospel. *Ex Pantul. lib. 6. En Crisp. & alii.*

Certain
Popish
Spaniards
at Rome.

cretly was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himself; and so he slipping out of the Prison, without any hasty pace, but going as leisurely as he could, escaped from thence, and went straight to Germany.

Faninus, at Ferrara, Anno 1550.

Faninus, born in *Faventia*, a Town in Italy, through the reading of godly Books translated into the Italian Tongue, (having no perfect skill in the Latin) was converted from great blindness, to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his Word. Wherein he took such a sweetness, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in short time to instruct other. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being so in his mind persuaded, that a Man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his Verity, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a Candle under a Bushel. And therefore being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he used not publicly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the Pope's Clients espied, apprehended, and committed to Prison. Albeit he remained not long in Prison, for by the earnest persuasions and prayers of his Wife, his Children, and other Friends, he was so overcome, that he gave over, and so was dismissed shortly out of Prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind: insomuch that unless the great Mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the Truth, and preferring the love of his Friends and Kindred before the Service of Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This Wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind, to adventure his life more faithfully in the Service of the Lord.

Faninia
Martyr

Faninus o-
vertens by
his Wife and
Brethren.

Whereupon he, being thus inflamed with zeal of Spirit, went about all the Country of *Romaigna*, publicly preaching the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring, it so fell out that he was apprehended again, Anno 1547, in a place called *Bagnacavallo*, where also he was condemned to be burned. But he said his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his Doctrine: and so it was; for shortly after he was removed unto *Ferraria*, where he was detained two years. At last the Inquisitors of the Pope's Heresies condemned him to death, Anno 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of *September*, An. 1550. In the mean time many faithful and good Men came to visit him; for the which the Pope commanded him to be inclosed in stricter custody; wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominick Friars might have got him in their

Faninus 4-
gains imple-
beed.

The Imprisonment and escape of N. Encenas.

And for so much as mention hath been made both in this story, and many other before, of Francis Encenas his Brother, here is not to be permitted, how the said Francis being a Man of notable learning as ever was any in Spain, being in the Emperor's Court at *Brussels*, offered unto the Emperor, *Charles the 5th.* the New Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For the which he was cast into Prison, where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, the first day of *February*, Anno 1545, at eight of the Clock after Supper, he found the doors of the Prison standing open, and he se-

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their house, as they went about. Thus *Fannius* removed from Prison to Prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

At length he was brought into a Prison, where were divers great Lords, Captains, and noble Personages there committed, for stirring up Commotions and Factions (as the Country of *Italy* is full of such) who at first, hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him: supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain. Whereupon, such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his Opinion, and to live with Men as other Men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his Judgment till the matter were decided in the General Council. To whom *Fannius* again, first giving them thanks for their friendly good will, wherewith they seemed to respect his well-doing, modestly and quietly declared unto them, how the Doctrine which he professed, was no Humour nor Opinion of Man's brain, but the pure Verity of God, founded in his Word, and revealed to Men in the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, and especially now in these days restored: which Verity he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying Fantasies of Men. And as in his Soul, which was redeemed by the Blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage: so likewise as touching Councils, he looked for no other Sentence nor Authority, he said, but that only which he knew to be declared to us by *Christ Jesus* in his Gospel, which both he preached with his Word, and confirmed with his Blood, &c. With these and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of Life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and recounted him for an holy Person. To whom he proceeded still to preach the Word of Grace, declaring, and confessing himself to be a miserable Sinner; but by the Faith of the Lord *Jesus*, and through the Grace only of him, he was fully persuaded and well assured his sins to be forgiven: like as all their sins also shall be remitted to them through their Faith only in *Christ*, they believing his Gospel.

There were others also besides these, who, having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the sharpness and the hardness of the Prison. These also received such comfort by the said *Fannius*, that not only they were quietly contented, but also rejoiced in this their captivity; by the occasion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the imprisonment of this *Fannius* was known to his Parents and Kinsfolk, his Wife and Sister came to him with weeping perswasions, to move him to consider and care for his poor Family. To whom he answered again, That his Lord and Master had commanded him, not to deny him for looking to his Family; and that it was enough for them that he had once for their sakes fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and sollicite him no more therein, for his end, he said, he knew to draw near, and so he commanded them unto the Lord.

About the same time died Pope *Paulus* the 3^d, and after him succeeded *Julius* the 3^d, which then sent Letters and Commandment that *Fannius* should be executed. Whereof when one of the Magistrates Officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced thereat, and gave the Messenger thanks, and began to preach a long Sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity and beatitude of the Life to come. Then the Messenger exhorted him, that, in case he would change his Opinion, he should save both his Life, and enjoy that to come. Another asked him in what case he should leave his little Children and his Wife, or what stay should they be at, he so leaving them: wherefore he desired him to have respect both to himself and to them. *Fannius* answered, that he had left them with an Overseer, which would see unto them sufficiently: and being asked who he was? The Lord *Jesus Christ*, said he, a faithful Keeper and Conserver of all that is committed to him. After that the Messenger was thus departed from *Fannius*, all full of tears and sorrow, the next day following he was removed into the common Prison, and

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delivered to the secular Magistrate. Who in all his ways, his words, his gestures, and countenance, declared such constancy of Faith, such modesty of manners and tranquillity of mind, that they which before were extreme against him, thinking him rather to have a Devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With such grace and sweetness he talked, ever speaking of the Word of God, that divers of the Magistrates Wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The Executioner also wept himself. One of the Publick Scribes then came to him, and said, That if he would relent from his Opinion, the Pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved: but that he refused. This was marvellous, that he having but small skill in the Latine, yet recited so many and sundry places of the Scripture without Book, and that so truly and promptly, as tho he had studied nothing else. One, seeing him so jocond and merry going to his death, asked, why he was so merry at his death, seeing *Christ* himself sweat Blood and Water before his Passion? *Christ* said he, sustained in his Body all the sorrows and conflicts with Hell and Death due to us: by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all. Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth where he should suffer. Who, after his Prayers most earnestly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himself to the Stake, where with a Cord drawn about his Neck, he was secretly strangled of the Hangman, in the City of *Ferraria*, three hours before day, to the intent the People should not see him, nor hear him speak: and after, about dinner-time, his Body in the same place was burned. At the burning whereof such a fragrant and odoriferous scent came to all them there present, and so their senses, that the sweetness thereof seemed to refresh them no less, than his words would have done, if they had heard him speak.

The Custom is of that City, that the Bones and Ashes which be left, should be carried out of the City; but neither the Magistrate, nor the Bishop, nor his great Vicar or Chancellor, nor any Divine else, would take any charge thereof, every Man transferring that burthen from themselves to him which was the cause of his death. Whereby it may appear, what secret judgment and estimation all they had of that good and blessed Man. At the last, People took his burned Bones, with the Cinders, and carried them out of the street of the City. *Ex Hen. Pantul. lib. 7. Ex Jo. Crisp. pag. 363.*

Dominicus de Basana, at Placentia,
Anno 1550.

The same year that the aforesaid *Fannius* suffered in *Ferraria*, *Dominicus* also suffered in the City of *Placentia*. This *Dominicus* was Citizen in *Basana*, and followed the Wars of *Charles* the Emperor in *Germany*: where he received the first taste of *Christ's* Gospel. Wherein he increased more and more, by conferring and reasoning with learned Men, so that in short time he was able to instruct many, and so he did working and travelling in the Church, till at length, in the year 1550, he, coming to the City of *Naples*, there preached the Word, and from thence proceeding to *Placentia*, preached there likewise unto the People, of true Confession, of Purgatory, and of Pardons. Furthermore, the next day he entreated of true Faith and good Works, how far they are necessary to Salvation, promising moreover the next day to speak of Antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his Sermon, the Magistrate of the City commanded him to come down from the Chair in the Market-place, and delivered him to the Officers. *Dominicus* was willing and ready to obey the Commandment, saying, That he did much marvel that the Devil could suffer him so long in that kind of Exercise. From thence he was led to the Bishop's Chancellor, and asked whether he was a Priest, and

The modest
answer of
Fannius to
his fellow
Prisoners.

Prisoners
converted by
Fannius.

Pope Julius
the third.

Christ pre-
served be-
fore wife &
children.

K. Hen. 3.

Life refused.

How Christ
suffered death
himself, and
yet hath he
taken away
the fear of
death from
others.

A miracle as
it is reported

The death &
martyrdom
of Fannius.

Dominicus
de Basana,
martyr.

Antichrist
cannot abide
to be de-
fected.

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K. Hen. 8

and how he was placed in that Function. He answered, That he was no Priest of the Pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that Office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his Doctrine? He answered, That he maintained no Doctrine of his own, but only the Doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his Blood, and also gave hearty thanks to God, which so accepted him as worthy to glorify his Name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking Prison, where after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted divers times to revoke, otherwise he should suffer; but still he remained constant in his Doctrine. Whereupon when the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the Market-place, where he preached, and there was hanged; who most heartily praying for his Enemies, so finished his days in this miserable wretched World. *Ex Pantul. lib. 7.*

The martyrdom of Domitius de Bassiana.

Galeazius Trecius martyr.

Galeazius Trecius, at the City called Laos Pompeia in Italy, Anno 1551.

Santangelo, is a certain Fortreis or Castle in Italy, within Lombardy, not far from the City called *Laus Pompeia*, belonging also to the same Diocese. In this Fort of *Santangelo* was an House of *Augustine* Friars, unto whom used much to resort a certain Frier of the same Order, dwelling at *Pania*, named *Maisnardus*, a Man well expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this *Maisnardus*, towns not only of the Friars, but also of other Townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledge of God's Word, and to the detestation of the Pope's abuses. Among whom was also this *Galeazius*, a Gentleman of a good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very beneficial to the Poor. Who first by conference with the Friars, and also with his Brother-in-Law, began to conceive some light in God's Truth, and afterward was confirmed more thoroughly by *Celcius secundus Caris*, who, then being driven by Persecution, came from *Pavia* to the said place of *Santangelo*. In process of time, as this *Galeazius* increased in Judgment and Zeal, in setting forward the wholesome Word of God's Grace: as a Light shining in darkness he could not so lie hid, but at last, in the year of our Lord 1551, certain were sent from the forenamed City of *Laus Pompeia*, to lay hands upon him, and brought him to the Bishop's Palace; where he was kept in bands, having under him but only a pad of straw. Altho his Wife sent unto him a good Featherbed, with sheets to lie in, yet the Bishop's Chaplains and Officers kept it from him, dividing the Prey among themselves.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the Commissioners, where he rendered Reasons and Causes of his Faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scriptures, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate persuasions of his Kinsfolk and Friends, and other cold Gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the Pope's Doctrine. But yet the Mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance, and bewailing of his Pact, that he became afterward (according to the example of *Peter*, and *Scyprian*, and others) double-wise more valiant in defence of Christ's Quarrel: neither did he ever desire any thing more, than occasion to be offered to recover again by confession, that which he had lost before by denial: affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart, than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the constant confession of the Truth: and contrary that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slip'd afterward from the same by dissimulation. Declaring moreover to his Brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with

The Bishop of Santangelo, and his Priests.

Galeazius Trecius martyr.

A sentence of a martyr to be marked.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

testimony of the Verity, than life with the least denial of Truth, and loss of a good Conscience. Thus *Galeazius*, mourning for his fall into Prison, after he heard of his Friends, that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his inhumanity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance to God's Glory, and an admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort: and when they would have left with him a Book of the New Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his Disciples: also what happened both to Christ himself, and to his Disciples, for confessing the Word of Truth.

Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they which talked with him, continued all the day without Meat or Drink, and would also have carried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

As *Galeazius* thus continued in the Prison, looking for some occasion to recover himself again from his fall, it followed in short time that the Inquisitors and Priests repaired to him again in the Prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them, and required him so to do. *Galeazius*, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former Doctrine, with much more boldness of Spirit confessing Christ, as he did before, and detested Images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in Spirit and Verity: Also that there be no more Mediators but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently by his suffering hath taken away the sins of the whole World; and that all they which depart hence in this Faith, are ascertain'd of everlasting Life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation, with such otherlike matter, which was repugnant utterly to the Pope's Proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the Adversaries went away all much appaled; who, at last perceiving that he in no case could be revoked, caused him to be committed to the secular Judge to be burned.

Galeazius Trecius martyr.

Galeazius Trecius martyr.

Thus *Galeazius* early in the morning, being brought out of Prison to the Market-place, there was left standing bound to the Stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all Men to look upon. In the which mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it. If he passed not for his Life, nor for his Country where he should live, nor for his Goods and Possessions, which should be confiscated, yet he should somewhat respect his Wife whom he loved so well, and his young Children, at least he should consider his own Soul. This counsel gave they, which more esteemed the Commodities of this present life, than any true Soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could stir the settled mind of this valiant Martyr. Wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry Wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, save only these words heard in the middle of the flame, Lord Jesus. This was Anno 1551, Novemb. 24.

The Death and death of Galeazius.

Touching the story of this blessed Martyr, this by the way is to be given for a *Memorandum*. That a little before this *Galeazius* should be burned, there was a Controversy between the Major of the City, and the Bishop's Clergy, for the expences of the Wood that should go to his burning. He hearing thereof, sent word to both the Parties to agree, for he himself, of his own Goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note moreover here is to be added, that while *Galeazius* was in captivity, certain of the Papists, perceiving that *Galeazius* had great Goods and Possessions, practised with his Wife, under colour to release her Husband, that she should lay out a sum of Money to be sent to the Wife of the chief Lord of *Millain* (called *Ferrarius Guesaga*) to the end that he should entreat both with her Husband, and with the Senate, for *Galeazius*'s Life. Which Money when they had thus jugged into their hands, *Galeazius* notwithstanding was burned, and so was the silly Woman robbed and defeated, both of her Husband, and also of her Money. *Ex Celis.*

D. John

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	K.Hen. 8.
D. Jo. Molli- nus, martyr.	D. John Mollinus, a Gray Friar. A certain Weaver of Perulium. At Rome, Anno 1553.	In the mean season, Laurentius Spatha above-mentioned, being General of that Order, in most speedy wife pulled up to Rome, and there so practised with the Cardinal St. Crucis, the Proctor in the Court of Rome for the Gray Friars, that the Pope wrote down his Letters to Campjus, that he should deliver the said John out of Prison: so that he notwithstanding, within three months after, should personally appear at Rome. Thus the thirtieth day of his imprisonment he was delivered; who, but for the coming of the Pope's Letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the said Mollinus, Cornelius was also cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome, and there was detained in Prison by the Cardinal St. Crucis, till his cause should be decided. The Friends of Mollinus gave him counsel not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germany: but he would not, saying, that the Gospel must also be preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paul the third, humbly he desired, that the Cause being so weighty, might come in publick hearings, but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in Articles, and to bring his Proofs: which he diligently performed, treating of Original Sin, Justification by Faith, Free-Will, Purgatory, and other such like: proving the said Articles by the Authority of the Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and to exhibited the same to the Bishop of Rome. Upon this, certain Cardinals and Bishops were assigned to have the Cause in hearing: who disputed with him three days, and could not feel that which he had proved. At last answer was made unto him thus; that it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheless the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the Apostolick See: wherefore he should abstain hereafter from the Epistles * of St. Paul, and so return again safe to Bononia, and there profess Philosophy. Thus as he was returned to Bononia, and all Men there were desirous to know of his case, how he fared at Rome, openly in the Pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.	Mollins delivered out of Prison by means of Spatha the General.	
Cornelius Profef- sor of Bonony	Joan. Mollinus Montiscinus, being but twelve years old, with his Brother Augustinus, was let of his Parents in the house of the Gray Friars, where he in short time, having a fresh Wit, far excelled his Fellows in all Tongues and Liberal Sciences. So growing up to the Age of eighteen, he was ordained Priest, and sang his first Mass. After that he was sent to Ferrara to study, where he so profited in the space of six years, that he was assigned, by Vigerius General of that Order, to be Doctor, and then Reader in Divinity: who then, with his Sophistry, opposed himself as an utter Enemy against the Gospel. From thence he went to Brixia, and the next year following to Milaine, where he read or professed openly. Again, from thence he was taken by Franciscus Sforzia, and brought to the University of Pavia, there openly to profess Philosophy. Where he remained four years. After that he was called to the University of Bononie, by Laurentius Spatha, General of the Order, where he was occupied in reading the Books of Aristotle de Anima. In the mean time God wrought in his Soul such light of his Word, and of true Religion, that he, waxing weary of professing Philosophy, began secretly to expound the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans to a few; which being known, his Auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the Temple. Whereas the number of his Audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that every Man almost came with his Pen and Ink to write, and great diligence was bestowed how to come betime to take up the first places, where they might best hear, which was about the year of our Lord 1538. There was the same time, at Bononie, one Cornelius an arrogant Babbler, who, envying the doings of Joannes, took upon him, at the request of Cardinal Campjus, to expound the said Epistle of Saint Paul, consisting and disproving the explanation of the said John, and extolling the Pope with all his traditions. Contrary, John extolled and commended only Christ and his Merits to the People. But the purpose of Cornelius came to small effect. For the Auditors which first came unto him, began by little to fall from him, and the concourse of the other Man's Auditors more and more increased.	Mollins appeared before the Pope.		
Laurentius Spatha, General of the gray Friars.		Herewith Campjus, being more offended than before, obtained of the Pope, that the General of the Order should remove the said John Mollinus from Bononie, and place him some other where. So Mollinus from thence, was sent to Naples, and there was appointed Reader and Preacher in the Monastery of St. Laurence. But Petrus the Viceroy there, not abiding his Doctrine, so nearly sought his death, that he had much ado to escape with life; and so departing from thence, he went wandering in Italy from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. Not long after this, when Cardinal Campjus was dead, he was called again unto Bononie by a good Abbat named de Grassis, Anno 1543, where he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's Epistles after a secret sort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiscovered. Whereupon by the means of Cardinal de Capo, and by Bonaventura the General, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Favia, and laid there in a filthy and stinking Prison, where he continued four years, no Man having leave once to come to him. During which time of his inurance, he wrote a Commentary upon the Books of Moses: but that labour, by the malignity of the Adversaries was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the Earl Petiliannus, and of the aforesaid good Abbat de Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months with the Abbat ad S. Vitalem, and there again taught the Gospel of Christ as before: and whensoever he spake of the Name of Jesus, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.	* The Popes Church can not abide St. Pauls Epistles, but the Epistles must give place to Philosophy.	
Cornelius & Cardinal Campjus, Persecutors.		In process of time, when this Abbat was dead, his Sureties began to be weary of their Bond, and so was he again now the third time reduced into Prison by the Pope's Legats. There were then four Men of great Authority, who, being stirred up by God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of Prison. Of whom, one of the said Sureties took the said Mollinus home, to instruct his Children in the Doctrine of Religion and good Letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this Man such a concourse of People came to see him, that the Adversaries began to	Mollins in great danger at Naples.	
Mollins taken and imprisoned by Cardinal Campjus	Which when Cornelius perceived, he perswaded Campjus, that unless he provided that Man to be dispatched, the estimation of the Church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpose about, secretly this way was devised, that Cornelius and Joannes should come to open disputation: which Disputation indured till three of the Clock after midnight. At length when neither part could agree, Joannes was bid to return home to his house. Who as he was come down to the lowest steps, where the place was most straitest, so that his Friends could not come to rescue him, (al tho by drawing their Swords they declared their good wills) was there taken and laid fast in Prison. When the day came, such tumult and fir was in the whole City, that Cornelius was driven to hide himself. Also Campjus the Cardinal, with the Bishop there, were both contemned of the Students. The next day the Bishop of Bononie sent his Chancellor to John in the Prison, to signify unto him, that either he must recant, or else burn. But he, being of a bold and cheerful Spirit, would in no wife be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him, that he should be condemned, his cause being not heard.	Mollins again delivered.		
		consult	The fervent zeal of Mollinus.	

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
K.Hen.8. Mollus the fourth time imprisoned.	consult with themselves to kill him, left his Doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the Church of Rome. Whereupon commandment was sent to the Pope's Legat to lay hands upon him, and to send him up fast bound to Rome. Where again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Rome, and there continued eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering Promises, sometimes with terrible Threats, to give over his Opinion: but his Building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure Rock. Thus Dr. Mollus, being constant in the defence of Christ's Gospel, was brought, with certain other Men (which were also apprehended for Religion) into the Temple of St. Mary (called <i>De Minerva</i>) the fifth day of September, Anno 1553; either there to revoke, or to be burned. There sat upon them six Cardinals in high Seats, besides the Judge: before whom preached a Dominick Frier, with cruelty inveighing against the poor Prisoners, incensed the Cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor Men stood holding a burning Taper in their hands: of whom some for fear of death revolted. But this Doctor Mollus, with a Weaver of <i>Perugia</i> , remained constant. Then Mollus began an earnest Sermon in the Italian Tongue, wherein he confirmed the Articles of the Faith by the Sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the Pope was not the Successor of Peter, but Antichrist, and that his Sectaries do figure the Whore of <i>Babylon</i> . Moreover, he cited them up to the Tribunal Seat of Christ, and threw away the burning Taper from him: Whereupon they, being replenished with anger, condemned him with the Weaver to the Fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried incontinent to the Camp or Field, called <i>Florianum</i> , where they remained cheerful and constant: First, the Weaver was hanged: Mollus then, willing the Hangman to execute his Office likewise upon him, began to exhort the People to beware of Idolatry, and to have no other Saviours but Christ alone: for he only is the Mediator between God and Man. And so was he also hanged, commending his Soul to God, and afterward laid in the fire and burned. The People having divers Judgments upon him, some said he died an Heretic, some said he was a good Man. Ex <i>Henrico Pant. lib. 19. Anno 1543.</i>	ons: which seemed to some but Phantries coming of some Humor: to some they seemed uncatholic or Heretical. But he, constantly disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, declared the Opinions which he defended, not to be any vain Speculations or imaginary Phantries of Man's doting Brain, but the pure Verity of God, and the evident Doctrine of Jesus Christ, expressed in his Word, necessary for all Men to believe, and also to maintain unto death: and therefore for his part, rather than he would be found false to Christ and his Word, he was there ready, not to deny, but to stand to Christ's Gospel, to the effusion of his Blood. Thus when he could in no wise be reclaimed from the Doctrine of Truth, Letters came from the Senate of <i>Milain</i> , that he should be executed with death. Which execution, as they of <i>Comen</i> were about to prepare, in the mean while came other Letters from <i>Geneva</i> , written by the Emperor's Ambassador, and other Nobles of <i>Milain</i> , by the which Letters his death was delay'd for a time, till at length other Letters were sent from the Senate again of <i>Milain</i> , requiring execution of the Sentence. Nevertheless, through intercession of his Friends, one week's respite more was granted him, to prove whether he might be won again to the Pope's Church, that is to say, lost from God. Thus he being mightily and long, both assailed by Friends, and by Enemies terrified, yet by no persuasions would be expunged, but gave thanks to God, that he was made worthy to suffer the rebukes of this World, and cruel death, for the testimony of his Son; and so went he cheerfully unto his death. Then came certain <i>Franciscan</i> Friers to him to hear his Confession, which he refused. Also they brought in their hands a Cro's for him to behold, to keep him from desperation at the feeling of the fire. But his mind, he said, was so replenished with joy and comfort in Christ, that he needed neither their Cro's, nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the People, of the fruition of those heavenly Joys above which God hath prepared for his, because he should speak no more to the People, his Tongue was bored through; and so immediately being tied to the Stake, there he was strangled till he was dead; every Man there, which saw his constancy, giving testimony, that he died a good Man. Ex <i>Epist. cujusd. Nobilis Comenensis apud Hen. Pant. lib. 10. & Calium</i> .	
The constancy of Dr. Mollus and of the Weaver.			Fr. Gamba's his tongue bored through.
Dr. Mollus cited the Pope to the Tribunal Seat of Christ.			
The martyrdom of Dr. Mollus and the Weaver.			
Two Augustine Monks martyrs.	Two Monks of the House of St. Austin in Rome. At Rome, Anno 1554. Furthermore in the same City of Rome, and about the same time, in the Monastery of Saint <i>Austin</i> , were found two Monks in their Cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, only for rebuking the immoderate and outrageous excess of the Cardinals, as witnesseth <i>Manlius</i> . Such was the cruelty then of the malignant Adversaries. Ex <i>Johan. Man. in diu. Phil. Meland.</i> Franciscus Gamba. At the City of <i>Comen</i> . In the Diocese of <i>Milain</i> . Anno 1554. Francis Gamba born in the City of <i>Brissia</i> , in <i>Lombardy</i> , after he had received the knowledge of the Gospel, went to <i>Geneva</i> , to confer about certain necessary Affairs with them that were wise and learned in that Church, which was about the time when the Lord's Supper there was administered at Pentecost: Who there also at the same time did communicate with them. Afterward in his returning home, as he was passing over the Lake of <i>Como</i> , he was taken and brought to <i>Como</i> , and there committed to Ward. During the time of which imprisonment, divers and sundry, as well Nobles as others, with Doctors also, especially Priests and Monks, resorted unto him, labouring by all manner of means, and most fair promises, to reduce him from his Opin-	Pomponius Algerius, at Rome? Anno 1555. Pomponius Algerius born in <i>Capua</i> , a young Man of great learning, was Student in the University of <i>Padua</i> , where he not able to conceal and keep close the Verity of Christ's Gospel, which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's Grace, ceased not both by Doctrine and Example of Life, to inform as many as he could in the same Doctrine, and to bring them to Christ: For the which he was accused of Heresy to Pope <i>Paulus</i> the fourth. Who, sending immediately to the Magistrates of <i>Venice</i> , caused him to be apprehended at <i>Padua</i> , and carried to <i>Venice</i> , where he was long detained in Prison and Bands, till at last the Pope commanded the Magistrates there to send him up bound unto Rome, which the <i>Venetians</i> easily accomplished. After he was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and allurments were assayed to remove this virtuous and blessed young Man from his Sentence. But when no worldly persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burned alive; which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him. Being in Prison at <i>Venice</i> , he wrote an Epistle to the afflicted Saints: which for the notable sweetnels and most wonderful consolation contained in the same, in shewing forth the mighty operation of God's Holy Power working in his afflicted Saints that suffer for his sake, I have thought good and expedient to communicate, as a principal	Pomponius Algerius, martyr.
Fr. Gamba, martyr.		p Paulus the fourth The Magistrates of Venice.	
The Senate of <i>Milain</i> .			
The blind judgment of the World in God's Matters.			

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

principal Monument amongst all other Martyrs Letters, not only with the other Letters which shall be inserted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the Book, but also in this present place to be read, to the intent that both they which be, or shall be hereafter in affliction, may take consolation: and also they that yet follow the trade of this present World, in comparing the Joys and Common-

Persecut. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

dities thereof, with these Joys here expressed, may learn and consider with themselves, what difference there is between them both, and thereby may learn to dispose themselves in such sort, as may be to their edification, and perpetual felicity of their Souls. The Copy of the Letter; first written in Latin, we have translated into English, the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth.

K.Hen.8.

A comfortable Letter of Pomponius Algerius an Italian Martyr.

To his dearly beloved Brethren and fellow Servants of Christ, which are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion; Grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

TO mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I cannot but impart unto you some portion of my delectation and joys, which I feel and find, to the intent you with me may rejoice and sing before the Lord, giving thanks unto him, I shall utter that which no Man will believe when I shall declare it. I have found a nest of Hony and Hony-comb in the intrails of a Lion. Who will ever believe that I shall say? or what Man will ever think in the deep dark Dungeon to find a Paradise of Pleasure? in the place of sorrow and death, to dwell in tranquility and hope of life? in a Cave infernal to be found joy of Soul? and where other Men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where other do shake and tremble, there strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woful state such delectation? in a place so desolate, such society of good Men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest to be had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord (my sweet Brethren) doth minister unto me. Behold, he that was once far from me, now is present with me. Whom once scarce I could feel, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungered for, the same now approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heareth me up with gladness; he driveth away all bitterness, he miniseth strength and courage, he healeth me, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. O how good is the Lord, which suffereth not his Servants to be tempted above their strength! O how easy and sweet is his Yoke! Is there any like unto the Highest, who receiveth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn ye, Welbeloved, how amiable the Lord is, how ruerk and merciful he is, which visiteth his Servants in temptations, neither disdaineth he to keep company with us in such vile and thinking Caves. Will the blind and incredulous World (think you) believe this? Or rather will it not say thus? No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries, and other grievances innumerable; the rebukes and frowning faces of Men how wilt thou suffer? Dost thou not consider and revolve in thy mind thy pleasant Country, the riches of the World, thy Kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honours of this Life? Dost thou forget the solace of thy Sciences, and fruit of all thy Labours? Wilt thou thus lose all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nights watched? thy painful travels, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast been exercised continually even from thy childhood? Finally, fearest thou not death, which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? O what a fool art thou, which for one word speaking mayest save all this, and wilt not? What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to be intreated at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, so just, so virtuous, so prudent and gracious Senators, and such noble Personages, &c.

But now to answer; Let this blind World hearken to this again, What heat can there be more burning, than that

fire which is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewise what snow can be more cold than thy heart which is in darkness, and hath no light? What thing is more hard, and sharp, or crooked, than this present life which here we lead? What thing more odious and hateful than this World here present? and let these worldly Men here answer me; What Country can we have more sweet than the Heavenly Country above? What Treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who be our Kinsmen, but they which hear the Word of God? where be greater Riches, or Dignities more honourable, than in Heaven? And as touching the Sciences, let this foolish World consider, be they not ordained to learn to know God? whom unless we do know, all our Labours, our night Watchings, our Studies, and all our Enterprises serve to no use or purpose, all is but labour lost. Furthermore, let the miserable worldly Man answer me; What remedy or safe refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the Life and Medicine of all Men? And how can he be fild to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ be the Way, Verity, and Life, how can there be any life then without Christ? The foolish heat of the Prison to me is coldness; the cold Winter to me is a fiery spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of the weather? or what careth he for the pinching frost, which burneth with the Love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here dropeth the delectable Dew, here floweth the pleasant Nectar, here runneth the sweet Milk, here is plenty of all good things. And also the place it self be desert and barren, yet to me it seemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the World. Let the miserable worldling say and confess, if there be any Plot, Pasture, or Meadow, so delightful to the mind of Man, as here. Here I see Kings, Princes, Cities, and People; here I see Wars, where some be overthrown, some be Victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the Mount Sion, here I am already in Heaven it self. Here standeth first Christ Jesus in the Front. About him stand the old Fathers, Prophets, and Evangelists, Apostles, and all the Servants of God. Of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort, some open the Sacraments unto me, some comfort me, others are singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many and such as these be? the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example. Fore here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder, and some quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot Cauldrons, some having their Eyes bored through, some their Tongues cut out, some their Skin plucked over their Heads, some their Hands and Feet chop'd off, some put in Kilns and Furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the Beasts and Fowls of the Air to feed upon; it would ask a long time if I should recite all.

To be short, divers I see, with divers and sundry torments excruciate: yet notwithstanding, all living, and all safe. One Plaster, one Salve cureth all their Wounds, which also gives to me strength and life, so that I sustain all these transitory anguishes and small afflictions, with a quiet mind, having a greater Hope laid up in Heaven. Neither do I fear mine Adversaries which here persecute me and oppress me: for he that dwelleth in Heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall deride them. I fear

not

not thousands of People which compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my Hope, my Supporter, my Comforter, who exalteth up my head. He shall smite all them that stand up against me without cause, and shall dash the teeth and jaws of Sinners asunder: for he only is all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ's Cause makes us joyous: for so it is written, *if ye be rebuked and scorned for the Name of Christ, happy be you; for the Glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you.* 1 Pet. 4. Be you therefore certified, that our Rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the Rebukers. In this World there is no Mansion firm to me; and therefore I will travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in Heaven, and which offereth it self unto me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have entred already in my Journey, where my House standeth for me prepared, and where I shall have Riches, Kindness, Delights, Honours never failing. As for these earthly things here present, they are transitory Shadows, vanishing Vapours, and ruinous Walls. Briefly, all is but very Vanity of Vanities, whereas Hope and the substance of Eternity to come are wanting; which the mercifull goodness of the Lord hath given as Companions to accompany me, and to comfort me, and now do the same begin to work and to bring forth Fruits in me. I have travelled hitherto, laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, and now my travels begin to come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my Studies. Behold, the true Countenance of God is sealed upon me, the Lord hath given mirth in my heart. And therefore in the same will I lay me down in peace and rest, *Psal. 4.* And who then shall dare to blame this our Age consumed, or say that our years be cut off? What Man can now cavil that these our Labours are lost, which have followed and found out the Lord and Maker of the World, and which have changed death with Life? My Portion is the Lord (saith my Soul) and therefore I will seek and wait for him. Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die, but to live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly Rebel, which blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's Cup, which is an assured pledge of true Salvation! for so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying; *The same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you.* Wherefore let the dolefull World with his blind Worldlings (who in the bright Sunshine yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as Beetles) cease thus unwilfully to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it. To whom thus we answer again with the Holy Apostle, That neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ: we are slain all the day long, we are made like Sheep ordained to the Shambles, *Rom. 8.* Thus do we resemble Christ our Head, which said, That the Disciple cannot be above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. The same Lord hath also commanded, that every one shall take up his Cross and follow him, *Luke 9.* Rejoice, rejoice (my dear Brethren, and fellow Servants) and be of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations. Let your Patience be perfect on all parts. For so it forewarned us before, and is written, That they which shall kill you, shall think to do God good service. Therefore Afflictions and Death be as Tokens and Sacraments of our Election and Life to come. Let us then be glad and sing unto the Lord, when as we, being clear from all just accusation, are persecuted and given to death. For better it is, that we in doing well do suffer, if it be the Will of the Lord, than doing evil, 1 Pet. 3. We have for our example Christ and the Prophets, which spake in the Name of the Lord, whom the Children of Iniquity did quell and murder. And now we bleis and magnify them that then suffered; Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revengement to him.

I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true Doctrine and Knowledge of God, and do not rid my self out of these troubles, when with one word I may. O the blindness of Man, which seeth not the Sun-shining; neither remembereth the Lord's words.

Consider therefore what he saith, You are the Light of the World. A City built on a Hill cannot be hid; neither do Men light a Candle, and put it under a Bushel, but upon a Candlestick, that it may shine and give light to them in the house. And in another place he saith, You shall be led before Kings and Rulers; fear ye not them which kill the Body, but him which killeth both Body and Soul: whosoever shall confess me before Men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in Heaven. And he that denieth me before Men, him will I also deny before my Heavenly Father. Wherefore seeing the Words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what authority will this wife Counsellor then approve this his counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should relinquish the Commandments of God, and follow the Counsels of Men: for it is written; Blessed is the Man that hath not gone in the way of flatterers, and hath not stood in the counsels of the ungodly, and hath not fit in the chair of Pestilence, *Psal. 1.* God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess him. I will not set more by my Life than by my Soul: neither will I exchange the Life to come, for this World here present. O how foolishly speaketh he which argueth me of foolishness!

Neither do I take it to be a thing so unconseil, or unseemly for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honourable, just, prudent, veracious, and noble Senators, whose desire (he saith) were enough to command me: for so are we taught of the Apostle; That we ought to obey God before Men. After that we have served and done our duty unto God, then are we bound next to obey the Protectors of this World; whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord. They are just; but yet Christ, the Seat of Justice, lacking in them. They are wise; but where is in them the beginning of Wisdom; that is, the fear of the Lord? They are called Veracious, but yet I wish them more absolute in Christian Charity: they are good and gracious; but yet I miss in them the foundation of Goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all Goodness and Grace. They are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of Glory, which is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious. Undersit you Kings, and learn you that judge the Earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Hearken to Doctrine, and get knowledge, lest you fall into God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of Righteousness. What fret you, what fume you, O Gentiles? O you People, what call you in your brains the cogitations of vanity? you Kings of the Earth, and you Princes, why conspire you so together against Christ and against his Holy One? *Psal. 2.* How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts. For this you must needs confess, that they which persecute the Lord's Servants, do persecute the Lord himself. For so he saith himself; Whatsoever Men shall do to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to my self.

And now let this carnal polittick Counsellor and Disputer of this World tell, wherein have they to blame me; if in my Examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? Seeing it is not our selves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us; as he himself doth forewarn us, saying; When you shall be brought before Rulers and Magistrates, it is not you your selves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you, *Mat. 10.* Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithful of his Word, as it is most certain, then there is no blame in me: for he gave the words that I did speak; and who was I that could resist his Will? If any Man shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom I pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I therein to be accused, which did that I purposed not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did utter and express, if they were otherwise than well, let them shew it, and then will I say, that they were my words, and not the Lords. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot justly be accused, then must it needs be granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord, and then who be they that shall accuse me? A People of Prudence? or who shall condemn me? Just Judges?

And tho they do so, yet nevertheless the Word shall not be frustrate, neither shall the Gospel be foolish, or therefore decay; but rather the Kingdom of God shall the more prosper and flourish unto the Israelites, and shall pass the sooner unto the Elect of Christ Jesus: And they which shall so do, shall prove the grievous Judgment of God; neither shall they scape without punishment that be Persecutors and Murderers of the Just. My wellbeloved, lift up your Eyes, and consider the Counsels of God. He hewed unto us alate an Image of his Plague, which was to our correction: and if we shall not receive him, he will draw out his Sword, and strike with Sword, Pestilence, and Famine, the Nation that shall rise against Christ.

These have I written to your comfort, dear Brethren. Pray for me. I kiss in my heart, with an holy kiss, my good Masters, *Sylvius, Pergula, Justus*, also *Fidel Roche*, and him that beareth the name of *Leila*, whom I know, altho being absent. Item, The Governor of the University, *Syndicus*, and all other, whose Names be written in the Book of Life. Farewel all my fellow Servants of God; fare you well in the Lord, and pray for me continually.

From the delectable Orchard of *Leonine Prison*,
12 Calend. *August*. Anno 1555.

It is written of one *Theobrotus*, That when he had read the Book of *Plato*, De *Immortalitate Anima*, he was so moved and persuaded therewith, that he cast himself headlong down from an high Wall, to be rid out of this present life. If those Heathen Philosophers, having no Word of God, nor promise of any Resurrection and Life to come, could so soon be persuaded, by reading the Works of *Plato*, to condemn this World and Life here present; how much more is it to be required in Christians, instructed with so many Evidences and Promises of God's most perfect Word, that they should learn to cast off the carnal desires and affections of this miserable peregrination? and that for a double respect, not only in seeing, reading, and understanding so many Examples of the miseries of this wretched World; but also much more in considering and pondering the heavenly Joys and Consolations of the other World remaining for us hereafter in the Life to come. For a more full evidence whereof, I thought good to give out this present Letter of *Algerine* above-prehixed, for a taste of the fame, and a lively Testimony for all true Christians to read and consider. Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

Joannes Aloysius, at Rome.
Anno 1559.

Of *Joannes Aloysius*, we find mention made in a Letter of *Simon Florilus*: which *Aloysius* was sent down from *Geneva* to the parts of *Calabria*, there to be their Minister; who afterward was sent for up to *Rome*, and there suffered. Ex Epist. D. *Simonis Florili*.

Jacobus Bovellus, at Messina.
Anno 1559.

Jacobus Bovellus was likewise sent from *Geneva* to the said parts of *Calabria*, with *Aloysius*; who also, being sent for up to *Rome*, was sent down to the City *Messina*, and there was martyred. *Ibidem*.

Divers that suffered in the Kingdom of
Naples.
At Naples, Anno 1560.

After Pope *Julius* the third, came *Marcellus* the second. After him succeeded Pope *Paul* the fourth. This *Paul* being dead, followed Pope *Pius* the fourth; who, being advanced to that

Pope Pius
the fourth.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.

K.Hen. 8.

room, began hot persecution in all the Territories of the Church of *Rome*, against them which were suspected for *Lutherans*.

Whereupon ensued great trouble and persecution in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in such cruel sort, that many Noblemen, with their Wives and others, are reported there to be slain. Vide *Pantal. lib. 11*.

Eighty eight Martyrs in one day, with one
butcherly Knife, slain like Sheep.

A hundred and sixty other also condemned.
At Calabria, Anno 1560.

In *Calabria* likewise the same time suffered a blessed number of Christ's wellbeloved Saints, both old and young, put together in one house, even 88 Persons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the House, and so being laid upon the Butchers Stall, like the Sheep in the Shambles, with one bloody Knife were all killed in order. A Spectacle most tragical for all Posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Wherefore for the more credit of the matter, lest we should seem either light of credit, to believe that is not true, or rashly to commit to Pen things without due proof and authority; we have here annexed a piece of an Epistle written by Mr. *Simon Florilus*, preacher of God's Word at the City *Clavenna*, among the *Rhetians*, unto a certain Friend of his named *Gualtelmus Gratalorus*, an Italian, and Doctor of Physick in the University of *Basil*. Which *Gratalorus* translated the same into the Latin Tongue, and it is to be found in the 11th Book of *Pantal*, pag. 337. the English whereof is this as followeth.

The end of a certain Letter of Mr. *Simon Florellius*, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of eighty eight Christian Saints in the parts of *Calabria*.

As concerning News I have nothing to write, but only that I send you a Copy of certain Letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several Towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of *Consentia*, the one called *St. Sixtus*, within two miles of *Montalte*, under the Seigniorie of the Duke of *Montalte*; the other called *Guardia*, situate upon the Sea-Coast, and twelve miles from *St. Sixtus*: the which two Towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the Inhabitants there, or (as some write from the City of *Rome*) no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the Letter, was Servant to *Afcianus Carracciolus*. The Country and People there I well knew to take the first original of their good Doctrine and honest Life from the Waldenses. For before my departure from *Geneva*, at their request, I sent them two Schoolmasters, and two Preachers. The last year the two Preachers were martyred, the one at *Rome*, named *Joannes Aloisius Pafcalis*, a Citizen of *Cunium*; the other at *Messina*, named *James Bovell*, both of *Piedmont*: This year the residue of that godly Fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good Seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful Fruit.

News out of
Italy, Anno
1560.

Jo. Aloysius
Pafcalis.
Jan. Bovell,
Preachers
and Martyrs.

Now followeth the Copy of the Letters sent from *Montalte*, a Town in *Calabria*, eight miles distant from *Consentia*, bearing date the 11th of June, 1560. The Writer of which Letters, as ye may perceive, was one of them which call themselves *Catholic*, and followers of the Pope. The words of the Letter be these, as hereunder followeth.

Here

K. Hen. 8

Here followeth the Copy of a Letter sent from *Montalte* in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certain Friend of his in Rome, containing news of the persecution of Christ's People in Calabria, by the new Pope *Pius* the Fourth.

Horrible
persecution
in Calabria,
An. 1560.

The Christi-
ans killed
like Calves.
83 Martyrs.

Hitherto, most noble Lord, I have certified you, what here daily hath been done about these Hereticks. Now cometh next to signify unto your Lordship the horrible judgment begun this present day, being the eleventh of June, to be executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans: Which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death, was to be compared to the slaughter of Calves and Sheep. For they being all thrust up in one house together, as in a Sheep-fold, the Executioner cometh in, and amongst them taketh one and blindfoldeth him with a Musfler about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to kneel down; which being so done, he cutteth his Throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his Butchers Knife and Musfler all of goat Blood, (which the Italians call *Benda*) cometh again to the rest, and so leading one after another, he dispatcheth them all, which were to the number of eighty eight. This Spectacle to behold how dolorful and horrible is war, I leave to your Lordship's Judgment: For to write of it, I my self cannot chuse but weep. Neither was there any of the beholders there present, which seeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But certes so humbly and patiently they went to death, as it almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do. Notwithstanding, the most part of them died in the same their obstinate Opinions. All the aged Persons went to death more cheerfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the Executioner bled his bloody Knife between his teeth, with the bloody Musfler in his hand, and his arms all in goat blood up to the elbows, going to the Fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the bands, and so dispatching them all, no otherwise than doth a Butcher kill his Calves and Sheep.

It is moreover appointed (and the Carts be come already) that all those so put to death should be quartered, and so be conveyed in the Carts to the hiddest parts of Calabria, where they shall be hanged upon Poles in the high ways and other places, even to the confines of the same Country. Unto the Pope's Holiness and the Lord Viceroy of Naples shall give in commandment to the Lord Marquis of Buccianus, Governor of the said Province, to stay his hand, and go no further, he will proceed with the Rack and Torture, examining all other, and so increase the number in such sort, that he will nigh dispatch them all.

This day it is also determined, that an hundred of the more ancient Women should appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for so many Men so many Women. And thus have you that I can say of this Justice. Now is it about two of the clock in the afternoon: shortly, we shall hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There be certain of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the Crucifix, nor be confessed to the Priest, and they shall be burned alive.

The Hereticks that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of 1600, but as yet so more but these aforesaid 88, are already executed. This People have their original of the Valley named *Angrogna*, near to *Saubadia*, and in Calabria are called *Ultramontani*. In the Kingdom of Naples, there are four other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but simple people, ignorant without learning, Wood-gatherers, and *Eliasbandmen*: but as I hear, much devout and religious, giving themselves to die for Religion's sake. From *Montalto* the 11th of June. And thus much writeth this Romanist.

Here moreover is to be noted, that the foresaid *Marquis Buccianus* above specified, had a Son or Brother, unto whom the said new Pope (*Pius* the fourth belike) is reported to have promised a Cardinalship at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that Province. And like enough that the same was the cause

of his butcherly persecution and effusion of Christian Blood, in the said Country of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Besides those godly Italian Martyrs in this Table above contained, many other also have suffered in the same Country of Italy, of whom some before have been specified, some peradventure omitted. But many more there be whose names we know not; whereof as soon as knowledge may be given unto us, we purpose God willing to impart the same, loving Reader, unto thee.

Now in the mean time it followeth (according to my promise made before) next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, here to insert also the tragical Persecution, and horrible Murder of the faithful Flock of Christ, inhabiting in *Merindol* in France, and in the Towns adjacent near unto the same, in the time of *Francis the first*, the French King. The furious cruelty of which miserable Persecution, altho it cannot be set forth too much at large, yet because we will not weary too much the Reader with the full length thereof, we have so contracted the same, especially the principal effect thereof we have comprehended in such sort, that as we on the one part have avoided prolixity, so on the other, we have omitted nothing which might seem unworthy to be forgot. The story here followeth.

A notable History of the Persecution and Destruction of the People of Merindol and Cabriets in the Country of Provence: where not a few Persons, but whole Villages and Townships, with the most part of all the foresaid Country, both Men, Women, and Children, were put to all kind of Cruelty, and suffered Martyrdom for the Profession of the Gospel.

They that write of the beginning of this People, say, That about two hundred years ago, they came out of the Country of *Piedmont* to inhabit in *Provence*, in certain Villages destroyed by Wars, and other desert places: wherein they used such labour and diligence, that they had abundance of Corn, Wine, Oils, Honey, Almonds, with other Fruits and Commodities of the Earth, and much Cattel. Before they came thither, *Merindol* was a barren Desert, and not inhabited. But these good People (in whom God always had reserved some little Seed of Piety) being dispersed and separated from the society of Men, were compelled to dwell with Beasts, in that waste and wild Desert, which notwithstanding, through the Blessing of God, and their great labour and travel, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithstanding, the World in the mean time so detested and abhorred them, and with all shameful rebukes and contumelies, railed against them in such despicable manner, that it seemed they were not worthy that the Earth should bear them. For they of a long continuance and custom had refused the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority, and observed ever a more perfect kind of Doctrine than others, delivered unto them from the Father to the Son, ever since the year of our Lord 1260.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the King, as contempters and despisers of the Magistrates, and Rebels. Wherefore they were called by divers names, according to the Countries and Places where they dwelt. For in the Country about *Lions*, they were called the poor People of *Lions*; in the borders of *Sarmatia*, and *Livonia*, and other Countries toward the North, they were called *Lollards*; in *Flanders* and *Artois*, *Tourleupsins*, of a Desert where Wolves did haunt. In *Dolphins*, with great despite, they were called *Chagnards*, because they lived in places open to the Sun, and without house or harbour. But most commonly they were called *Waldays*, of *Wald*, who first instructed them in the Word of God which name continued until the name of *Lutherans* came up, which above all other was most hated and abhorred.

Notwithstanding in all these most spiteful contumelies and slanders, the People dwelling at the foot of the *Alps*, and also in *Merindol* and *Cabriets*, and the quarters thereof always lived so godly, so uprightly, and justly, that in all their Life and Conversation, there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they laboured by all means to kindle and encrease daily more and more, sparing no charges, whether it were to procure Books of the holy Scriptures, or to instruct such as were of the best and most towardsly wits in

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hearing

The lamentable story of Merindol.

For the origin of this people, see before.

Peuplers de
Lions
Waldenses
Tourleupsins
Chagnards
Of Walden
read before.

learning and godliness or else to send them into other Countries, yea even to the farthest parts of the Earth, where they had heard that any light of the Gospel began to shine.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the Gospel was preached in certain Towns of Germany and Switzerland, they sent thither two learned Men, that is, *Georgius Maurelius* born in *Dolpina*, a godly Preacher of their own, and whom they had of their own charges brought up in learning, and *Petrus Latomus* a *Burgundian*, to confer with the wife and learned Ministers of the Churches there, in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and to know the whole form and manner which those Churches used in the service and worshipping of God: and particularly to have their advice also upon certain Points which they were not resolved in.

*They were
not Min-
isters for lack
of water,
until they
came to
merindol.
Idea: was
lost, died
from most
common
by a great
abuse in
Caves and
Quarries,
for of Per-
secution.

Of these
Calabrians,
Videmia,

Injurers de
Rome, a
word and
Persecution.

The cruelty
of a P.P.

Michaelmas
Sera W.
Meditate,
Meditate.

The 1st
Injurer
of G.P.
guilt of
cruel Per-
secution.

Their two, after great conference had with the chiefest in the Church of God, namely with *Oecolampadius* at *Basel*; at *Strasbourg*, with *Bucer* and *Capito*; and at *Bern*, with *Bartholomaeus Hallerus*, as they were returning thorough *Burgundy* homeward, *Petrus Latomus* was taken at *Dyon*, and cast into Prison: *Maurelius* escaped, and returned alone to *Merindol*, with the Books and Letters which he brought with him from the Churches of Germany; and declared to his Brethren all the Points of his Commission, and opened unto them, how many and great Errors they were in, into the which their old Ministers, whom they called *Barbers (that is to say, Uncles) had brought them, leading them from the right way of true Religion.

When the People heard this, they were moved with such a zeal to have their Churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient Brethren, and the chiefest in knowledge and experience of all *Calabria* and *Apulia*, to consult with them touching the Reformation of the Church. This matter was so humbled, that it stirred up the Bishops, Priests, and Monks in all *Provinces*, with great rage against them. Amongst others, there was one cruel Wretch called *Jo. de Roma* a Monk, who obtaining a Commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the *Waldos* or *Lutheran* Profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the Faithful with all kind of Cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Amongst other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in, and most commonly practised; he filled Boots with boiling Grease, and put them upon their Legs, tying them backward to a Form, with their Legs hanging down over a small fire, and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death.

The first whom he thus tormented, were *Michelotus Serra* and *W. Malus*, and a number more.

Wherefore *Francis* the French King, being informed of the strange and outrageous cruelty of this Hellish Monk, sent Letters to the High Court of Parliament of *Provence*, that forthwith he should be apprehended, and by form of Process, and order of Law, he should be condemned, and advertisement sent unto him with all speed of his Condemnation. The Monk being advertised hereof by his Friends, conveyed himself to *Avignon*, where he thought to enjoy the Spoilings, which he, like a notorious Thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the poor Christians. But shortly after, he which had so shamefully spoiled others, was spoiled of all together by his own household Servants. Whereupon shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible Ulcer, strange and unknown to any Physician. So extreme were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his Body, that no Ointment, no Fomentation, nor any thing else could ease him one minute of an hour. Neither was there any Man that could carry near about him, nor yet would any one of his own Friends come near to him, so great was the stench that came from him. For the which cause he was carried from the *Jacobines* to an Hospital, there to be kept. But the stench and infection so increased, that no Man there durst come near him: no, nor he himself was able to abide the loathsome stench that issued from his Body, full of Ulcers and Sores, and swarming with Vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by peacemeal.

Whiles he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage; Oh who will deliver me? who will I have rid me out of these intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the Evils & Oppressions that I have done to the poor Men? And he himself went about divers times to deliver himself, but he had not the power. In these

horrible torments and anguish, and fearful despair, this Blasphemer and most cruel Homicide most miserably ended his unhappy days and cursed life, as a spectacle to all Persecutors, receiving a just reward of his cruelty by the just judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no Man that would come near him to bury him: but a young Novice newly come to his Order, instead of a more honourable Sepulture, caught hold with a Hook upon his stinking Carion, and drew him into a hole hard by which was made for him.

After the death of this cruel Monster, the Bishop of *Aix*, by his Official *Perones*, continued the Persecution, and put a great multitude of them in Prison: of whom some by force of torments revolted from the Truth; the others which continued constant, after he had condemned them of Heresy, were put into the hands of the ordinary Judge, which at that time was one *Mairanus*, a notable cruel Persecutor, who without any form of Process, or order of Law, such as the Official had pronounced to be Heretics, he put to death with most cruel torments; but shortly after he received a just reward of his cruelty in like manner.

After the death of the good President *Cassianus*, the Lord of *Revest*, being chief President of the Parliament of *Aix*, put many of the Faithful to death. Who afterward, being put out of his Office, returned to his House of *Revest*, where he was stricken with such a horrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, his Wife, or any that were about him, durst not come near him; and so he, dying in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing.

After him succeeded *Barthol. Cassaneus*, likewise a pious Persecutor, whom God at length struck with a fearful and sudden Death. In the time of this Tyrant, those put many of the Faithful to death. Who afterward, being put out of his Office, returned to his House of *Revest*, where he was stricken with such a horrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, his Wife, or any that were about him, durst not come near him; and so he, dying in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing.

This bloody Arrest or Decree seemed so strange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all *Provence* there was great reasoning and disputation concerning the same, especially among the Advocates and Men of learning and understanding: innumerable that many durst boldly and openly say, that they greatly marvelled how that Court of Parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, to give out such an Arrest, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, yea to all sense of humanity; also contrary to the solemn Oath which all such as are received to Office in Courts of Parliament, are accustomed to make, that is to say, to judge justly and uprightly, according to the Law of God, and the just Ordinances and Laws of the Realm, so that God thereby might be honoured, and every Man's right regarded, without respect of Persons.

Some of the Advocates or Lawyers, defending the said Arrest to be just and right, said, That in case of *Lutheranism*, the Judges are not bound to observe either Right or Reason, Law or Ordinance; and that the Judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatsoever judgment they do give, so that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all such as are suspected to be *Lutherans*.

To this the other Lawyers and learned Men answered, That upon their sayings it would ensue, that the Judges should now altogether follow the same manner and form in proceeding against the Christians accused to be *Lutherans*, which the Gospel witnesseth that the Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees followed in pursuing and persecuting, and finally condemning our Lord Jesus Christ.

By these and such other-like talks, the said Arrest was published throughout the Country, and there was no Assembly or Banquet where it was not disputed or talked of; and namely, within twelve days after the Arrest was given out, there was a great Banquet in the Town of *Aix*; at which Banquet was present *M. Bartholomaeus Chassaneus*, President,

Hen. 8
A spectacle
to all Per-
secutors.

The Bishop
of Aix, Pe-
riones his
Official,
Mairanus,
cruel Per-
secutors.

Another ex-
ample of
God's terri-
ble judg-
ment upon
a Persecutor.

Another ex-
ample of
God's judg-
ment upon
Cassaneus,
a bloody per-
secutor.
A bloody
Decree against
the Merindol-
ans.

Even to the
Pharisees
proceeded
against Christ
the Son of
God.

The B. B. B.
Banquet.

K. Hen. 8

There is no Cruelty to Harlots.

The Lord of Alene a good man.

The Lord of Beavieu.

A Catholic with a Priests Harlot.

President, and many other Councellers and other noble Personages and Men of Authority. There was also the Archbishop of Arles, and the Bishop of Aix, with divers Ladies and Gentlemen, amongst whom was one which was commonly reported to be the Bishop of Aix his Concubine. They were scarce well fate at the Table, but the began thus to talk; My L. President, will you not execute the Arrest which is given out of late against the Lutherans of Merindol? The President answered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain Gentleman asked of her What Arrest that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if he had a long time studied to commit the same to memory. Whereunto they which were at the Banquet gave diligent care, without any word speaking, until she had ended her Tale.

Then the Lord Alene, a Man fearing God, and of great understanding, said unto her; Gentlewoman, you have learned this Tale either of some who would have it so, or else it is given out by some Parliament of Women. Then the Lord of Senar, an ancient Counceller, said unto him; No, no, my Lord of Alene, it is no Tale which you have heard this Gentlewoman tell; for it is an Arrest given out by a whole Senate; and you ought not thus to speak, except you would call the Court of Province a Parliament of Women. Then the Lord of Alene began to excite himself with Protestation, that he would not speak any thing to blemish the Authority of that Sovereign Court; notwithstanding he could not believe all that which the said Gentlewoman had told, that is to say, that all the Inhabitants of Merindol were condemned to die by the Arrest of the said Court of Parliament of Province, and especially the Women, and little Children, and Infants; and the Town to be rated for the fault of ten or twelve Persons which did not appear before the said Court at the day appointed. And the Lord Beavieu also answered, that he believed not the said Court to have given out any such Arrest; for that (said he) were a thing most unreasonable, and such as the very Turks, and the greatest Tyrants in the World would judge to be a thing most detestable; and said further, that he had known a long time many of Merindol which seemed unto him to be Men of great honesty: and my Lord President (said he) can certifie us well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to give credit unto Womens Tales. Then the Gentlewoman which had rehearsed the Arrest, stayed not to hear the President's Answer, but suddenly looking upon the Bishop of Aix, said, I should greatly have marvelled, if there had been none in all this Company which would defend these wicked Men. And lifting up her Eyes to Heaven, in a great womanly chafe and fume, said, Would to God that all the Lutherans which are in Province, yea, and in all France, had Horns growing on their Foreheads, then we should see a goodly many of Horns.

To whom the Lord Beavieu suddenly answered, saying, Would to God all Priests Harlots should chatter like Pies. Then said the Gentlewoman, Ah, my Lord Beavieu, you ought not so to speak against our holy Mother the Church, for that there was never Dog that barked against the Crucifix, but he waxed mad. Whereat the Bishop of Aix laughed, and clapping the Gentlewoman on the shoulder, said, By my holy Orders, my Minion, well said, I can you thank. She hath talked well unto you, my L. Beavieu, remember well the Lesson which the hath given you. Here the L. Beavieu being wholly moved with anger, said, I care neither for her School nor yours, for it would be long before a Man should learn of either of you both any Honesty or Honour. For if I should say, that the most part of the Bishops and Priests are abominable Adulterers, blind Idolaters, Deceivers, Thieves, Seducers, I should not speak against the holy Church, but against an heap and flock of Wolves, Dogs, and filthy Swine: In speaking these things I should think a Man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for speaking of the truth.

Then the Archbishop in a great fury answered, My L. Beavieu, you speak very evil, and you must give account, when time and place serveth, of this your talk which you have here uttered against the Church-men. I would, said the L. Beavieu, that it were to do even this present day, and I would bind my self to prove more Abuses and Naughtiness in Priests than I have yet spoken. Then said the President Chassane, My L. Beavieu, let us leave off this talk, and live as our Fathers have done, and maintain their

Honour. Then said he in great anger, I am no Priest's Son to maintain their Wickedness and Abuse. And afterward he said, I am well content to honour all true Pastors of the Church, and will not blame them which shew good Example in their Doctrine and living: but I demand of you, my Lord, of Arles, and you my L. of Aix, when as our Lord Christ Jesus called the Priests, deceiving Hypocrites, blind Seducers, Robbers and Thieves, did he them any outrage or wrong? and they answered, no; for the most part of them were such Men. Then said the Lord Beavieu, even so it is with the Bishops and Priests which I have spoken of, for they are such kind of Men, or rather worse; and I so abhor their filthy and abominable life, that I dare not speak the one half of that which I know, and therefore in speaking the truth, to cool the babbling of an Harlot, I do them no Injury.

Then Monsieur de Senar, an ancient Counceller, said, Let us leave off this contentious talk, for we are here assembled and come together to make good Cheer. And afterward he said, Monsieur de Beavieu, for the Love and Amity which I do bear unto you, I will advertise you of three things, which, if you will do, you shall find great ease therein.

The first is, That you neither by Word nor Deed aid or assist those which you hear to be Lutherans.

Secondly, That you do not intermeddle openly to reprove Ladies and Gentlewomen for their pastime and pleasure.

Thidly, That you do never speak against the life and living of Priests, how wicked soever it be, according to this saying, *Do not touch mine Anointed*.

To whom Monsieur de Beavieu answered, As touching the first Point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this Word Lutheranism, except you do call them Lutherans, which profess the Doctrine of the Gospel. Neither yet will I ever allow any Arrest which shall be given out to death against Men, whose cause hath not been heard, especially against Women and young Infants: and I am assured, that there is no Court of Parliament in all France, which will approve or allow any such Arrest. And whereas you say, that I should not meddle to reprove Ladies and Gentlewomen, if I knew any Kindwoman of mine, which would abandon her self unto a Priest or Clerk, yea, albeit he were a Cardinal or Bishop, I would not do her so much honour as to rebuke her therefore, but at the least I would cut off her Nose. And as touching Priests, as I am contented not to meddle with their Evilness, to likewise I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come thenceforth within mine house. For as many as I shall find or take there, I will set their Crowns so near their shoulders, that they shall need no more to wear any Hoods about their Necks; the like also said the President Chassane.

Then the Bishop of Aix his Sweet-heart, which had begun the Quarrel, said, I shall not be in quiet, except I speak yet one word more unto Monsieur de Beavieu. Do you think, said she unto him, that all the Cardinals, Bishops, Abbats, Priests, and all those holy religious Men, which go oftentimes to Gentlemen's houses, and haunt the Castles and Palaces of Princes and Noble Men, go thither to commit Wickedness? Also you must not think evil of all those Ladies and Gentlewomen that go to Bishops houses of Devotion, and to reveal those whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commanded in the Pulpit upon pain of Excommunication: if so be you will maintain these words, I will not cease to accuse you of crime, and also of Treason both to God and Man: for here be those in this Company, which shall make you give an account thereof. She had not so soon ended her talk, but Monsieur de Beavieu said unto her, Advance, O Heretic, thou filthy and impudent Harlot! is it thy part to open thy Mouth to talk in this Company? Dost thou well understand and know what Treason to God and Man meaneth? Is it not sufficient for thee to be as thou art; but thou must sollicite other to shed innocent Blood? With these Words the Gentlewoman was somewhat amazed. All Men had thought that this talk had been at an end; and every Man began to invent some merry Communication, that the former matter should be no more talked of.

At the last, the Gentlewoman advising her self, and thinking that she was too much injured, in that it was said,

The Pope's Churchmen work man the old Priests.

Churchmen, be they never so evil, must not be spoken against. Par. 14.

How Priests Harlots should be handled.

Well spoken, and like an Harlot.

As Heretics wrong the death of John Baptist, for this Strumpet feels the death of the Merindolians. Two Strumpets well compassed together.

that went about to shed innocent Blood, the brake off all their talk, and with a loud voice said, *Monsieur Beavie*, if I were a Man as I am a Woman, I would offer you the Combate, to prove that I am no such manner of Woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent Blood. Do you call the Blood of these wicked Men of *Merindol*, innocent Blood? True it is, that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughty packs of *Merindol*, and such like as they are, should be slain and destroyed, from the greatest even unto the least. And to see the beginning of this work, I have employed all my credit, and all my Friends, and do spare neither Body nor Goods to work the Ruin and Destruction of these People, and to save out and to detain their memory from amongst Men. Do you then, *Montieur Beavie*, call the slaughter of these Lutherans, the effusion of innocent Blood? And say you what you will, I will not refrain for any man living, to go either by day or by night unto the Houses of Bishops, in all (a) honesty and honour, for the Devotion which I bear unto our holy (b) Mother the Church, and also I will receive into my house all religious Men, to consult and devise the means how to put these Lutherans to death. But as *Monsieur Beavie* took no more regard unto her talk, so likewise all that were at the Table dispraised her, and were weary of her prating.

Then there was a certain young Gentleman, which merrily jesting, said unto her, Gentlewoman, it must needs be that these poor People, unto whom you do with this cruel death, have done you some great displeasure. Then said she, I may well take an Oath, that I never knew one of these wretched People, neither (that I wot of) ever saw any of them. And I had rather to meet ten Devils than one of those naughty Knaves: for their Opinions are so detestable, that happy and blessed are they that never heard tell of them. And I was not then well advised at what time by Curiosity, I seeing the Bishop of Aix so much troubled and angry, that he could not eat nor drink, did desire him and constrain him to tell me the cause thereof. Then he perceiving that I would not be well contented if he should not tell me, declared unto me some part of the Cause, that is to say, that there were certain Heretics, which spake against our holy Mother the Church, and among other errors, they maintained even to death, that all Bishops, Priests and Pastors ought to be married, or else they should be gelded: and hearing this I was marvelously offended, and ever since I did hate them to the death. And also it was injoined unto me by Penance, that I should endeavour with all my power to put these Heretics to death. After these frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatenings, which were too long here to describe.

Then the President *Cassane*, and the Councillors parted aside, and the Gentlemen went on the other part. The Archbishop of *Arles*, the Bishop of *Aix*, and divers Abbots, Priests, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this Arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new Persecution, greater than that of *John the Jacobin Monk of Rome*: for otherwise (said they) our State and Honour is like to decay: We shall be reproved, contemned, and derided of all Men. And if none should thus want and set themselves against us, but these Peasants, and such like, it were but a small matter; but many Doctors of Divinity, and Men of the religious Order, divers Senators and Advocates, many wife and well learned Men, also a great part of the Nobility (if we may so say) and that of great Renown, yea, even of the chiefest Peers in all Europe, begin to condemn and despise us, counting us to be no true Pastors of the Church; so that except we see to this mischief, and provide for Remedy betime, it is greatly to be feared, left not only we shall be compelled to forsake our Dignities, Possessions, and Livings, which we now wealthily enjoy, but also the Church being spoiled of her Pastors and Guides, shall hereafter come to miserable Ruin, and utter Desolation. This matter therefore now requireth great Diligence and Circumspection, and that with all celerity.

Then the Archbishop of *Arles*, not forgetting his Spanish Subtleties and Policies, gave his Advice as followeth. Again the Nobility (said he) we must take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to please them; for they are our shield,

our fortress and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new Gospellers, yet may we not reprove them, or exasperate them in any case: but seeing they are too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how to win them, and to make them our Friends again by gifts and Presents: and by this Policy we shall live in safety under their Protection. But if we enterprize any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught.

It is well said (said the Bishop of Aix) but I can shew you a good Remedy for this Disease: we must go about with all our endeavour and power, and policy, and all the Friends we can make, sparing no Charges, but spending Goods, Wealth and Treasure, to make such a slaughter of the *Merindolians* and rustical Peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoever they be, yea, altho they be of the Blood Royal, once to open their Mouths against us, or the Ecclesiastical State. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw our selves to *Avinion*, in the which City we shall find many Bishops, Abbots, and other famous Men, which will with us employ their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the Majesty of our holy Mother the Church. This Council was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said Archbishop of *Arles* and the Bishop of *Aix* went with all speed to *Avinion*, there to assemble out of hand the Bishops, and other Men of Authority and Credit, to intreat of this matter. In this pestilent Conspiracy, the Bishop of Aix, a stout Champion, and a great Defender of the Traditions of Men, taking upon him to be the chief Orator, began in a manner as followeth:

O Ye Fathers and Brethren, ye are not ignorant, that a great Tempest is raised up against the little Bark of Christ Jesus, now in great danger, and ready to perish. The Storm cometh from the North, whereof all these troubles proceed. The Seas rage, the Waters rush in on every side, the Winds blow and beat upon our Houles, and we without speedy Remedy are like to sink in Shipwrack and loss of all together. For Oblations cease, Pilgrimage and Devotion waxeth cold, Charity is clean gone, our Estimation and Authority is debased, our Jurisdiction decayed, and the Ordinances of the Church despised. And wherefore are we set and ordained over Nations and Kingdoms, but to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow whatsoever is against our holy Mother the Church? Wherefore let us now awake, let us stand stoutly in the right of our own Possession, that we may root out from the memory of men for ever, the whole Root of the wicked Lutherans: Those Foxes (I say) which destroy the Vineyard of the Lord; those great Whales which go about to drown the little Bark of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible Arrest against these cursed Heretics of *Merindol*: now then resteth no more, but only the same to be put in Execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder that which we have so happily begun; and let us take good heed that our Gold and Silver do not witness against us at the day of Judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may make so good a Sacrifice unto God. And for my part I offer to wage and furnish of mine own Costs and Charges, an hundred Men well horrid, with all other Furniture to them belonging, and that so long, until (the utter Destruction and Subversion of these wretched and cursed Catibis be fully performed and finished.

This Oration pleased the whole multitude, saving one Doctor of Divinity, a Prier Jacobin, named *Bassinet*, who then answered again with this Oration.

This is a weighty matter (said he) and of great importance; we must therefore proceed wisely, and in the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of these poor and miserable People wrongfully, when the King and the Nobility shall hear of such an horrible slaughter, we shall be in great danger, lest they do to us as we read in the Scriptures was done to the Bishops of *Basil*. For my part I must

God Caden
a great
Cathol
Honor
The cruel
heart of an
Honor
(a) For Vi-
sion of hone-
fy on a flur-
lots see
(b) Like
Mother, like
Daughter

Older me
gratia
John 35

The Pope
Clergy cas-
non unde
boni Mar-
caverit
Ex 113

Querebant
Iren 13
Sed d. tun
& scribo
quoniam
invenirent
John 1, Luke
22

Note how
the Church
is fed not with
any Confi-
dence of
truth, but
only with
the word of
Lil-
vings.

K. Hen. 8

A butcherly
Religion
which work-
eth all by
Blood.

Catholic
penitence.

An Oration
of Carline
t at is, the
Oration of
the Bishop
of Aix, re-
gious and
bloody.
Your Obla-
tion be a-
gust the
Scripture.
Your Pil-
grimage is
Idolatri.
Your Char-
ity is gone.
Indeed, when
ye seek for
the blood of
your Bre-
thren, Your
elimination is
Pluralistic,
your Juris-
diction is
tyrannical,
your Ordina-
nces serve
not to
Christ glo-
ry, but your
own.

The day
shall come
when men
shall think
they do a
good service
to God, in
putting you
to death.
John 16.

The Oration
of Bassinet
answering
to the Bi-
shop of Aix.

K. Hen. 8

The godly
Repentance
of Bullfinch.The Telli-
mony of Bul-
finch for Lu-
therans.

' must say, and unfeignedly confess, that I have too rashly
' and lightly signed many Procefles against those which have
' been accused of heretical Doctrine: but now I do protest
' before God which seeth and knoweth the Hearts of Men,
' that, seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine Af-
' firmments, I have had no quietness in my Conscience,
' considering that the secular Judges, at the Report of the
' Judgment and Sentence given by me and other Doctors
' my Companions, have condemned all those unto most
' cruel death, whom we have adjudged to be Hereticks. And
' the cause why in Conscience I am thus disquieted, is this:
' that now of late, since I have given my self more diligent-
' ly to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures,
' I have perceived that the most part of those Articles, which
' they that are called Lutherans do maintain, are so comfort-
' able and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I
' can no longer gainstay them, except I should even wilfully
' and maliciously resist and strive against the holy Ordina-
' ments of God. Albeit hitherto to maintain the honour of
' our holy Mother the Church, and of our holy Father the
' Pope, and of our Orders, I have consented to the Op-
' nions and doings of other Doctors, as well through igno-
' rance, as also because I would not seem to attempt any
' thing against the Will and Pleasure of the Prelates and
' Vicars general. Yet now it seemeth unto me, that we
' ought not any more to proceed in this matter as we have
' done in time past. It shall be sufficient to punish them
' with Fines, or to banish them, which shall speak too in-
' temperately and rashly against the Constitutions of the
' Church, and of the Pope. And such as shall be plainly
' convicted by the holy Scripture to be blasphemous or
' obstinate Hereticks, to be condemned to death according
' to the enormity of their Crimes or Errors, or else to
' perpetual Prison. And thus my Advice and Counsel I de-
' clare you to take in good part.

With this Counsel of Bassinet all the Company was offend-
ed, but especially the Bishop of Aix, who, lifting up his
voice above all the rest, said thus unto him; O thou Man
of little Faith! whereof art thou in doubt? Dost thou re-
pent thee of that thou hast well done? Thou hast told here
a Tale that smelleth of Fagots and Brimstone. Is there
any difference (thinkest thou) between Heresies and Blaf-
phemies spoken and maintained against the holy Scriptures,
and Opinions holden against our holy Mother the Church,
and contrary to our holy Father the Pope, a most undoubt-
ed and true God on Earth? Art thou a Master in Israhel,
and knowest thou not these things? Then said the Bishop of
Aix, Could any Man intreat better of the little Bark of
Christ Jesus, than my Lord of Aix hath done? Then
stood up Bassinet again, and made this Oration.

God and the
Pope, and
the dissen-
sion on them
two com-
pared to-
gether, Job. 3.Another O-
ration of
Bullfinch.False Pre-
achers
in Church
Church de-
scribed.

' T is true that my Lord the Bishop of Aix hath very well
' set out the manners and state of the Clergy, and hath
' aptly reproved the Vices and Heresies of this present time,
' and therefore so soon as mention was made of the Ship
' of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind first of all of the
' high Bishop of Jerusalem, the Priests, the Doctors of the
' Law, the Scribes and Pharisees, which sometimes had the
' governance of this Ship, being ordained Pastors in the
' Church of God: But when they forsook the Law of God,
' and served him with Men's Inventions and Traditions, he
' destroyed those Hypocrites in his great Indignation;
' and having compassion and pity upon the People which
' were like Sheep without a Shepherd, he sent diligent Fish-
' ers to fish for Men, faithful Workmen into his Harvest, and
' Labouers into his Vineyard, which shall all bring forth
' true Fruits in their season. Secondly, considering the
' purpose and intent of the Reverend Lord Bishop of Aix,
' I called to mind the saying of the Apostle in his first Epistle
' and fourth Chapter unto Timothy, That in the latter days
' some shall fall away from the Faith, following after de-
' ceitful Spirits, and the Doctrine of Devils. And the
' Apostle giveth a Mark whereby a Man shall know them.
' Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ, in the seventh Chapter of
' Matthew, saith, That the false Prophets shall come clothed
' in Sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves, and
' by their Fruits they shall be known. By these two, and
' divers such other places, it is easie to understand, who are
' they that go about to drown this little Bark of Christ.
' And they not those which fill the same with filthy and un-

' clean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and sink-
' ing Water? Are they not those which have forsaken Jesus
' Christ, the Fountain of living Water, and have digged
' unto themselves Pits or Cisterns which will hold no Wa-
' ter? Truly even those they are which vaunt themselves
' to be the Salt of Earth, and yet have no favour at all,
' which call themselves Pastors, and yet are nothing less
' than true Pastors, for they minister not unto the Sheep the
' true pasture and feeding, neither divide and distribute the
' true Bread of the Word of Life. And (if I may be bold
' to speak it) would it not be at this present as great a
' Wonder to hear a Bishop preach, as to see an Ass fly? Are
' not they accused of God which glory and avaunt them-
' selves to have the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and
' neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that would
' enter, to come in? They may be known right well by
' their Fruits; for they have forsaken Faith, Judgment, and
' Mercy, and there is no honesty, clean, or undefiled thing in
' them, but their Habit, their Rochet, and their Surplice,
' and such other. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and
' trim, but within they are full of all Abomination, Rapine,
' Gluttony, filthy Lust, and all manner of Uncleannesse;
' they are like painted Sepulchres, which outwardly appear
' beautiful and fair, but within they are full of Filth and
' Corruption. A Man shall know, I say, these ravening
' Wolves by their Fruits, which devour the quick and the
' dead under the pretence of long Prayer; and forso much
' as I am enforced to give place to the Truth, and that you
' call me a Master in Israel, I will not be afraid to prove by
' the holy Scriptures, that your great Pilot and Patron the
' Pope, and the Bishops the Mariners, and such others which
' impudently forsake the Ship of Christ Jesus, to imbarke
' themselves in Pinnaces and Brigandines, are Pyrates and
' Robbers of the Sea, false Prophets, Deceivers, and not
' true Pastors of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Math. 13.

Tabbied of
those that you
in Sheep-
skins, but in-
wardly they
are ravening
Wolves.
Math. 23.
The Pope
Pilot in
Christ's Ship
are become
Pirates.

When Dr. Bassinet had thus freely and boldly uttered his
mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him,
and spitefully railed at him. But the Bishop of Aix, above
other, raging and crying out as he had been mad; Get thee
out, said he, from amongst us, thou wicked Apostate, thou
art not worthy to be in this Company. We have burned
daily a great many which have not so well deserved it,
as thou hast: We may now perceive, that there is none
more steadfast and fervent in the Faith than the Doctors of the
Canon Law. And therefore it were necessary to be decreed
in the next General Council, that none should have to do in
matters of Religion but they alone: For these Knaves and
beggarly Monks and Friars will bring all to naught. Then
the other Doctors of the same Order boldly reproved the
Bishop of Aix for the Injury he had done unto them. After
this there arose a great Dissention amongst them, inso much
that there was nothing at that time determined. After
Dinner all these reverend Prelates assembled together again,
but they suffered neither Friar nor Monk to be amongst
them, except he were an Abbat. In this Assembly they
made a general Compulsion confirmed with an Oath,
That every Man should endeavour himself that the said Ar-
rest of Morindel should be executed with all expedition,
every Man offering to furnish out Men of War, according
to his ability. The Charge whereof was given to the
Bishop of Aix, and to the President of the Canons, to fol-
licite the matter, and to perfwade by all means possible the
Presidents and Counsellors of the said Court of Parliament
without fear or doubt, to execute the said Arrest with
Drums, Ensigns displayed, Artillery, and all kind of Fur-
niture of War.

A council
sat on for
Doctors of
the Canon
Law.The Bishop
of Aix,
Arch-bishop
of the Per-
secution.

This Conspiracy being concluded and determined, the
Bishop of Aix departed incontinent from Avinion, to go
unto Aix, to perform the Charge which was given to
him. Notwithstanding they desired him to be the next day
after the Council was holden, at a Banquet which should be
made at the house of the Bishop of Rieux. To this Banquet
such as were known to be the fairest and most beautiful
Women in all Avinion, were called, to refresh and solace
these good Prelates, after the great pains and travel which
they had taken for our holy Mother the Church. After they
had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at Dice, and
such other Pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented
at the Banquets and Feasts of these holy Prelates. After this
they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the
time till Supper. As

Ex-fructibus
corum
cognoscetis
eos.

Divine pi-
ctures re-
ceived, Gods
Book re-
jected.

Christian
constancy in
a good
Bookseller.

As they passed through the streets, every one leading his Minion upon his Arm, they saw a Man which sold bawdy Images and Pictures, with filthy Rhymes and Ballads annexed to the same, to move and stir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All these goodly Pictures were brought up by the Bishops; which were as many as a Mule could well carry. And if there were any obscure Sentence, or hard to understand in those Rhymes or Ballads, the same these learned Prelates did readily expound, and laughed pleasantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a Bookseller which had set out to sale certain Bibles in French and Latin, with divers other Books; which when the Prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and said unto him, Darest thou be so hardy to set out such Merchandise to sell here in this Town? Dost thou not know that such Books are forbidden? The Bookseller answered, Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly Pictures, which you have bought for these Gentlewomen? He had scarce spoken these words, but the Bishop of Aix said, I renounce any part of Paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken, said he, and examined what he is; and incontinently the Bookseller was taken and carried unto Prison, and pitifully handled: for a Company of Knaves and Ruffians, which waited upon the Prelates, began to cry out, A Lutheran, a Lutheran, to the fire with him, to the fire with him, and one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poor Man was all imbued with Blood before he came to Prison.

The morrow after he was brought before the Judges in the presence of the Bishops, where he was examined in this form as followeth: Hast thou not set forth to sale the Bible and the New Testament in French? The Prisoner answered, that he had so done. And being demanded, Whether he understood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other Language than in Latin? He answered, that he knew the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French Tongue, with the Emperor's Privilege, and many other printed at Lyons; also New Testaments imprinted by the King's Privilege. Furthermore he said, that he knew no Nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the holy Scriptures in their vulgar Tongue: and afterward with bold courage thus he spake unto them: O you Inhabitants of Avinion! are you alone in all Christendom those Men which do despise and abhor the Testament of the Heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power unto his Apostles to speak all manner of Tongues, to this end that his holy Gospel should be taught unto all Creatures in every Language? And why do you not forbid those Books and Pictures, which are full of Filthiness and Abomination, to move and stir up the People to Whoredom, and to Uncleanliness, and to provoke God's Vengeance and great Indignation upon you all? What greater Blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God's most holy Books, which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring again unto the way such as are gone astray? What Cruelty is this, to take away from the poor silly Souls their nourishment and sustenance? But my Lords, you shall give an heavy account, which call sweet fower, and fower sweet, which maintain abominable and detestable Books and Pictures, and reject that which is holy.

Then the Bishop of Aix and the other Bishops began to rage, and gnash their teeth against this poor Prisoner. What need you, said they, any more examination? Let him be sent straight unto the fire without any more words. But the Judge *Laberius* and certain others were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death, but went about to have him put to his Fine, and to make him confess and acknowledge the Bishop of Aix, and others his Companions, to be the true Pastors of the Church. But the Bookseller answered, that he could not do it with a good Conscience, so far as he did see before his Eyes, that these Bishops maintained filthy Books and abominable Pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy Books of God, and therefore he judged them rather to be the Priests of *Baal* and *Venus*, than the true Pastors of the Church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the Sentence was executed the

very same day. And for a sign or token of the cause of his Condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind him: but this poor Man had also the Word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, until that he came to the place of Execution, to exhort and admonish the people to read the holy Scriptures; inasmuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the Truth. The Prelates seeing a great diffention among the people of Avinion, and that many murmured and grugged against them for the death of this good Man, and also for the dishonour which they had done unto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in a fear, they proceeded the next day to make a Proclamation by the sound of a Trumpet throughout the whole Town and County of *Venice*. That all such as had any Books in the French Tongue, intreating upon the holy Scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the Commissioners appointed for that purpose: contrariwise they which had any such Books found about them, should be put to death.

Then after that these Prelates had taken advice to raise great Persecution in *Venice*, the Bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the Execution of the Arrest against *Merindol*, travelling earnestly with the President *Casseneus* to that effect; declaring unto him the Good-will of the Prelates of Avinion and *Provence*, and the great affection they bare both to him and his, with many fair promises if he would put the Arrest in Execution. The President answered him, that it was no small matter to put the Arrest of *Merindol* in execution: Also that the said Arrest was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, which were a great number in *Provence*, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the said Arrest. Moreover he said, That the Arrest of *Merindol* was not definitive, and that the Laws and Statutes of the Realm did not permit the Execution thereof without further Process. Then said the Bishop, if there be either Law or Statute which do hinder or let you, we carry in our sleeves to dispence therewithal. The President answered, It were a great sin to shed the innocent Blood. Then said the Bishop, The Blood of them of *Merindol* be upon us, and upon our Successors. Then said the President, I am very well assured, that if the Arrest of *Merindol* be put in Execution, the King will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his Subjects. Then said the Bishop, Altho the King at the first do think it evil done, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he shall think it well done; for we have the Cardinals on our side, and especially the most Reverend Cardinal of *Tournon*, which will take upon him the defence of our Cause, and we can do him no greater pleasure, than utterly to root out these Lutherans: so that if we have any need of his Counsel or Aid, we shall be well assured of him: And is not he the principal, the most excellent and prudent Adversary of these Lutherans, which is in all Christendom?

By this and such other like talk the Bishop of Aix persuaded the President and Councillors of the Court of Parliament, to put the said Arrest in Execution, and by this means, through the authority of the said Court, the Drum was sounded throughout all *Provence*, the Captains were prepared with their Ensigns displayed, and a great number of Foot-men and Horse-men began to set forward, and marched out of the Town of Aix in order of Battel, well horsed and furnished against *Merindol*, to execute the Arrest. The Inhabitants of *Merindol* being advertised hereof, and seeing nothing but present death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themselves and their Cause unto God by Prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, as Sheep led unto the Butchery.

Whilst they were in this grievous distress, piteously mourning and lamenting together, the Father with the Son, the Daughter with the Mother, the Wife with the Husband, suddenly there was news brought unto them, that the Army was retired, and no Man knew at that time how, or by what means; yet notwithstanding afterward it was known, that the Lord of *Aleze*, a wife Man, and learned in the Scriptures, and in the Civil Law, being moved with great zeal and love of Justice, declared unto the President *Casseneus*, that he ought not so to proceed against the Inhabitants of *Merindol* by way of force of Arms, contrary to all form and order of Justice, without judgment or Condemna-

Ben. 8

A godly
Bookseller
with two
Bibles about
his neck,
burnt in A-
vinion.

Proclaim-
ed against
French Bi-
bles.

The Bishop
of Aix fir-
eth up Cas-
seneus the
President to
Persecution.
The answer
of Casseneus
to the Bi-
shop for Me-
rindol.

Sargius eyes
super nob, &
Bileas aduers
Mat. 27.

The Card nal
of Tournon
the Organ of
Antichrist.

The Poyes
Army set-
teth forward
toward Me-
rindol.

The Army
again retired
by the means
of the Lord
of Aleze.

K. Hen. 8

A story of excommunication
the Rats for
eating up
the Corn.The Pref-
ident Caus-
es cases
Advocate
for the Rats.The per-
fession of the
L. of Alce
to Chalice
to return his
Army from
Merindol.The Lords
Providence
for the Me-
rindolians.

demnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the innocent. And furthermore he said, I desire you, my Lord President, call to remembrance the Counsel which you have written in your Book entituled *Calogue Gloria Mundi*; in the which Book you have in-treated and brought forth the Proceses which were holden against the Rats by the Officers of the Court and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Aubun*. For as it happened, there was almost throughout all the Bailiwick of *Landais* such a great number of Rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the Corn of the Country. Whereupon they took counsel to fend unto the Bishop of *Aubun's* Official, to have the Rats excommunicate. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the said Official, after he had heard the Plaintiff of the Procurator fiscal, that before he would proceed to Excommunication, they should have admonition and warning according to the order of Justice. For this cause it was ordained, that by the found of a Trumpet, and open Proclamation made throughout all the Streets of the Town of *Aubun*, the Rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them.

The three days were passed, and the Procurator came into the Court against the Rats, and for lack of Appearance obtained default, by Virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the Excommunication. Whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said Rats, being absent, should have their Advocate appointed them to hear their defence, forasmuch as the Question was for the whole destruction and banishing of the said Rats. And you my Lord President, being at that time the Kings Advocate at *Aubun*, were then chosen to be the Advocate to defend the Rats. And having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the Citation was of no effect, for certain Causes and Reasons by you there alleged. Then it was decreed, that the said Rats should be once again cited throughout the Parishes where they were. Then after the Citations were duly served, the Procurator came again into the Court as before; and there it was alleged by you my Lord President, how that the term of Appearance given unto the Rats was too short, and that there were so many Cats in every Town and Village as they should pass through, that they had just cause to be absent.

Wherefore my L. President, you ought not so lightly to proceed against these poor Men, but you ought to look upon the holy Scriptures, and there you shall find how ye ought to proceed in this matter; and you my Lord have alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appeareth more at large in your said Book; and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of a small importance you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how Judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal Causes. Then my Lord President, you which have taught others, will you not also learn by your own Books? the which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these poor Men of *Merindol*. For are they not Christian Men, and ought you not as well to minister Right and Justice unto them, as you have done to the Rats? By these and such like Demonstrations the President was persuaded, and immediately called back his Commission which he had given out, and caused the Army to retire, the which was already come near unto *Merindol*, even within one mile and a half.

Then the *Merindolians* understanding that the Army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their Eyes, to be obedient to his holy Commandments, subject to his most holy Will, and every Man to submit himself unto his Providence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the Blessed, that is to say, the true life, and the everlasting Riches, having always before their eyes for example our Lord Jesus Christ the very Son of God, who hath entered into his Glory by many Tribulations. Thus the *Merindolians* prepared themselves to endure and abide all the Afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them; and such was their Answer to all those that either pried, or else sought their destruction. Whereupon the bruit and noise was so great, as well of the Arrest, as of the Enterprize of the Execution, and also of the patience and constancy of the *Merindolians*, that

it was not hidden or kept secret from King *Francis*, a King of noble Courage and great Judgment; who gave Commandment unto the Noble and Virtuous Lord Mounieur de *Languey*, which then was his Lieutenant in *Tourin*, a City in *Piemont*, that he should diligently enquire and search out the Truth of all this matter. Whereupon the said Mounieur de *Languey* sent unto *Province* two Men of fame and estimation, giving them in charge to bring unto him the Copy of the Arrest, and diligently to enquire out all that followed and ensued thereupon; and likewise to make diligent inquisition of the life and manners of the *Merindolians*, and others which were persecuted in the Country of *Province*.

These Deputies brought the Copy of the Arrest; and of all that happened thereupon, unto the said Mounieur de *Languey*, declaring unto him the great Injuries, Pollings, Extortions, Exactions, Tyrannies, and Cruelties, which the Judges as well Secular as Ecclesiastical used against them of *Merindol*, and others. As touching the Behaviour and Disposition of those which were persecuted, they reported that the most part of the Men of *Province* affirmed them to be Men given to great labour and travel; and that about 200 years past, (as it is reported) they came out of the Country of *Piemont* to dwell in *Province*, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many Hamlets and Villages destroyed by the Wars, and other defect and waste places, which they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of Wines, Oyls, Honey, and Cattel, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved and holpen. Besides that, before they came into the Country to dwell, the place of *Merindol* was taxed but at four Crowns, which before the last destruction paid yearly unto the Lord for Taxes and Tallages, above three hundred and fifty Crowns, beside other Charges.

The like was also reported of *Lormarin*, and divers other places of *Province*, whereas there was nothing but Robbery before they came to inhabit there, so that none could pass that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the Country of *Province* affirmed, That the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and the other that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet People, beloved of all their Neighbours, Men of good Behaviour, constant in keeping of their promise, and paying of their Debts, without travelling or pleading at the Law: That they were also charitable Men, giving Alms, relieving the Poor, and suffered none amongst them to lack, or to be in necessity. Also they gave Alms to strangers, and to the poor Passengers, harbouring, nourishing, and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the Country of *Province*, that they would not swear, nor name the Devil, or easily be brought to take an Oath, except it were in Judgment, or making some solemn Covenant. They were also known by this, That they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any dishonest matters, but in what Companysoever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, Swearing or Blasphemy to the dishonour of God, they straightway departed out of that Company. Also they said, that they never saw them go to their Busines, but first they made their Prayers. The said People of *Province* furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any Fairs or Markets, or came to their Cities by any occasion, they never in a manner were seen in their Churches: and if they were, when they prayed they turned away their faces from the Images, and neither offered Candles to them, nor kissed their feet. Neither would they worship the Reliques of Saints, nor once look upon them. And moreover, if they passed by any Cross or Image of the Crucifix, or any other Saint by the way as they went, they would do no Reverence unto them. Also the Priests did testify, that they never caused them to say any Masses, neither Dirges, neither yet *De profundis*, neither would they take any holy Waters; and if it were carried home unto their houses, they would not say once, God a mercy, yea, they termed itself to abhor it. To go on Pilgrimage, to make any Vows to Saints, to buy Pardons or Remission of Sins with Money, yea, tho it might be gotten for a Half-penny, they thought it not lawful. Likewise when it thundered or lightened, they would not cross themselves, but casting up their Eyes unto Heaven, fetch deep sighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the Sign of the Cross, or taking of holy Water. Also they were never seen to offer, or call into the Basin any thing for the main-
tenance

Francis the
French King
send
Mounieur
Languey to
enquire etc.
of the
Merindolians.A testimony
in the com-
munication
of the Me-
rindolians.The rocky
Conversion
of the Me-
rindolians.Crimes laid
against the
Merindolians.Monsieur
Law
preferred be-
fore Gods
Law.

tenance of Lights, Brotherhoods, Churches, or to give any offering either for the Quick or the Dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, those they relieved gladly, and thought nothing too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto *Monsieur de Langres*, touching the life and behaviour of the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and the other which was persecuted; also as touching the Arrest, and that which ensued thereon. Of all those things the said *Monsieur de Langres*, according to the charge that was given him, advertised the King, who understanding these things, as a good Prince moved with mercy and pity, sent Letters of Grace and Pardon, not only for those which were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the Countrey of *Provence*, which were accused and suspected in like case, expressly charging and commanding the said Parliament, That they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously as they had done before, against this People: but if there were any that could be found or proved, by sufficient information, to have iwerred from the Christian Religion, that then he should have good demonstration made unto him by the Word of God, both out of the Old and New Testament: and so, as well by the gentleness as by the rigor of the same, he should be reduced again unto the Church of Christ. Declaring also, That the King's pleasure was, that all such as should be convicted of Heresy in manner aforesaid, should abjure; forbidding also all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they were, to attempt any thing against them of *Merindol*, or other that were persecuted, by any other manner of means, or to molest or trouble them in person or goods: revoking and disannulling all manner of sentences and condemnations of what Judges soever they were, and commanding to set at liberty all Prisoners which either were accused or suspected of Lutheranism.

By virtue of these Letters they were now permitted to declare their cause, and to say what they could in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a Confession of their Faith, the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the Story. This Confession was presented first to the Court of Parliament; and afterward being declared more at large, with Articles also annexed therunto, it was delivered to the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, who required the same. Also to Cardinal *Sadolet*, Bishop of *Carpentras*, with the like Articles, and also a Supplication to this effect: That the Inhabitants of *Cabriers* in the Countrey of *Venice* most humbly desired him, that he would vouchsafe to receive and read the Confession and Declaration of their Faith and Doctrine, in the which they, and also their Fathers before them, had been of a long time instructed and taught, which they were persuaded to be agreeable to the Doctrine contained in the Old and New Testament. And because he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they desired him that he would mark such Articles as he thought to be against the Scriptures; and if he should make it to appear unto them, that there was any thing contrary to the same, they would not only submit themselves to abjuration, but also to suffer such punishment as should be adjudged unto them, even to the loss, not only of all that they had, but also of their Lives. And moreover, if there were any Judge in all the Countrey of *Venice*, which by good and sufficient information should be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous Doctrine, or maintained any other Religion than was contained in the Articles of their Confession, they desired him that he would communicate the same unto them, and with all obedience they offered themselves to whatsoever should be thought just and reasonable. Upon this request Cardinal *Sadolet* answered by his Letters written by his Secretary, and signed with his own hand, the tenour whereof here ensueth.

I have seen your Request, and have read the Articles of your Confession, wherein there is much matter contained; and do not understand that you are accused for any other Doctrine, but for the very same which you have confessed. It is most true, that many have reported divers things of you worthy of reproof, which, after diligent enquiry made, we have found to be nothing else but false reports and slanders. As touching the rest of your Articles, it seemeth unto me, that there are many words therein which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confession. And likewise it seemeth to me, that it is not necessary that you should speak so manifestly against the Pastors of the Church. For my part, I desire your Welfare, and would be sorry that you should be

so spoiled or destroyed as they do pretend. And to the end you shall the better understand my amity and friendship towards you, shortly I will be at my House by *Cabriers*, whither ye may resort unto me either in greater or smaller numbers, as you will, and return safely without any hurt or damage, and there I will advise you of all things that I think meet for your profit and health.

About this time, which was the year of our Lord 1542, the Vice-legat of *Avinion* assembled a great number of Men of War, at the suit of the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, to destroy *Cabriers*. When the Army was come within a mile of *Cabriers*, the Cardinal *Sadolet* went with speed to the Vice-legat, and shewed him the request of the Inhabitants of *Cabriers*, with the Articles of their Confession, and the Offers that they made; so that for that present the Army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the Inhabitants of *Cabriers*. After this the Cardinal *Sadolet* went unto *Rome*; but before his departure he sent for divers of *Cabriers*, and certain Farmers of his own, whom he knew to be of the number of those which were called Lutherans, and told them, That he would have them in remembrance as soon as he came to *Rome*, and communicate their Articles and Confession unto the Cardinals, trusting to find a mean to have some good reformation, that God should be thereby glorified, and all Christendom brought to unity and concord; at the least, nothing at all doubting but that the foulest Abuses should be corrected and amended; advertising them in the mean time to be wise and circumspect, to watch and pray, for that they had many Enemies. With this Oration of Cardinal *Sadolet*, they of *Cabriers* were greatly comforted, trusting that at the suit of Cardinal *Sadolet* they should have answer of their Confession. But at his return they understood that he found all things so corrupt at *Rome*, that there was no hope of any Reformation there to be had, but rather mortal War against all such as would not live according to the Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*. Likewise said the Treasurer of *Carpentras*, who albeit he paid out money to furnish Souldiers that were hired for the destruction of *Cabriers*, notwithstanding he did aid them secretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it so secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the Legate; whereupon he was constrained to withdraw himself.

On the other part, the Bishop of *Aix* and *Cavaillon* purchased still the execution of the Arrest of *Merindol*. Then it was ordained by the Court of Parliament, That, according to the King's Letters, *John Durand*, Counsellor of the Court of Parliament, with a Secretary, and the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, with a Doctor of Divinity, should go unto *Merindol*, and there declare unto the Inhabitants the Errors and Heresies which they knew to be contained in their Confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information; and having so convicted them by the Word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the said Heresies; and if the *Merindolians* did refuse to abjure, then they should make relation thereof, that the Court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this Decree was made, the Bishop of *Cavaillon* would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the Court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a Doctor of Divinity, came to *Merindol* to make them to abjure. Unto whom the *Merindolians* answered, That he enteredpriized against the authority of the Parliament, and that it was against his Commission so to do. Notwithstanding he was very earnest with them that they should abjure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the Hen doth her Chickens, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they should abjure. The Bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but only a general Abjuration of all Errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them; for he himself would not stick to make the like Abjuration. The *Merindolians* answered him again, That they would do nothing contrary to the Decree and Ordinance of the Court, or the King's Letters, wherein he commanded that first the Errors should be declared unto them, whereof they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to understand what those Errors and Heresies were, that being informed thereof by the Word of God, they might satisfy the King's Letters: otherwise

The King's Pardon procured and sent down for the *Merindolians*.

This most godly and Christian Confession you shall find more largely set out in Hen. Part. and also in the French Story, intreating of the destruction of *Merindol* and *Cabriers*; also touching their Faith & Confession you shall partly see hereafter.

The *Merindolians* require the judgment of Cardinal *Sadolet* touching their Articles.

The answer of Cardinal *Sadolet* to the *Merindolians*.

K. Hen. 8

The Bishop of *Cavaillon* freeth the destruction of *Cabriers*.

Cardinal *Sadolet* returneth back the Army coming against *Cabriers*.

The promise of *Sadolet* to his Tenants of *Cabriers*.

The Treasurer of *Carpentras* secretly aideth the destruction of *Cabriers*.

The Bishop of *Cavaillon* cometh again to *Merindol*.

The Pope's Bishop will come to no reasoning.

K. Hen. 8.

The Bishops condemn the Merindolians for heresy, and yet can show no heresy in them by the Word of God.

The Bishop gave answer to have heresy tried by the Word of God.

The Articles of the Merindolians approved by the Doctor.

The answer of the Children of Merindol to the Bishop.

The answer of the Bayliff of Merindol to the Bishop. The Pater noster in Latin.

The Children of Merindol too good for the Bishop.

it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appear unto them by good and sufficient information, that they had holden any Errors and Heresies, or should be convicted thereupon by the Word of God, they would willingly abjure; or if in their Confession there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the same. Contrariwise, if it were not made manifest unto them, that they had holden any Heresies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the Gospel, and that their Confession was grounded upon the same, then they ought by no means to move or constrain them to abjure any Errors which they held not, and that it were plainly against all equity and justice so to do.

Then the Bishop of *Cavaillon* was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the Word of God, but in a fury cursed and gave him to the Devil that first invented that means. Then the Doctor of Divinity, whom the Bishop brought thither, demanded what Articles they were that were presented by the Inhabitants of *Merindol*; for the Bishop of *Cavaillon* had not yet showed them unto him. Then the Bishop of *Cavaillon* delivered the Doctor the Confession, which after he had read, the Bishop of *Cavaillon* said, What! will you any more witness or declaration? this is full of Heresy. Then they of *Merindol* demanded, In what point? whereupon the Bishop knew not what to answer. Then the Doctor demanded to have time to look upon the Articles of the Confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the Bishop departed, being very sore aggrieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

After eight days the Bishop sent for this Doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their Heresies appear which were in the said Confession. Whereunto the Doctor answered, That he was never so much abashed: for when he had beheld the Articles of the Confession, and the Authorities of the Scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that those Articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in those eight days, in looking upon those Articles, and the Authorities therein alleged.

Shortly after the Bishop of *Cavaillon* came unto *Merindol*, and calling before him the Children both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the *Pater noster* and the *Credo* in Latin. The most part of them answered, That they knew the *Pater noster* and the *Credo* already in Latin, but they could make no reason of that which they spoke, but only in the vulgar tongue. The Bishop answered, That it was not necessary they should be so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the Articles of their Faith; for there were many Bishops, Curates, yea, and Doctors of Divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the *Pater noster* and the *Credo*. Here the Bayliff of *Merindol*, named *Andrew Maynard*, asked, To what purpose it would serve to say the *Pater noster* and the *Credo*, and not to understand the same? for in so doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the Bishop unto him, Do you understand what is signified by these words, *I believe in God*?

The Bayliff answered, I should think myself very miserable, if I did not understand it; and then he began orderly to give an account of his Faith. Then said the Bishop, I would not have thought there had been so great Doctors in *Merindol*. The Bayliff answered, The least of the Inhabitants of *Merindol* can do it yet more readily than I: but I pray you, question with one or two of these young Children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no. But the Bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at the least would not.

Then one named *Pieron Roy* said, Sir, one of these Children may question with another, if you think it so good, and the Bishop was contented. Then one of the Children began to question with his fellows, with such grace and gravity as if he had been a Schoolmaster; and the Children one after another answered to unto the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four Religious Men, that came lately out of *Paris*, of whom one said unto the Bishop,

I must needs confess, that I have often been at the common Schools of *Sorbon* in *Paris*, where I have heard the disputations of the Divines; but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young Children. Then said *William Armand*, Did you never read that which is written in the eleventh Chapter of *St. Matthew*, where it is said, *O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, I render thanks unto thee, that thou hast hidden these things from the sage and wise Men of the World, and hast revealed them unto young Infants*: But behold, O Father, such was thy good will and pleasure. Then every Man marvelled at the ready wit and witty answers of the Children of *Merindol*.

When the Bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about by fair and flattering words to bring his purpose to pass. Wherefore, calling the Strangers to go apart, he said, That he now perceived they were not so evil as many thought them to be; notwithstanding, for the contentation of them which were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small Abjuration, which only the Bayliff, with two Officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any Notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all Men, and even of those which now persecuted them: and that they should sustain no infamy thereby, for there should be no report thereof made, but only to the Pope, and to the High-Court of Parliament of *Provence*: And also if any Man in time to come would turn the same to their reproach, or alleged it against them to their hurt or damage, they might utterly deny it, and say they made no Abjuration at all, because there were no records made thereof, or witnesses to prove the same. For this purpose he desired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter, without any further business.

The Bayliff, and the two Officers, with divers other Ancients of the Town, answered, That they were fully resolved not to consent to any Abjuration, howsoever it were to be done, except that (which was always their exception) they could make it appear unto them by the Word of God, that they had holden or maintained any Heresy; marvelling much that he would go about to perjure them to lie to God and to the World. And albeit that all Men by nature are Liars, yet they had learned by the Word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed that their Children did not accustom or use themselves to lie, and therefore punished them very sharply, when as they took them with any Lie, even as if they had committed any Robbery; For the Devil is a Liar, and the Father of Lies. Here the Bishop rose up in great anger and indignation, and so departed.

Within a while after the Bishop of *Aix* solicited Master *John Durandus*, Counsellor of the Court of the Parliament of *Provence*, to execute the Commission which was given him; that is, to go unto the place of *Merindol*, together with the Secretary of the said Court, and there in the presence of the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, accompanied with a Doctor of Divinity, to declare the Errors and Heresies, which the Bishops pretended the Inhabitants of *Merindol* to be infected and entangled withal, and according to their duty, to make it appear by the Word of God, and so being convicted, to make them abjure and renounce the said Heresies. Whereupon the said Counsellor *Durandus* certified the day that he would be present at *Merindol*, to the end and purpose that none of the Inhabitants should be absent. At the day appointed the said Counsellor *Durandus*, the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Secretary, came unto *Merindol*, where were also present divers Gentlemen, and Men of understanding of all sorts, to see this Commission executed. Then they of *Merindol* were advertised that they should not appear all at once, but that they should keep themselves apart, and appear as they should be called, in such order and number as should be appointed unto them.

After that *Durandus*, the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, the Doctor of Divinity, and the Secretary were set in place where Justice was accustomed to be kept, there was called forth *Andrew Maynard*, the Bayliff of *Merindol*; *Jyon Romane*, and *Michelle Maynard*, Syndiques; *John Cabrie*, and *John Palene*, Ancients of *Merindol*; and *John Brunner*, Under-bayliff. After they had presented themselves with all due reverence, the Counsellor *Durandus* spoke thus unto them.

The Youth of Merindol well brought up.

Mat. 23.

The Merindolians are moved to abjure.

In matters of Faith and Religion ought to be no dissimulation.

Durand rose up by the Bishop to execute the Commission against the Merindolians.

Durandus the Counsellor came to Merindol.

Syndicus is a Greek word, and signifies such as much as an Advocate or Plea, from the Greek word pleo, to plead one's cause.

48. words
of Durandus
to the Me-
rindolians.

You are not ignorant that, by the Arrest given out by the high Court of *Provence*, you were all condemned to be burned, both Men, Women, and Children; your Houses also to be beaten down, and your Town to be razed and made desolate, &c. as is more largely contained in the said Arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the King, our most gracious Prince, to send his Letters unto the said Court, commanding that the said Arrest should not so rigorously proceed against you: but if it could by sufficient Information be proved, that you, or any of you, had swerved from the true Religion, demonstration should be made thereof unto you by the Word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the Flock of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said Court of Parliament, that the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, with a Doctor of Divinity, should in my presence declare unto you the Errors and Heresies wherewith they say you are infected; and after good demonstration made by the Word of God, you should publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said Heresies; and in so doing, should obtain the Grace and Pardon contained in the King's Letters: wherefore shew your selves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the King and the Magistrates. When he had thus spoken, what answer you, said he, to that which I have propounded?

Then *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff, desired that they would grant them an Advocate to answer according to the Instructions which they would give him, forasmuch as they were Men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The Counsellor answered, that he would hear their Answer neither by Advocate nor by Writing, but would hear them answer in their own persons: Notwithstanding he would give them leave to go apart; and talk together, but not to ask any counsel, but only among themselves: and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination, the Bailiff and the two Syndiques, with other two ancient Men, talked together a while and determined that the two Syndiques should speak first, and after them the Bailiff, then the two ancient Men, every Man according as God should give them Grace, and by and by presented themselves. Whereat the Counsellor *Durandus* was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then *Michelin Maynard* began to answer, desiring the Counsellor and the Bishop, with the other Assiliants, to pardon him, if that he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant Men. His Answer here followeth.

We are greatly bound, faith he, to give God thanks, that, besides other his Benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great Assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our Noble King, that our cause might be intreated with justice, and not by violence. In like manner are we also bound to pray for our Noble King, which, following the example of *Samuel* and *Daniel*, hath not disdained to look upon the cause of his poor Subjects. Also we render thanks unto the Lords of the Parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister Justice according to the King's Commandment. Finally, we thank you my Lord *Durandus*, Commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you in so few words to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part I greatly desire to understand and know the Heresy and Errors wherof I am accused: and whereas they shall make it appear unto me, that I have holden any Errors or Heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you.

After him answered *Jean Romine* the other Syndique, a very ancient Father, approving all that which his Fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had seen and heard so good News, that the cause of Religion should be decided and debated by the Holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient Men say, that they could never obtain of the Judges, in all their Persecution, to have their Cause debated in such sort.

Then *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff answered, saying, That God had given to these two Syndiques the Grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereunto. Notwithstanding it seemed good that their Answers were put in writing, which was not done by the Secretary, that had done nothing else but mock and jeer at all that had been said: Wherefore he required the Commissioner to look unto the matter.

Then the Commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his Secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their Answers word for word, and he himself with a singular memory repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said Answers being thus put in writing, the Commissioner asked the Bailiff, if he had any more to answer, saying, that he had done him great pleasure to shew him his Secretaries Fault, willing him to speak boldly what he thought good for the defence of their Cause. Then the Bailiff said, Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speak my mind freely: I say moreover, that it seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of Process in this Judgment: for there is no Party here that doth accuse us. If we had an Accuser present, which, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the Old and New Testament that wherof we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are Hereticks; I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his Accusations, as we to answer unto the same.

After that the Bailiff had made this answer, *John Palane*, one of the Ancients of *Merindol*, said, that he approved all that had been said by the Syndiques, and that he was able to say no more than had been said by them before. The Commissioner said unto him: You are, I see, a very ancient Man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause. And the said *Palane* answered, seeing it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me impossible that (say what we can) we should have either victory or vantage: For our Judges be our Enemies.

Then *John Bruneral*, Under-Bailiff of *Merindol*, answered, That he would very fain know the Authority of the Counsellor *Durandus*, Commissioner in this Cause, forasmuch as the said Counsellor had given them to understand, that he had Authority of the High Court to make them abjure their Errors, which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to give them, so doing, the Pardon contained in the King's Letters, and quit them of all Punishment and Condemnation. But the said Commissioner did not give them to understand that if it could not be found, by good and sufficient Information, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said Sentence and Condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more vantage for the said *Merindolians*, if it should appear that they were Hereticks, than to be found to live according to the Doctrine of the Gospel. For this cause he required, that it would please the said Commissioner to make declaration thereof: Concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swerved from the Faith, or if there were no Accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled, either in Body or Goods.

These things were thus in debating, from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the Commissioner dismissed them till after dinner. At one of the clock at afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would say any else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said Commissioner. They answered, No. Then said the Commissioner, What do you conclude for your defence? the two Syndiques answered, We conclude, that it would please you to declare unto us the Errors and Heresies wherof we are accused. Then the Commissioner asked the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, what information he had against them. The Bishop spake unto him in his ear, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almost half an hour, that the Commissioner & all other that stood thereby were weary thereof. In the end, the Commissioner said unto them, That the Bishop of *Cavaillon* had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparent by information, for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, That they required the Causes and Reasons alleged by the Bishop of *Cavaillon* against them, should be put in writing. The Bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing, that either he said or alleged, to be put in writing. Then *John Bruneral* required the Commissioner, that at the least he would put in writing, that the Bishop would speak nothing against them that they could understand; and that he would not speak before the Commissioner but only in his ear,

K. Hen. 8.

The Proceeding with the Merindolians, not after form of Law.

John Palane answered.

The under-Bailiff of Merindol answered.

Durandus the Commissioner required to shew his Commission.

The Bailiff and Syndicks of Merindol appear the second time.

They that do the works of darkness hate the light.

The Answer of the Merindolians to Durandus

The Bailiff of Merindol answered.

K.Hen.8.

What were
the Articles
and Doctrine
of their
Confession
read. Sheld.
lib. 10.

Ear. The Bishop on the contrary part defended, that he would not be named in Process. There was great dispute upon this matter, and continued long. Then the Commissioner asked the *Merindolians* if they had the Articles of their Confession, which they had presented to the high Court of Parliament. Then they required that their Confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the Doctrine which they held; and the Confession which they had presented, or no. Then the Confession was read publicly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to be theirs. This done, the Commissioner asked the Doctor, If he did find in the said Confession any heretical Opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the Word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the Doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff desired the Commissioner according as he had propounded, to make the Errors and Heresies that they were accused of, apparent unto them by good information, or at the least to mark those Articles of their Confession, which the Bishop and the Doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the Bishop as of the Doctor, of whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latine, so that they of *Merindol* could not understand one word. Then the Commissioner promised them to put in Writing all that should make for their Cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the *Merindolians*, if there were no more to be said to them than had been said to those which were already called. And this is the Sum of all that was done at the Afternoon.

Marly which came thither to hear these Disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly Demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the Bishop and the Doctor so confounded; which thing afterward turned to the great Benefit of many: for hereby they were moved to require Copies of the Confession of their Faith; by means whereof they were converted and embraced the Truth, and namely three Doctors who went about divers times to disswade the *Merindolians* from their Faith, whose Ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his Gospel: Of whom one was Dr. *Combaudi* Prior of St. *Maximin*, afterwards a Preacher in the Territory of the Lords of *Berne*. Another was Dr. *Somati*, who was also a Preacher in the Bailiwick of *Tonon*. The other was Dr. *Heraudi*, Pastor and Minister in the County of *Noveselle*.

After this the Inhabitants of *Merindol* were in rest and quietness for a space, inasmuch that every Man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those which persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the President *Cheslane*, but also many other of the chiefest Counsellors of the Parliament of *Province*, whose horrible End terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful Example of that bloody Tyrant *John de Roma*, set out as a Spectacle to all Persecutors, whereof we have spoken before.

Thus the Lord repressing the rage of the Adversaries for a time, stayed the Violence and Execution of that cruel Sentence or Arrest given out by the Parliament of *Province* against the *Merindolians*, until *John Miniers*, an exceeding bloody Tyrant, began a new Persecution. This *Miniers*, being Lord of *Opede* near to *Merindol*, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could, to enlarge his Seigniorie or Lordship, which before was very bare. For this cause he put five or six of his own Tenants into a Cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and *Waldays*, to have their Goods and Possessions. By this, and such other Practices this Wretch was advanced in short space to great Wealth and Dignity, and so at length became not only the chief President of the High Court of Parliament, but also the King's Lieutenant General in the Country of *Province*, in the absence of the Lord *Grignan*, then being at the Council of *Worms* in Germany. Now therefore seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish Enterprize, he employed all his Power, Riches, and Authority not only to confirm and to revive that cruel Ar-

rest given out before by the Court of Parliament, but also (as a right Minister of Satan) he exceedingly increased the Cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this Mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent Lie, giving the King to understand, that they of *Merindol* and all the Country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand were in the field in Armour with their Ensigns displayed, intending to take the Town of *Marfalle*, and make it one of the Cantons of the *Switzers*; and to say this Enterprize, he said, it was necessary to execute the Arrest *Manu militari*: and by this means he obtained the King's Letters Patents, through the help of the Cardinal of *Tournon*, commanding the Sentence to be executed against the *Merindolians*, notwithstanding the King had before revoked the said Sentence, and given strict Commandment that it should in no wise be executed, as is before mentioned.

After this he gathered all the King's Army, which was then in *Province* ready to go against the *Englishmen*, and took up all besides, that were able to bear Armour, in the chiefest Towns of *Province*, and joyed them with the Army which the Pope's Legat had levied for that purpose in *Avinion*, and all the Country of *Venice*, and employed the same to the Destruction of *Merindol*, *Cabriers*, and other Towns and Villages to the number of two and twenty, giving Commission to his Souldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill Man, Woman, and Child without all mercy, sparing none: No, otherwise than the Infidels and cruel *Turks* have dealt with the Christians, as before in the Story of the *Turky* you may read.

For as the Papists and *Turks* are alike in their Religions, so are the said Papists like, or rather exceed them in all kinds of Cruelty that can be devised. But this Archtyrant before he came to *Merindol*, ransacked and burnt certain Towns, namely *La Roch*, *St. Stephens*, *Ville Laure*, *Lormarin*, *La Motte*, *Cabrieret*, *St. Martin*, *Pipin* and other places moe, notwithstanding that the Arrest extended but only to *Merindol*: Where the most of the poor Inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; Women and Maidens ravished; Women with Child, and little Infants born and to be born, were also most cruelly murdered; the Paps of many Women cut off, which gave sick to their Children, which looking for suck at their Mother's Breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never any such Cruelty and Tyranny seen before.

The *Merindolians* seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their Houses, and fled into the Woods, and remained all that Night at the Village *sanfleur*, and thereabouts in wonderful tear and perplexity; for the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, Deputy to the Bishop of *Rome's* Legat, had appointed certain Captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in Woods, for there was danger on every side, and *Miniers* had commanded under pain of death, that no Man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wherefore they were foomt. The same Proclamation was of force also in the Bishop of *Rome's* Dominions thereby; and it was said, that the Bishops of that Country did find a great part of the Army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful Journey, carrying their Children upon their Shoulders, and in their Arms, and in their Swadling-clothes, and many of them also being great with Child, were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither was already resorted a great number which had lost their Goods, and saved themselves by flight.

Not long after it was shewed them how that *Miniers* was coming with all his power to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and because they should go through rough and cumbersome places, and hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safety to leave behind them all the Women and Children, with a few other, and among them also certain Ministers of the Church, the residue were appointed to go to the Town of *Maffi*. And this did they upon hope that the Enemy would shew mercy to the multitude of Women and Children being destitute of all Succour. No Tongue can express what Sorrow, what Tears, what Sighing, what Lamentation

Fals Army
driven, and
Chases fore
upon the
event
Cardinals

The King a-
bused by
wicked
Counsell.

Eight Towns
with the
most part of
the people
destroyed
for true Ro-
ligion.

Horrible
Cruelty up-
on Women
and young
Infants.

The Doctors
converted
by the Con-
fession of
the Merin-
dolians.

The sudden
death of a
Persecutor.

Miniers a
persecutor
without all
reason and
measure.

Six Martyrs
of Opede.

Miniers
made the
King's Lieut-
enant of
Province.

A lamentable Separation of the Merindolians from their Wives and Children.

mentation there was at that woful departing, when they were compelled to be thus separated afunder, the Husband from his dear Wife, the Father from his sweet Babes and tender Infants, the one never like to see the other again alive. Notwithstanding after the Ministers had ended their ordinary Sermons, with Evening-Prayers and Exhortations, the Men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

When they had gone all the night long, and had passed over the great Hill of *Libron*, they might see many Villages and Farms set on fire. *Miniers* in the mean time had divided his Army into two parts, marching himself with the one towards the Town of *Merindol*; and having knowledge by Espial whither the *Merindolians* were fled, he sent the other part to set upon them, and to shew their accustomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, some of *Miniers* Army, either of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came unto them, to give them warning that their Enemies were coming; and one of them from the top of an high Rock, where he thought that the *Merindolians* were underneath, casteth down two stones, and afterward, altho he could not see them, he called unto them that they should immediately flee from thence. But the Enemies suddenly came upon them, finding them all assembled together at prayers, and spoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs: some they ravished, some they whipped and scourged, and some they fold away like Cattel, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. The Women were in number about five hundred.

In the mean time *Miniers* came to *Merindol*, where he found none but a young Man named *Maurice Blanc*, who had yielded himself unto a Souldier, promising him for his ransom two French Crowns. *Miniers* would have had him away by force, but it was answered that the Souldier ought not to lose his Prisoner. *Miniers* therefore, paying the two Crowns himself, took the young Man, and caused him to be tied unto an Olive-Tree, and shot through with Harquebusses, and most cruelly martyred. Many Gentlemen which accompanied *Miniers* against their wills, seeing this cruel Spectacle, were moved with great compassion, and could not forbear Tears: For albeit this young Man was not yet very well instructed, neither had before dwelt at *Merindol*, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to Heaven, with a loud voice he ceased not still to call upon God: and the last words that he spake were these: *Lord God, these Men take away my life full of misery, but thou wilt give unto me life everlasting by thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glory.* So was *Merindol* without any resistance valiantly taken, ranck'd, burnt, razed, and laid even with the ground. And albeit there was no Man to resist, yet this valiant Captain of *Opede*, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was seen to change his colour very much.

When he had destroyed *Merindol*, he laid siege to *Cabriers*, and battered it with his Ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the Lord of the Town, and *Poulin* his chief Captain, persuaded with the Inhabitants to open their Gates, solemnly promising, that if they would so do, they would lay down their Armor, and also that their Cause should be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be shewed against them. Upon this they opened their Gates, and let in *Miniers*, with his Captains, and all his Army. But the Tyrant, when he was once entered, falsified his promise, and rag'd like a Beast. For first of all he picked out about thirty Men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a Meadow near to the Town, and there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces of his Souldiers.

Then, because he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he also exercised his fury and outrage upon poor silly Women, and caused forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a Barn full of Straw and Hay, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the silly Women, running to the great Window where the Hay is wont to be cast into the Barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with Pikes and Halberds. Then there was a Souldier which moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the Women, opened a door to let them out; but as they were coming

out, the Tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces, opening their bellies that their Children fell out, whom they trod under their feet. Many were fled into the Wine-cellar of the Cattle, and many hid themselves in Caves, wherof some were carried into the Meadow, and there stripped naked were slain: Other some were bound two and two together, and carried into the Hall of the Cattle, where they were slain by the Captains, rejoicing in their bloody butchery and horrible slaughter.

That done, this Tyrant, more cruel than ever was *Herod*, commanded Captain *John de Gay* with a Band of Ruffians to go into the Church, (where was a great number of Women, Children, and young Infants) to kill all that he found there; which the Captain refused at first to do, saying, that were a cruelty unuseful among Men of War. Whereat *Miniers* being displeased, charged him upon pain of rebellion and disobedience to the King, to do as he commanded him. The Captain fearing what might ensue, entered with his Men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

In this mean while certain Souldiers went to ranck the Houses for the spoil, where they found many poor Men that had there hidden themselves in Cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, Kill, kill. The other Souldiers that were without the Town, killed all that they could meet with. The number of those that were unmercifully murdered, were about a thousand persons of Men, Women, and Children. The Infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again of their Enemies.

In token of this jolly Victory the Pope's Officers caused a Pillar to be erected in the said place of *Cabriers*, in the which was engraven the year and the day of the taking, and sacking of this Town, by *John Miniers* Lord of *Opede*, and chief President of the Parliament of *Provence*, for a memorial for ever of that barbarous Cruelty, the like wherof was never yet heard of. Whereupon we with all our posterity have to understand what be the reasons and arguments wherewith the Antichrist of *Rome* is wont to uphold the impious feat of his abomination; who now is come to such excess and profundity of all kinds of Iniquity, that all Justice, Equity and Verity being set aside, he seeketh the defence of his cause by no other thing but only by force and violence, terror and oppression, and shedding of blood.

In this mean while the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great necessity of victuals, and much affliction; who had procured certain Men which were in some favour and authority with *Miniers*, to make request for them unto him, that they might depart safely whither it should please God to lead them, with their Wives and Children, altho they had no more but their Shirts to cover their nakedness. Whereunto *Miniers* made this answer: *I know what I have to do; not one of them shall escape my hands; I will send them to dwell in Hell among the Devils.*

After this there was a Power sent unto *Costa*, which likewise they overcame, and committed there great slaughter. Many of the Inhabitants fled away, and ran into an Orchard, where the Souldiers ravished the Women and Maidens; and when they had kept them there inclosed a day and a night, they handled them so beastly, that those which had great Bellies, and the younger Maidens died shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowful examples of this cruel Persecution against the *Merindolians*, and their Fellows, inasmuch that no kind of cruel Tyranny was unpractised: for they which escaped by Woods, and went wandering by Mountains, were taken and set in Gallies, or else were slain outright.

Many which did hide themselves in Rocks and dark Caves, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire and smoke out unto them. All which may more fully be understood by the Records of the Court, and by the Pleas between them and their Adversaries in the high Consistory of the Court of *Paris*, where all the doors being set open, and in the publick hearing, of all the People, the cause of this Trouble and Persecution was shortly after solemnly debated between two great Lawyers; the one called *Aubrius*, which accused *Miniers* the President committed to prison; [and the other called *Robertus*, the defendant against him. The cause why this matter of *Merindol* was brought in plea and judgment to be decided by the Law, was this:

Henry

The Merindolians overtaken of their Enemies.

Wile Cruelty exercised upon a young Man of Merindol.

The Town of Merindol destroyed of the Papists.

The Town of Cabriers filly taken.

Oaths and Promise broken of the Papists: 30 Men i Martyrs.

40 Women Martyrs.

R. Hen. 8. Cruelty Ne- cessary of rather Fury Diabolical.

Above a thousand Martyrs of Cabriers.

The Arguments wherupon the Doctrine of the Popes Church standeth.

Antichrist here played the Devil.

The Town of Costa destroyed.

Martyrs of Costa.

When the Merindolians were taken, their Cause was pleaded.

K. Hen. 8. Henry the second, French King, which newly succeeded Francis his Father above-mentioned, considering how this cruel and infamous Persecution against his own Subjects and People was greatly mistified of other Princes, and also objected both against him & his Father as a note of shameful tyranny, by the Emperor himself Charles the fifth, and that in a publick Council of all the States of Germany, for so murdering and spoiling his own natural Subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himself thereof, caused the said matter to be brought into the Court, and there to be decided by order of Justice.

The cause of the Merindolians after their death pleased fifty years in the Court. Which Cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in publick Audience, no less than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, so it brake off & was passed over; and at length *Minerius*, being loosed out of Prison, was restored to his liberty and possessions again, upon this condition and promise made unto the Cardinal *Charles of Lorain*, that he should banish and expel these new Christians (terming for the true Professors of the Gospel) out of all Province.

The just stroke of God upon cruel Ministers. Thus *Minerius* being restored, returned again into Province, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury cease to proceed, before the just Judgment of God lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible Disease unto the torments of death, which he most justly had deserved. For he being stricken with a strange kind of bleeding at the lower parts, in manner of a bloody Flux, and not being able to void any Urine, thus by little and little his Guts within him rotted: and when no Remedy could be found for this terrible Disease, and his Intrails now began to be eaten of Vermin, a certain famous Chirurgeon, named *La Mote*, which dwelt at *Arles*, a Man no less godly than expert in his Science, was called for; who after he had cured him of this difficulty of making Water, and therefore was in great estimation with him; before he would proceed further to search the other parts of his putrefied Body, and to search out the inward Cause of his Malady, he desired that they which were present in the Chamber with *Minerius*, would depart a little aside. Which being done, he began to exhort *Minerius* with earnest words, saying, How the time now required that he should ask forgiveness of God by Christ, for his enormous Crimes and Caudely, in shedding so much innocent Blood, and declared the same to be the cause of this so strange profusion of Blood coming from him.

Minerius seeketh the Blood of his Subjects. These words being heard, so pierced the impure Conscience of this miserable Wretch, that he was therewith more troubled than with the Agony of his Disease: inasmuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the Chirurgeon as an Heretick. *La Mote* hearing this, effoons conveyed himself out of fight, and returned again to *Arles*. Notwithstanding it was not long but he was sent for again, being intreated by his Friends, and promised most firmly, that his coming should be without any peril or danger: and so with much ado, he returned again to *Minerius*, what time all now was past remedy: and so *Minerius* raging and casting out most horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a Fire which burnt him from the Navel upward, with extreme Quench of the lower parts, finished his wretched Life. Whereby we have notoriously to understand, that God through his mighty Arm at length confoundeth such Persecutors of his Innocent and faithful Servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praise and glory for ever.

The just stroke of God upon three Persecutors. Moreover, besides this Justice of God shewed upon *Minerius*, here also is not to be forgotten that which followed likewise upon certain of the other which were the chief doers in this Persecution under *Minerius* afore said; namely *Levis de Vaine*, Brother-in-Law to the said President, and also the Brother and the Son-in-Law to *Peter Durand*, Master-butcher of the Town of *Aix*; the which three did lay one another, upon a certain trife that fell upon them. And upon the same day the Judg of *Aix*, who accompanied *Minerius* in the same Persecution, as he returned homeward, going over the River of *Durance*, was drowned. Ex *hist. Gallica, Henr. Pantat. & alii.*

Notes upon the Story of Merindol, above recited.

Thou hast thou heard (loving Reader) the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the Bishops and Cardinals, against these faithful Men of *Merindol*, which for the hainous tyranny, and example of the Fact most unmerciful, may be comparable with many of the first Persecutions in the Primitive Church, done either by *Decius*, or *Dioclesianus*.

Now touching the said Story and People of *Merindol*, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the first time that these Men of this Country were vexed; neither was it of late years that the Doctrine and Profession of them began. For (as by the course of Time, and by ancient Records it may appear) these Inhabitants of Province, and other Coasts bordering about the Confines of France, and *Piedmont*, had their continuance of ancient Time, and received their Doctrine first from the *Waldenses*, or *Albigenses*, which were (as some say) about the year of our Lord 1170; or (as others do reckon) about the year of Lord 1216, whereof thou hast (gentle Reader) sufficiently to understand, reading before.

These *Waldenses*, otherwise called *Paspeper* of *Lugduno*, beginning of one *Parus Waldus*, Citizen of *Lion*, as is before shewed, by violence of Persecution being driven out of *Lion*, were dispersed abroad in divers Countries, of whom some fled to *Maffia*, some to Germany, some to *Sarmatia*, *Livonia*, *Bohemia*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*; divers strayed to the Countries of France, especially about Province and *Piedmont*, of whom came these *Merindolians* above mentioned, and the *Angroghians* with others of whom now it followeth likewise (God willing) to discourse. They which were in the Country of *Tolouse*, of the place where they frequented, were called *Albii*, or *Albigenses*. Against the which *Albigenses*, Frier *Dominicus* was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them ten years together; and caused many of them to be burned, for the which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the Apostolical Court, and at length, by Pope *Honorius* the third, was made Patriarch of the black Guard of the *Dominick* Friars. Ex *Antonio part. 3. titul. 19. Capitulo 1.*

These *Albigenses*, against the Pope of *Rome* had set up to themselves a Bishop of their own, named *Bartholomew*, remaining about the Coasts of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, as appears by a Letter of one of the Pope's Cardinals above specified. For which Cause the See of *Rome* took great indignation against the said *Albigenses*, and caused all their faithful Catholics, and Obedientaries to their Church, to rise up in Armour, and to take the sign of the holy Cross upon them, to fight against them, Anno 1206; by reason whereof great multitudes of them were pitifully murdered, not only of them about *Tolouse* & *Avinion* in France, (as is afore to be seen) but also in all quarters, miserable slaughters and burnings of them long continued, from the reign of *Frederick* the second, Emperor, almost to this present time, through the instigation of the Roman Popes.

Paulus Emilius the French Chronicler, in his sixth Book, writing of these *Paspeper* of *Lugduno*, and *Humiliati*, and dividing these two Orders from *Albigenses*, reporteth that the two former Orders were rejected of Pope *Lucius* the third. And in their place other two Orders were approved, to wit, the Order of the *Dominick* Friars, and of the *Franciscans*. Which seemeth not to be true, forasmuch as this Pope *Lucius* was twenty years before *Innocent* the third: and yet neither in the time of Pope *Innocent* the Order of the *Dominick* Friars was approved; but in the time of Pope *Honorius* the third, who was forty years after Pope *Lucius*. Again, *Bernardus Lutzenbergensis*, in *Catal. Heret.* affirmeth, That these *Paspeper* of *Lugduno*, or *Waldenses*, began first, Anno 1218. Which if it be true, then must the other report of *Emilius* be false, writing of the Sect of *Paspeper* of *Lugduno*, to be refused by Pope *Lucius* the 3d, who was long before this, in the year of our Lord 1187.

Amongst other Authors which write of these *Waldenses*, See the *Sto. Joannes Sleid. lib. 16.* intreating of their Continuance and Doctrine, thus writeth of them. There be, faith he, in the French Province a People called *Waldays*. These of an ancient trade and custom among them, do not acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome*, and ever have used a manner of

Doctrine, somewhat more pure than the rest, but especially since the coming of *Luther*, they have increased in more knowledge and perfection of judgment. Wherefore they have been oftentimes complained upon to the King, as tho they contemned the Magistrate, and would move Rebellion, with other such Matters falsely furnished against them, more of despite and malice, than of any just cause of truth. There be of them certain Towns and Villages, among which *Merindol* is one. Against these *Merindolians* Sentence was given five years past, at *Aix*, being the high Tribunal Seat or Judgment Place of *Provence*, that all should be destroyed without respect of Age or Person, in such sort, as that the Houses being plucked down, the Village should be made plain even with the ground, the Trees also should be cut down, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. Albeit, tho it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by the means of certain that perwaded the King to the contrary, namely, one *William Belsay*, who was at the same time the King's Lieutenant in *Piedmont*. But at the last, *April 12. 1545.* *John Minierius* President of the Council of *Aix*, calling the Senate, read the King's Letters, commanding them to execute the Sentence given, &c.

This Confession
from worthy
of perpetual
memory
shall be
more largely
set out by
H. Sleidan
writing of
the destruction
of *Cabriers*
and *Merindol*,
and also in
the French
History,
Re. Jean.
Sleidan. lib. 6.

Moreover, concerning the Confession and the Doctrine of the said *Merindolians*, received of ancient time from their Forefathers the *Waldenses*, thus it followeth in the said Book and Place of *John Sleidan*.

At last (saith *Sleidan*) after he had described what great cruelty was shewed against them, when the report hereof was bruited in *Germany*, it offended the minds of many: and indeed the *Switzers*, who were then of a contrary Religion to the Pope, intreated the King, that he would shew mercy to such as were fled. Whereunto the said King *Francis* made answer in this wise; pretending that he had just cause to do as he did: Inferring moreover, that they ought not to be careful what he did within his Dominions, or how he punished his Offenders, more than he was about their Affairs, &c. Thus hard was the King against them, notwithstanding (saith *Sleidan*) that he, the year before, had received from the said his Subjects of *Merindol*, a Confession of their Faith and Doctrine: The Articles whereof were, That they, according to the Christian Faith confessed, nrit God the Father, Creator of all things: The Son, the only Mediator and Advocate of Mankind: The Holy Spirit, the Comforter and Instructor of all Truth. They confessed also the Church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God's Elect, whereof Jesus Christ is head. The Ministers also of the Church they did allow, willing that such as did not their Duty should be removed.

And as touching Magistrates, they granted likewise the same to be ordained of God to defend the Good, and to punish the Transgressors. And how they owe to him, not Love only, but also Tribute and Custom, and no Man here-in to be excepted, even by the Example of Christ, who paid Tribute himself, &c.

Likewise of Baptism, they confessed the same to be a visible and an outward sign, that representeth to us the renewing of the Spirit, and mortification of the Members.

Furthermore, as touching the Lord's Supper, they said and confessed the same to be a Thanksgiving, and a Memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

Matrimony they affirmed to be Holy; and instituted of God, and to be inhibited to no Man.

That good Works are to be observed and exercised of all Men, as Holy Scripture teacheth.

That false Doctrine, which leadeth Men away from the true Worship of God, ought to be eschewed.

Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their Faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; professing that they believed all such things as are contained in the Apostolick Creed: Desiring moreover the King to give credit to this their declaration of their Faith; so that whatsoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard.

And thus much concerning the Doctrine and Confession of the *Merindolians* out of *Sleidan*, and also concerning their Descent and Offspring from the *Waldenses*.

The History of the Persecutions and Wars against the People called *Waldenses* or *Waldos*, in the Valleys of *Angrogne*, *Luserne*, *S. Martin*, *Perouse*, and others, in the Country of *Piedmont*, from the Year 1555, to the Year of our Lord 1561.

K. Hen. 8.

Persecut. Martyrs, and the Cause of their Martyrdom.

The Martyrs of the Valley of *Angrogne*.
The Martyrs of the Valley of *Lucerne*.
The Martyrs of *S. Martin*.
The Martyrs of *Perouse* and others.
In the Country of *Piedmont*. From the year 1555, unto 1561.

Persecution
in the Valley
of *Angrogne*,
Lucerne, *S.*
Martin, *Pe-*
rouse, in
Piedmont.

TO proceed now further in the persecution of these *Waldos*, or *Waldenses*, you have heard hitherto, first how they dividing themselves into divers Counties, some fled to *Provence*, to *Tolous*, of whom sufficient hath been said. Some went to *Piedmont*, and the Valley of *Angrogne*, of whom it followeth now to intreat. God willing.

Thus these good Men, by long Persecution, being driven from place to place, were grievously in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly dejected, nor yet compelled to yield to the superstitious and false Religion of the Church of *Rome*: but ever abstinant from their corruption and Idolatry, as much as was possible, and gave themselves to the Word of God, as a Rule both truly to serve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

They had many Books of the Old and New Testament translated into their Language. Their Ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their Enemies which could not abide the light, albeit they did not instruct them with such purity as was requisite. They lived in great simplicity, and with the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their Neighbours, abstaining from blasphemy and prophaining of the Name of God by Oaths, and such other impiety: from lewd games, dancing, filthy songs, and other vices and dissolute life, and conformed their life wholly to the rule of God's Word. Their principal care was always, that God might be rightly served, and his Word truly preached: Inasmuch that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the Light of his Gospel more clearly, they never spared any thing to establish the true and pure ministry of the Word of God and his Sacraments. Which was the cause that Satan with his Ministers did so persecute them of late more cruelly than ever he did before, as manifestly appeareth by the bloody and horrible Persecutions which have been, not only in *Provence*, against those of *Merindol* and *Cabriers*; also against them of *Prague* and *Calabria*, (as the Histories afore written do sufficiently declare) but also against them in the Country of *Piedmont*, remaining in the Valley of *Angrogne*, and of *Lucerne*, and also in the Valley of *S. Martin* and *Perouse*, in the said Country of *Piedmont*. Which People of a long time were persecuted by the Papists, and especially within these few years they have been vexed in such sort, and so diversly, that it seemeth almost incredible: and yet hath God always miraculously delivered them, as hereafter shall ensue.

Albeit the People of *Angrogne* had before this time certain to preach the Word of God, and minister the Sacraments unto them privately; yet in the year of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the month of *August*, the Gospel was openly preached in *Angrogne*. The Ministers

and

The Confession
& Faith
of the *Waldenses*
in *Merindol*.

The Parliament
of *Thurin*.

The President
of *S. Julian*.

Jacomel
Monks, an
Inquisitor

Monfieur
de la Tri-
nity;

The Gen-
tlemen of
the *Val-*
leys.

Charles
Truchet.

Boniface
Truchet.

The Col-
lateral de
Corbis.

The Col-
lateral de
Ecdlesia.

The Duke
of *Savoy*.

Monks of
Pigeoel.

And many
other
more, Enem-
ies of
God, and
Ministers
of Satan.

K. Hen. 8.

The Just
hand of God
upon John
Martin a
Persecutor.

and the People intended at the first to keep themselves still as secret as they might: but there was such concourse of People from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cause they built them a Church in the midst of *Angrogne*, where Assemblies were made, and Sermons preached. It hapned about that time, that one *John Martin of Briquerat*, a mile from *Angrogne*, which wanted every where, that he would slit the Minister's nose of *Angrogne*, was assaulted by a Wolf which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad. This was commonly known to all the Towns thereabout.

At this season the French King held these foresaid Valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Thurin*. In the end of *Decemb.* following, news was brought, that it was ordained by the said Parliament, that certain horsemen and footmen should be sent to spoil and destroy *Angrogne*. Whereupon some which pretended great friendship to this People, counselled them not to go forward with their Enterprize, but to forbear for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they notwithstanding calling upon God, determined with one accord constantly to persist in their Religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprize against *Angrogne* was soon dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in *Luserna*.

Bartholomew,
new school-
master, mar-
tyr.The Presi-
dent of St.
Julian and
other letters
to the Angro-
gnians.

In the month of *March 1556*, the Ministers of the Valley of *St. Martin* preached openly. At that time certain Gentlemen of the Valley of *St. Martin* took a good Man named *Bartholomew*, a Bookbinder, Prisoner, as he passed by the said Valley, which was sent by and by to *Turin*; and there with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good Confession of his Faith, he suffered death: inasmuch that divers of the Parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy. Yet they of the said Parliament, being fore incensed against the *Valdoyes*, sent one named the President of *St. Julian*, associating unto him one called *Dr. Ecclesia*, and others, to hinder their enterprize. These coming first to the Valley of *Perouse*, whereas yet no Preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the Sermons of *Angrogne*, very much troubled and feared the poor People there.

From thence they went to the Valley of *St. Martin*, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor People, and threatening their utter ruin and destruction. After that they came to *Luserna*, troubling and vexing the People there in like manner. From thence they went to *Angrogne*, accompanied with many Gentlemen, and a great rabble of Priests of the said Country. But by the way, the President enquired for one dwelling at *St. John* near to *Angrogne*, and examined him, Whether he had not baptized his Child at *Angrogne*, and wherefore he had so done? The poor simple Man answered, that he had baptized his Child at *Angrogne*, because Baptism was there ministered according to the institution of Christ. Then the President in great rage commanded him in the King's Name to baptize his Child again, or else he should be burnt. The poor Man desired the President that he might be suffered to make his Prayer to God, before he should make answer therunto. Which after he had done in the Hall, before all the company there present, he required the President that he would write, and sign the same with his own hand, that he would discharge him before God, of the danger of that offence, if he should baptize his Child again, and that he would take the peril upon him and his. The President hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one word a good while after. Then said he, in a great fury, Away thou Villain out of my sight; and after that he was never called more.

Note here
how the
Popish play
the Anabap-
tists.
Example of
good prayer.The Presi-
dent con-
founded at
the poor
Man's an-
swer.

After they were come to *Angrogne*, the President having visited the two Temples, caused a Monk to preach in the one, the People being there assembled: who pretended nothing else, but only to exhort them to return to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*. The foresaid Monk, with the President, and all his whole Retinue, kneeled down twice, and called upon the Virgin *Mary*: but the Ministers and all the People stood still, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the Monk had ended his Sermon, the People requested instantly, that their Minister might also be suffered to preach, affirming that the said Monk had spoken many things which were not according to the Word of God. But the President would not grant their Request. After that

The people
would not
kneel to pray
to our Lady.

the said President admonished them, in the Name of the King and the Parliament of *Thurin*, that they should return to the Obedience of the Pope, upon pain of loss of Goods and Life, and utter destruction of their Town. And wihal he recited unto them the pious discomfiture of their Brethren and Friends, which had been done before in *Merindol* and *Cabriers*, and other places in the Country of *Provence*. The Ministers and the People answered, that they were determined to live according to the Word of God, and that they would obey the King and all their Superiors in all things, so that God thereby were not displeased: and furthermore, if it were shewed unto them by the Word of God, that they erred in any point of Religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours together, even until night. In the end, the President said there should be a Disputation appointed for those matters. Whereunto the People gladly agreed. But after that there was no more mention made thereof.

The People
of Angrogne
threatened
with destruc-
tion.The Angro-
gnians desired
to be tried
by the Word
of God.The Syn-
diques were
as Sheriffs,
Cancellors,
or Judges
in cases.

Here he remained fourteen days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them with new Proclamations, now calling to him the Syndiques and head-Officers, now severally, and now altogether, that so for fear he might make them relent: causing also Assemblies to be made in every Parish by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the People. Notwithstanding he nothing prevailed with all that he could do: but still they continued constant. In so much that they with one accord presented a brief Confession of their Faith, with an answer to certain Interrogatories propounded by the President. In the which they confessed,

The Articles
and Confessi-
on of the
Angro-
gnians exhi-
bited to the
President.

That the Religion wherein both they and their Elders had been long instructed and brought up, was the same which is contained both in the Old and New Testament, the which is also briefly comprised in the twelve Articles of the Christian Belief.

Also, that they acknowledged the Sacraments instituted by Christ, whereby he distributed abundantly his Graces and great Benefits, his heavenly Riches and Treasures to all those which receive the same with a true and lively Faith.

Furthermore, that they received the Creeds of the four General Councils: that is to say, of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, and also the Creed of *Athanasius*, wherein the Mystery of the Christian Faith and Religion is plainly and largely set out.

Item, The Ten Commandments expressed in the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*, and in the 5th of *Deuteronomy*, in the which the Rule of a godly and holy Life, and also the true Service which God requireth of us, is briefly comprised: and therefore following this Article, they suffered not by any means (said they) any gross Iniquities to reign amongst them; as unlawful Swearing, Perjury, Blaiphemy, Cursing, Slandering, Diffention, Deceit, wrong Dealing, Usury, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Whoredom, Theft, Murder, Sorcery, Witchcraft, or such like; but who ly endeavoured themselves to live in the Fear of God, and according to his holy Will.

Moreover, they acknowledged the Superior Powers, as Princes and Magistrates, to be ordained of God; and that whosoever resisteth the same, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and therefore humbly submitted themselves to their Superiors with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God.

Finally, they protested, That they would in no point be stubborn, but if that their Forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning true Religion, the same being proved by the Word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed.

Their Interrogatories were concerning the Mass, Auricular Confession, Baptism, Marriage, and Burials, according to the institution of the Church of *Rome*.

Their An-
swers to the
Interroga-
tories.
Mass.

To the first they answered, That they received the Lord's Supper as it was by him instituted, and celebrated by his Apostles: but as touching the Mass, except the same might be proved by the Word of God, they would not receive it.

To the second, touching Auricular Confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his in the Prayer which

x John 1. he taught them: *Lord forgive us our sins.* And as St. *John* faith: *If we confess our sins to God, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* And according to that which God himself faith by his Prophet; *O Israel, if thou return, return unto me.* And again, *O Israel, it is I, it is I which forgive thee thy sins.* So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he only which forgiveth sins, therefore they were bound to confess themselves to God only, and to no other. Also it appeareth, that *David* in his Psalms, and the Prophets, and other faithful Servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet if the contrary might be proved by the Word of God, they would (say they) with all humbleness receive the same.

Baptism. Thirdly, As touching Baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy Institution of Christ, and administered the same with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his Holy Gospel, without any changing, adding or diminishing in any point, and that all this they did in their Mother-Tongue, according to the Rule of St. *Paul*, who willeth that in the Church every thing be done in the Mother-Tongue, for the edification of our Neighbour: but as for their Conjurations, Oiling, and Salting, except the same might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

The manner of Burials. Fourthly, As touching Burials, they answered, that they knew there is a difference between the Bodies of the true Christians and the Infidels, inasmuch as the first are the Members of Jesus Christ, Temples of the Holy Ghost, and partakers of the glorious Resurrection of the Dead, and therefore they accustomed to follow their Dead to the Grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the Word of God, as well to comfort the Parents and Friends of the Dead, as also to admonish all Men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of Candles or Lights, praying for the Dead, ringing of Bells, except the same might be proved to be necessary by the Word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them.

Objection to Mens traditions. Fifthly, As touching obedience to Mens Traditions, they received and allowed all those Ordinances which (as St. *Paul* faith) serve for Order, Decency, and Reverence of the Ministry. But as for other Ceremonies, which have been brought into the Church of God, either as a part of Divine Service, or to merit remission of Sins, or else to bind Mens Consciences, because they are repugnant to the Word of God, they could by no means receive them.

Councils not to be preferred before God's Word. And whereas the Commissioners affirmed the said Traditions to have been ordained by Councils: first, they answered, that the greatest part of them were not ordained by Councils. Secondly, That Councils were not to be preferred above the Word of God, which faith, *If any Man, yea or Angel from Heaven, should preach unto you otherwise, than that which hath been received of the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed.* And therefore (said they) if Councils have ordained any thing dissenting from the Word of God, they would not receive it.

Councils not kept of the Pupils in many points. Finally, they said, That the Councils had made divers notable Decrees concerning the election of Bishops and Ministers of the Church: concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline, as well of the Clergy as of the People; also concerning the distribution of the Goods and Possessions of the Church; and further, that all Pastors which were either Whoremongers, Drunkards, or offensive in any case, should be put from their Office. Moreover, that whosoever should be present at the Mass of a Priest which was an Whoremonger, should be excommunicate. And many such other things which were not in any point observed. And that they omitted to speak of many other things which were ordained by divers Councils, very superfluous, and contrary to the holy Commandments of God, as they would be ready to prove (said they) if they should have occasion and opportunity thereunto.

Disputation required. Wherefore they required the Commissioners, that a Disputation might be had (as by the said President was pretended) publicly, and in their presence, and then if it might be proved by the Word of God, that they erred either in Doctrine, or Conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed,

as they had before said. Beseeching them to consider also that their Religion had been observed and kept from their Ancestors, until their time, many hundred years together: and yet for their parts, being convicted by the infallible Word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defence thereof. Saying moreover, that they, together with the said Lords Deputies, confessed all one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghost, one Law, one Baptism, one Hope in Heaven; and in sum, they affirmed that their Faith and Religion was firmly founded and grounded upon the pure Word of God: wherefore it is said, that *blest are they which bear the same, and keep it.*

To be short, seeing it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews (which are mortal Enemies to our Saviour Christ) to dwell peaceably in the fairest Cities of Christendom; by good reason they should be suffered to live in the desolate Mountains and Valleys, having their whole Religion founded upon the holy Gospel, and worshipping the Lord Jesus, and therefore they most humbly besought them to have pity and compassion upon them, and to suffer them to live quietly in their Deserts; protesting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their Lord and Prince, and to his Lieutenants and Officers.

The President, and the rest of the Commissioners, perceiving that they laboured in vain, returned to *Thurin* with the Notes of their Proceedings: the which immediately were sent unto the King's Court, and there the matter remained one year before there was any answer made thereunto. During which time the *Waldos* lived in great quietness, as God of his infinite goodness is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor Servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful so augmented, that throughout the Valleys God's Word was purely preached, and his Sacraments duly administered, and no Mass was sung in *Angrogne*, nor in divers other places. The year after, the President of St. *Julian*, with his Associates, returned to *Pignoral*, and sent for thither the chief Rulers of *Angrogne*, and of the Valley of *Luserne*, that is, for six of *Angrogne*, and for two of every Parish besides, and shewed unto them, how that the last year they had presented their Confession, the which, by a Decree made by the Parliament of *Turin*, was sent to the King's Court, and there diligently examined by learned Men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore the King willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, upon pain of loss, both of Goods and Life: in-joining them moreover to give him a direct answer within three days. From thence he went to *Luserne*, and caused the householders, with great threatenings, to assemble themselves before certain by him appointed: but they with one assent persisted in their former Confession. And lest they should seem stubborn in the defence of any erroneous Doctrine, they desired that their Confession might be sent to all the Universities of Christendom, and if the same in any part by the Word of God were disproved, it should immediately be amended: but contrariwise, if that were not done, then they to be no more disquieted.

The President not contented with this, the next morning sent for six of *Angrogne* by him named, and for two out of every other Parish, the which he and the Gentlemen of the Country threatened very sore and warned twelve of the chief of *Angrogne*, and certain of the other Parishes to appear personally at the Parliament of *Thurin*, and to bring before the Judges of the said Parliament their Ministers and Schoolmasters, thinking, if they were once banished the Country, that then their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To the which it was answered, that they could not, nor ought not to obey such a Commandment.

A little while after Proclamation was made in every place, that no Man should receive any Preacher coming from *Genova*, but only such as were appointed by the Archbishop of *Thurin*, and other his Officers, upon pain of confiscation of their Goods, and loss of their Lives, and that every one should observe the Ceremonies, Rites, and Religion used in the Church of *Rome*. Furthermore, if any of the foresaid Preachers of *Rome* came into those quarters, that they should immediately be apprehended, and by no means their abode there by any one to be concealed, upon the pain aforesaid. And furthermore, the names of those which should disclose any one of them should be kept secret, and

H. Hen. 2.

For the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, see before.

Turks and Jews find more favour with the Papists than the true Christians.

A breathing time given of God to the Angrogne.

Persecution again begins against the Angrogne.

The Lutheran require trial by God's Word.

The Angrogne sent to bring in their Ministers and Schoolmasters.

Proclamation made at Angrogne.

K. Hen. 8

and also for their accusation, they should have the third part of the Goods confiscated, with a full pardon, if that the said Accusers were any of those which privily did keep or maintain the said Ministers: and that they and all other, which would return to their Mother the Church, might freely and safely come and recant before the said Commissioners.

The Germans under supplication for the Angrogneans.

At the same season the Princes of Germany, and certain of the *Switzers*, sent unto the French King, desiring him to have pity on the foresaid Churches; and from that time, until three years after, the People of the foresaid Valleys were not molested by any of the Kings Officers, but they were fore vexed by the Monks of *Pignerol*, and the Gentlemen of the Valley of *St. Martin*.

Geffrey Variatilis, a virtuous and learned Man, and fearing God, went to visit certain Churches in those Quarters where he was born, and coming homeward was taken at *Berge*, and from thence led to *Tourin*, where he, after he had made a good Confession of his Faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his Adversaries, most constantly suffered.

A notable example of a good Hangman.

About that time a Minister of *Angrogne*, named *Geffrey Variatilis*, born in *Piedmont*, a virtuous and learned Man, and fearing God, went to visit certain Churches in those Quarters where he was born, and coming homeward was taken at *Berge*, and from thence led to *Tourin*, where he, after he had made a good Confession of his Faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his Adversaries, most constantly suffered.

A few days after a Minister of the Valley of *Lusene*, returning to *Geneva*, was taken Prisoner at *Suse*, and soon after sent to *Tourin*, and with an invincible constancy made his Confession before those of the Parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The Hangman at the time of Execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so conveyed himself away. And so likewise another served them, being appointed by the foresaid Count to execute the poor Minister. It is credibly reported that the Hangman, which executed certain Gentians a little before, would by no means do this execution. Whereupon the Minister was sent to Prison again, where after long and painful endurance, seeing the Prison door open, he escaped, and returned to his Cure.

Now four years being past, in such manner, as we have hitherto touched in this story, in the year following, which was 1552, there was a Peace concluded between the French King and the King of *Spain*. Whereupon the Country of *Piedmont* (certain Towns excepted) was restored to the Duke of *Savoy*: under whose Regiment the foresaid Churches, and all other faithful People in *Piedmont*, continued in great quietness, and were not molested: and the Duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their Religion, knowing that he had no Subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan hating all quietness, by his Ministers stirred the Duke against the said Churches of *Piedmont*, his own natural Subjects. For the Pope and the Cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the Duke towards this People, incited him to do that, which otherwise he would not. The Pope's Legat also which then followed the Court and others that favoured the Church of *Rome*, laboured by all means to persuade the Duke, that he ought to banish the said *Waldays*, which maintained not the Pope's Religion: alleging, that he could not suffer such a People to dwell within his Dominion, without prejudice and dishonour to the Apostolick See. Also that they were a rebellious People against the holy Ordinances and Decrees of their holy Mother the Church. And briefly, that he might no longer suffer the said People, being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy Father, if he would indeed shew himself a loving and obedient Son.

The Pope thrusts up the Duke of Savoy against the Angrogneans.

Such devilish Intigations were the cause of these horrible and furious Persecutions, wherewith these poor People of the Valleys, and the Country of *Piedmont*, was so long vexed. And because they foresaw the great Calamities which they were like to suffer, to find some remedy for the same (if it were possible) all the said Churches of *Piedmont*, with one common consent wrote to the Duke, declaring in effect, that the only cause why they were so hated, and for the which he was by their Enemies so fore incited against them, was their Religion, which was no new, or light Opinion, but that wherein they and their Ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved by the same Word, that they held any false or erroneous Doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

But it is not certain whether this Advertisement was delivered unto the Duke or no: for it was said that he would not hear of that Religion. But howsoever it was in the month of *March* following, there was a great Perfection raised against the poor Christians which were at *Carignan*. Amongst whom there were certain godly Persons taken, and burnt within four days after; that is to say, one named *Masharine*, and his Wife, and *John de Carquignam*, dwelling in the Valley of *Lusene*, taken Prisoner as he went to the Market at *Pignerol*. The Woman died with great constancy. The good Man, *John de Carquignam*, had been in Prison divers times before for Religion, and was always delivered by God's singular Grace and Providence. But seeing himself taken this last time, incontinent he said, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way as he went, and in Prison, and also at his death, he shewed an invincible constancy, and marvellous virtue, as well by the pure Confession which he made touching the Doctrine of Salvation, as also in suffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured, both in Prison, and also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great cruelty, and fearing also Man more than God, looking rather to the Earth than to Heaven, consented to return to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

Masharine and his Wife John de Carquignam, Martyrs.

Within few days after, these Churches of the said *Waldays*, that is to say, *Le Larch*, *Moronne*, *Meane*, and *Suse*, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that was there committed, it were too long: for brevities sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The Churches of *Meane* and *Suse* suffered great affliction. Their Minister was taken amongst others. Many fled away, and their Houses and Goods were ransacked and spoiled. The Minister was a good and faithful Servant of God, and ended with excellent Gifts and Graces, who in the end was put to most shameful and cruel death. The great patience which he shewed in the midst of the fire, greatly astonished the Adversaries. Likewise the Churches of *Larch* and *Moronne* were marvellously tormented and afflicted. For some were taken and sent to the Gallies, other some consented and yielded to the Adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that those which yielded to the Adversaries, were more cruelly handled than the others which continued constant in the Truth. Whereby God declareth how greatly he detesteth all such as play the Apostates, and shrink from the Truth.

Persecution beguneth in the Valleys.

The Minister of Meane, martyr.

But for the better understanding of the beginning of this horrible Persecution against the *Waldays*, here note, that first of all the Proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the Sermons of the Lutherans, but should live after the custom of the Church of *Rome*, upon pain of forfeiture of their Goods, and to be condemned to the Gallies for ever, or lose their lives. Three of the most cruel Persons that could be found, were appointed to execute this Commission. The first was one *Thomas Jacomet* a Monk, and Inquisitor of the Romish Faith: a Man worthy for such an Office, for he was an Apostate, and had renounced the known Truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the poor Christians, against his own Conscience, and of set purpose, as his Books do sufficiently witness: he was also a Whoremonger, and given over to all other Villanies and filthy living, and in the horrible sin of Sodomy, which he commonly used, he passed all his Fel-lows. Briefly, he was nothing else but a mishapen Monster both against God and Nature. Moreover, he so afflicted and tormented the poor Captives of the said *Waldays*, by spoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deserved not only to be hanged, but to be broken upon the Wheel too times, and to suffer so many cruel deaths, if it were possible: so great, so many, and so horrible were the Crimes that he had committed.

God's secret judgement upon those that shrink from his Truth.

Cruel Persecutors. To Jacomet a cruel Apostate.

The second was the Collateral *Corbis*, who in the Examination of the Prisoners, was very rigorous and cruel: for he only demanded of them, Whether they would go to the Mass, or be burnt within three days? and in very deed executed his sayings. But it is certainly reported, that he seeing the constancy, and hearing the Confession of the poor Martyrs, feeling a remorse, and tormented in Conscience, protested that he would never meddle any more.

The signers of the Waldays.

The

The third was the Provost *de la Justice*, a cruel and crafty Wretch, accustomed to apprehend the poor Christians, either by night, or early in the morning, or in the highway going to the Market, and was commonly lodged in the Valley of *Lusarne*, or thereabouts. Thus the poor People were always as the silly Sheep in the Wolves Jaws, or as the Sheep which are led unto the Slaughter-house.

The cruel Monks of Pignrol.

At that season one named *Charles de Comptes*, of the Valley of *Lusarne*, and one of the Lords of *Angrogne*, wrote to the said Commissioners, to use some lenity towards them of the Valley of *Lusarne*. By reason whereof they were a while more gently entreated than the rest. At that season the Monks of *Pignrol*, and their Associates, tormented grievously the Churches near about them. They took the poor Christians as they passed by the way, and kept them Prisoners within their Abbey. And having assembled a Company of Ruffians, they sent them to spoil those of the said Churches, and to take Prisoners Men, Women, and Children; and some they so tormented, that they were compelled to swear to return to the Mass; other some also they sent to the Gallies, and other some they burnt cruelly. They which escaped, were afterward so sick, that they seemed to have been poisoned. The same year there were two great Earthquakes in *Piedmont*, and also many great Tempests and horrible Thunders.

Martyrs

The Gentlemen of the Valley of *St. Martin*, entreated their Tenants very cruelly, threatening them, and commanding them to return unto the Mass; also spoiling them of their Goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the other, two especially, that is to say, *Charles Truchet*, and *Boniface* his Brother, the which, the second day of *April*, before day, with a company of Ruffians, spoiled a Village of their own Subjects, named *Renclaret*: the which as soon as the Inhabitants of the said Village perceived, they fled into the Mountain covered with Snow, naked and without Victual, and there remained until the third night after. In the morning, certain of his Retinue took a Minister of the said Valley Prisoner, which was come out of *Calabria*, and was going to visit the poor People of *Renclaret*, and led him Prisoner to the Abby, where soon after he was burnt, with one other of the Valley of *St. Martin*.

Ch. Truchet and Boniface his Brother, two cruel Persecutors.

A Minister of Calabria burnt.

The third night after, they of *Pragela*, having pity upon the poor People of *Renclaret*, sent about four hundred to discomfit the company of the *Truchets*, and to restore those which were fled to their Houses. They were furiously assailed by the host of their Enemies, who notwithstanding in the end were put to flight, and but one of the four hundred hurt.

God's people rescued.

About the year before, the said *Truchet*, being accompanied with a company of Ruffians, arrested Prisoner the Minister of *Renclaret* as he was at his Sermon. But the People were so moved by his outrageous dealing, and especially the Women, that they had almost strangled the said *Truchet*; and the rest of them were so canvassed, that they had no list to come there again any more. By reason whereof he vexed them by Processes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him sixteen hundred Crowns.

A Minister of the Valley of Renclaret taken & wounded.

Soon after the Lords of the said Valley took another Minister of the same Valley, as he was going to preach in a Parish a mile from his house, but the People perceiving that, speedily pursued him and took him. The Enemies, seeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him so sore, that they left him for dead. Whereupon they so persecuted the poor People, that they were almost destroyed.

Pale complaints brought to the Duke against the Waldos.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the same night, in the which the company of *Truchet* was discomfited, was so stormy and terrible, and the Gentlemen of that Country were so terrified, that they thought they should have been all destroyed. Wherefore they used more gentleness towards the people than before. Except *Charles Truchet* and his Brother, the which went to the Duke, and made grievous complaints against the *Waldos*, not only for that which was done and past, but also perfwaded the Duke, that they went about to build three Fortresses in the Mountains, and also intended to maintain certain Garrisons of Strangers, charging them further with divers other Crimes, of the which they were in no point guilty. The Duke being moved by these false surmises, gave in charge to the said Accusers, that the Fortres of the Valley of *St. Martin*, the which about twenty years before was razed by the

Frenchmen, should be built again, and that therein should be placed a perpetual Garrison, and that the People should make to plain and wide the rugged ways, that Horsemen might easily pass; with divers such other things. And all this to be done at the costs and charges of those that would not submit themselves to the Obedience of the Roman Church.

Chap. 8. What cruel reports are.

This Commission being sealed, the Gentlemen caused the Fortres to be built again, and put therein a Garrison, and proclaimed the Commission. The poor people being thereat amazed, withstood the Commissioners, and sent certain to the Duke: and immediately after the Commissioners returned to the Dukes Court, being at *Nice*, to inflame his anger more against them. But God soon prevented this mischief: For the *Truchets* being at *Nice*, went to the Sea with divers Noblemen, and immediately they were taken Prisoners by the Turks, put into the Gallies, fore beaten with Ropes, and so cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were dead; and long time after, denying their Nobility, were sent home, having paid 400 Crowns for their ransom. Some say, that the Duke himself was almost taken. But it is sure that he fell sick soon after. In the month of *April* next following, the Lord of *Raconis* was present at a Sermon, in a place near unto *Angrogne*. The Sermon being ended, he talked with the Ministers: and having discountred as well of the Duke's sickness, as also of his clemency and gentleness, he declared to them, that the Persecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not that the Commission should have been so rigorously executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought best to appease the Duke's wrath: they answered, that the People ought not to be moved to seek by any means how to please and appease the Duke, which might displease God. But the best way they knew, was the same wherewith the ancient Servants of God used to appease the Pagan Princes and Emperors, in the time of the great persecutions of the Church: that is to say, to give out and present unto them in writing the Confession of their Faith, and defence of the Religion which they professed, trusting that, forasmuch as the fury of divers prophane and Ethnick Emperors and Princes hath been heretofore appeased by such means, the Duke being endued with such singular Vertues as they said he was, would also be pacified by the like means. And for that cause the poor People had before sent a Supplication, with a Confession of their Faith unto the Duke, but they were not certain whether he had received it or no: wherefore they desired him to present the same unto the said Duke himself. Whereunto he agreed, and promised so to do. Whereupon they sent three Supplications, one to the Duke, the second to the Dutchess, and the third to the Duke's Council: wherein they briefly declared what their Religion was, and the Points thereof, which they and their Ancestors had of a long time observed, being wholly grounded upon the pure Word of God: and it by the same Word it would be proved that they were in error, they should not be obstinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the Truth. After this the Persecution seemed to be somewhat asswaged for a little while.

The last judgment of God upon the Truchets, so cruelly vexing, spoiling, and scolding of their poor Waldos.

By what means the Christians for times past have appeased the fury of Pagan Princes.

In the end of *June* next following, the Lord of *Raconis* and the Lord of *Trinity*, came to *Angrogne*, there to qualify (as they said) the sore Persecution, and caused the chief Rulers and Ministers to assemble together, propounding divers Points of Religion concerning Doctrine, the calling of Ministers, the Mass, and obedience towards Princes and Rulers: and furthermore declared unto them, that their Confession was sent unto *Rome* by the Duke, and daily they looked for answer. To all these Points the Ministers answered. After this they demanded of the chief Rulers, if that the Duke should cause Mass to be sung in their Parishes, whether they would withstand the same or no? They answered simply, that they would not. Then they demanded of them, if that the Duke would appoint them Preachers, whether they would receive them? They answered, that if they preached the Word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, if that they were content that in the mean time their Ministers should cease, and if they which should be sent preached not the Word of God sincerely, then their Ministers to preach again. If they would agree to this, they were promised that the Persecution should cease, and the Prisoners should be restored again. To this question, after they had conferred with the People, they answered,

The Angrogneans send forth three Supplications.

The Confession of the Angrogneans sent to the Pope. Demands put to the Angrogneans.

R. Hen. S. answered, that they could by no means suffer that their Ministers should forbear preaching.

The two Lords not contented with this Answer, commanded in the Duke's Name, that all the Ministers which were strangers, should out of hand be banished the Country; saying, that the Duke would not suffer them to dwell within his Dominion for that they were his Enemies. Demanding also whether they would foster and maintain the Princes Enemies within his own Land against his own Decree and expresse Commandment? To the which answer was made by the chief Rulers, That they could by no means banish them, unless they were afore convicted of some Heretic or other Crime; for their part they had always found them to be Men of pure and sound Doctrine, and also of godly life and Conversation.

The done, immediately Proclamations were made, and the Persecution began on every side to be more furious than it was before. Amongst others, the Monks of Pignoral at that time were most cruel; for they sent out a Company of hired Ruffians which daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands of; took Men, Women, and Children, and led them Captives to the Abby, where they were most spitefully afflicted and tormented. At the same time they sent also a Band of the said Ruffians by night to the Ministers house of St. Germain, in the Valley of Perouse, being led thither by a Traitor that knew the house, and had used to haunt thither secretly; who knocking at the door, the Minister knowing his voice, came forth immediately, and perceiving himself to be betrayed, fled; but he was taken and sore wounded, and yet notwithstanding they pricked him behind with their Halberds to make him hasten his pace. At that time also many they slew, many they hurt, and many also they brought to the Abby, and there kept them in Prison, and cruelly handled them. The good Minister endured sore Imprisonment, and after that a most terrible kind of death with a wonderful Conscience; for they roasted him by a small fire; and when half his body was burnt, he confessed and called upon the Lord Jesus with a loud voice.

The Inquisitor *Jacomel*, with his Monks, and the collateral *Carbis* amongst other, slewed one Practice of most barbarous Cruelty against this poor Man; who when he should be burnt, caused two poor Women of St. Germain (which they kept in Prison) to carry Fagots to the fire, and to speak these Words unto their Pastor; Take this thou wicked Heretic, in recompence of thy naughty Doctrine, which thou hast taught us. To whom the good Minister answered; Ah good Woman! I have taught you well, but you have learned ill. To be brief, they so afflicted and tormented those poor People of St. Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their Goods, and driven from their houses, they were compelled to flee into the Mountain to save their lives. So great was the spoil of these poor People, that many which before had been Men of much Wealth, and with their Riches had ministered great Succour and Comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to crave Succour and Relief of others.

Now so far as much as the said Monks, with their Troops of Ruffians (which were counted to be in number about three hundred) made such spoil and havock in all the Country, that no Man could there live in safety: It was demanded of the Ministers, Whether it was lawful to defend themselves against the Insolence and furious Rage of the said Ruffians? The Ministers answered, That it was lawful, warning them in any case, to take heed of Bloodshed. This Question being once dissolved, they of the Valley of Luferne and of *Angrongne*, sent certain Men to them of St. Germain to aid them against the Supporters of these Monks.

In the Month of June the Harvest being then in Primment, divers of the *Waldays* were gone into the Country to reap and to make provision for Corn, for very little growth upon their Mountains: the which were all taken Prisoners at sundry times and places, not one knowing of another; but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of Prison, as it were by a Miracle: whereat the Advocates were marvelously astonished. At the same time there were certain other also which had sustained long Imprisonment, looking for nothing else but death; and yet they after a wonderful sort, by God's merciful Providence, were likewise delivered.

In the Month of July they of *Angrongne* being in a morning at harvest upon the Hill side of St. Germain, perceived a Company of Soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain; and doubting lest they should go to *Angrongne*, made an out-cry. Then the People of *Angrongne* assembled together upon the Mountain, and some ran to St. Germain over the Hill, and some by the Valley. They which went by the Valley met with the Spoilers coming from St. Germain, laden with Spoil, which they had gotten, and being but fifty, set upon the other, amounting to the number of one hundred and twenty Men well appointed, and gave them soon the overthrow. The Passage over the Bridge being stopped, the Enemies were fain to take the River *Cluzon*, where divers were sore hurt, many were drowned, and some escaped very hardly, and such a Slaughter was made of them, that the River was dyed with the Blood of them which were wounded and slain, but none of the *Angrongnians* were once hurt. If the said River had been as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one Man escaped alive. The noise of the *Haxquibasses* was great, and within less than one hours space, there was three or four hundred of the *Waldays* gathered together upon the River; and at the same time they had purposed to fetch away their Prisoners which were in the Abby, but they would not do it without the Counsel of their Ministers, and so deferred the matter until the next day. But their Ministers counselled them not to enterprise any such thing, but to refrain themselves, and so they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent after that discomfiture unto the Abby, they might have found all open and easily have entered; for the Monks were so sore afraid, that they fled suddenly to *Pignoral*, to save their Reliques and Images, which they carried thither. The rest of the Country about were wonderfully afraid, and rang the Bells every where. The greater part of them fled, doubting lest the poor *Waldays* would have revenged the Wrongs and Outrages done to them.

The next day following, the Commander of St. Anthony de Fossan came to *Angrongne*, accompanied with divers Gentlemen, saying, that he was sent by the Duke; and having assembled the chief Rulers and Ministers of *Angrongne*, and of the Valley of *Luferne*, after he had declared unto them the cause of his coming, he read their Supplication directed to the Duke, which contained their Confession, demanding of them, if it were the fine which they had sent to the Duke? They answered, yea. Then he began to dispute, being sent, as he said, to inform them of their Errors, not doubting but they would amend according to their promise. Then he entered into a Disputation of the *Mais*, in a great heat, deriving the same from the Hebrew word *Massa*, which signified (as I have said) a great word, and shewed that this word *Massa* might be derived out of the Hebrew word; and further, that they did apply the Hebrew word; and further, that they did not of the word *Missa*, but of that which is signified by the same, the which he ought first to prove by the Word of God, or the ancient Fathers their private *Mais*, their Sacrifice expiatory or propitiatory, their Transubstantiation, their Adoration, their Application of the same for the quick and the dead, and such other matters which are principal parts of the same *Mais*. The Commander having here nothing to reply, fell into a marvellous Choller, railing and raging as if he had been stark mad, and told them that he was not come to dispute, but to banish their Ministers, and to place others in their rooms, by the Duke's Commandment, which he could not, unless their Ministers were first driven out of the Country.

From thence he went to the Abby of *Pignoral*, where he and *Jacomel* caused a number of the poor Inhabitants of *Campillon*, and of *Fent*, which be of the Valley of *Luferne*, to be taken Prisoners, spoiling them of their Goods, driving away their Cattel, and forcing them to swear and forswear, and in the end ransomed them for great Sums of Money. About that time a Gentleman of *Campillon* agreed with those which were fled, for thirty Crowns to be paid unto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quiet at home. But when he had received the Money, he caused the Commander of *Fossan* with his Men by night to come to his house, and then sent for the poor Men, thinking

Vidory of
the An-
grongnians
over their
Enemies.

The Com-
mander
of St. An-
thony de
Fossan

as I have
said

Disputation
of the
Mails

the poor
Inhabitants
of the Val-
ley of Lufer-
ne, who
were taken
Prisoners

The An-
grongnians
did not
put away
their
Ministers

The Monks
of Pignoral
were cruel
against
the An-
grongnians

The Min-
ister of St.
Germain
was
trayed and
taken.
His
barons
cruelly
slew
him
and
his
son
the
Minister
of St.
Germain

Two Wo-
men com-
pelled
to carry
Fagots to
burn their
Pastor.

Whether it
be lawful
for the per-
secuted peo-
ple of Chri-
st to re-
sist to their
own
defence.

Mirabilia
Dei.

The great Misery of the Angrongnians.

continually to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal Enemy, following therein the Decree of the Council of Constance, which is, That no promise is to be kept to Hereticks. But God, knowing how to succour his people in their necessity, prevented this danger; for one of them, of great Intelligence of the Commanders coming, and so they were warned. Thereupon they wrote to the Lord of *Raconis*, declaring unto him the proceedings of the Commander, and that he neither would nor could shew or prove any thing by the Word of God, as he had promised, but threatened them great Wrongs and Injuries, and would not suffer their Ministers to reply or say any thing for the defence of their Cause. And therefore they desired him to signify the same to the Dukes Grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they persisted still in their Religion, seeing it was not proved unto them by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

After this, there were many Commandments and Injunctions given out through all the Country, to banish these poor *Waldosy*, with the Doctrine of the Gospel, if it were possible, out of the Mountains and Valleys of *Piedmont*: but the poor people still desired, that according to that which they had so often before protested by Word and Writing, they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his Word: simply obeying their Lord and Prince always, and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the Cruelty that could be devised, as partly it is already declared; but much more you shall perceive by that which followeth.

In the end of *October* next following, the rumor went that an Army was levying to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain Bands levied, ready to march at an hours warning. Furthermore, those Malefactors which heretofore were fled or banished for any Offence or Crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their Weapons, and go to destroy the *Waldosy*. The Ministers and chief Rulers of the Valleys of *Luserne* and *Angrongne*, thereupon assembled together oftentimes to take advice what in such an extremity were best to do. In the end they determined, that for certain days following there should be kept a general Fast, and the Sunday after, a Communion. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of Arms, but that every one should withdraw himself to the high Mountains, and every one to carry away such Goods as they were able to bear; and if their Enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice and Counsel as it pleased God to give them. This Article of not defending themselves seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the Cause being so just. But yet every one began to carry their Goods and Victuals into the Mountains, and for the space of eight days all the Ways were filled with comers and goers to the Mountains, like unto Ants in Summer, which provide for Winter. All this did they in this great Perplexity and Danger, with a wonderful Courage and Cheerfulness, praising of God, and singing of Psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy, and alacrity, that you should not have seen any which grudged to leave their houses, and fair Possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

A few days after, certain other Ministers hearing what they of *Angrongne* and *Luserne* had concluded, wrote unto them, that this Resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the Violence of their Enemies, alledging many reasons, that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do, especially the quarrel being so just, that is, for the defence of true Religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their Wives and Children, knowing that it was the Pope and his Ministers which were the cause of all these Troubles and cruel Wars, and not the Duke, who was stirred up thereunto only by their Intigations. Wherefore they might well and with good Conscience withstand such furious and outrageous Violence. For the Proof hereof they also alledged certain Examples.

During this season the Lord of *Angrongne* named *Charles de Compiers of Luserne*, laboured earnestly by all means possible to cause them of *Angrongne* to condescend to the Duke's pleasure, and solicited them to send away their

Ministers, promising that he would cause a Mass to be sung at *Angrongne*, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat, hoping that by that means the Duke's wrath would be appeased. The chief of *Angrongne* thereupon were assembled and made this Answer; That if the Duke would permit them to chafe other Ministers, they were content to send away their foreign Ministers and Strangers. But as touching the Mass, his Highness might well cause it to be sung in their Parishes, but they for their part could not with safe Consciences be present at the same, nor yet give their consent unto it.

The two and twentieth of *October* the said Lord of *Angrongne* went from *Luserne* to *Mondevis*, where he was then Governour for the Duke, and sent for the chief Rulers of *Angrongne* at several times, declaring unto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were environed, the Army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves unto him, he would send immediately to stay the Army. They of *Angrongne* answered, That they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their Assembly, had put in writing. With this Answer he seemed at that present to be content. The next day the rumor was, That they of *Angrongne* had submitted themselves to the Duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, you should have seen nothing but weeping and mourning in *Angrongne*. The Sermon being ended, the Rulers were called before the Ministers and the People, the which affirmed, that they wholly cleaved unto their former writings; and they sent secretly to the Notary for the Copy of that which was passed in the Council-house at their last Assembly before the Lord of *Compiers*, in which was comprised, That *Angrongne* had wholly submitted her self to the good pleasure of the Duke. The People hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to dishonour than obey the same. And hereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant (albeit it were very late) certain should be sent to the Lord of *Angrongne* to signify unto him, that the determination of the Council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to *Angrongne* to hear the voices of the People, not only of the Men, but also of the Women and Children. But he himself went not thither, having intelligence of the Uprore, but sent thither the Judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the Judge laying all the blame upon the Notary.

During this time the Adversaries cried out through all the Country of *Piedmont*; To the fire with them, to the fire with them. The Thursday after *Angrongne*, by Proclamations set up in every place, was expoled to the Fire and Sword. On Friday after, being the second of *November*, the Army approached to the borders of the Valley of *Luserne*, and certain Horse-men came to a place called *St. John*, a little beneath *Angrongne*. Then the people retired into the Mountains. Certain of *St. John* perceiving that the Horse-men not only spoiled their Goods, but also took their Fellows Prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of their Enemies were there slain; but suddenly they retired to *Bubiane*, where their Camp then was, and not one of them of *St. John* was slain or hurt. It happened at the same time, that two of the aforesaid Horsemen, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the Army, being ready to march towards *Angrongne*, crying, They come, they come. At whose cry the whole Army was so astonished, that every Man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the Captains that day were not able to bring them in order again, and yet no Creature followed them.

On the Saturday in the Morning the Army mustered in the Meadow-ground of *St. John*, near to *Angrongne*. They of *Angrongne* had sent certain to keep the Passages, and stop the Army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean season the people retired into the Meadow of *Torre*, and little thought of the coming of the Army so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden Assault; for they were yet carrying of Victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the Passages. Now they which kept the Straits, perceiving that their Enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their Prayers unto God, that it would please him to take pity upon them, and not to

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The Angrongnians refuse to hear Mass.

The determination and sentence of the Angrongnians was falsified.

open Proclamation against Angrongne.

Scarcely fled from the face of the Duke.

A Prayer of the Angrongnians.

Parables del vered, Christ par-fused.

Deliberation among the Waldosy, how to defend themselves, and how not to defend themselves.

Whether Subjects for Religion may stand in their own defence?

look upon their sins, but to the Cause which they maintained, to turn the hearts of their Enemies, and so to work, that there might be no effusion of Blood: and if it were his Will to take them, with their Wives and Infants out of this World, that he would then mercifully receive them into his Kingdom. In this sort most fervent Prayers were made of all those that kept the Passages, with Exhortation that they should all together cry unto God, and crave his succour and assistance in this great distress. All this the Lord of Trinity and the Army did well perceive.

Their Prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceived their Enemies coming towards them through the Vines to win the top of the Mountain of Angrogne. In the mean time the Prior of St. John and Jacomet were within the Temple of Angrogne, and communed with the Rulers touching an Agreement. These were sent thither by the Lord of Trinity to keep the People occupied. To be short, the Combat began in divers places, and endured for a long space in the Passages of Angrogne. The poor Waldosy being but few in number, and some of them having but Slings and Cross-bows, were fore pressed with the multitude of their Enemies. At length they retired to the top of the Mountain, where they defended themselves until Night.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their Enemies still pursuing them, they returned themselves, and slew divers of them, and hurt many. When the Evening came, the Enemies rested, and were about to encamp themselves, there to sup and lodge all night. Which thing when the Angrogians perceived, they fell to prayer, desiring God to assist and succour them, but the Enemies flouted them and laughed them to scorn. Then the poor people devised to send a Drum into a little Valley hard by. And as they were making their Prayers unto God, and the Drum sounded in the Valley, the Lord of Trinity caused his Souldiers, which were about to encamp themselves, to remove thence; which was a great vantage unto the poor People, which now were sore wearied with travel, all wet with sweating, and very thirsty, and in great peril, if God had not given them some little breathing-time. Many of the Enemies that day were slain, and many hurt, of the which very few escaped; in-fomuch that they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor simple people never used to do in all these Wars. Of the Angrogians that day there were but three slain, and one hurt, which afterwards was well healed again. This Combat gave great courage to the Waldosy, and fore astonished the Adventurers. The same time the Army retiring, burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went, destroying also the Vines which were in the Prefes.

The said Lord of Trinity with his Army camped in a Village beyond Tours, in the Valley of Lusene, at the foot of the hill, between Angrogne and the other Towns of the Valley of Lusene, which possessed the Gospel. They of the said Village were always fore against the Waldosy, Haters of true Religion, and were glad of this Out-rage and Violence done against the Professors thereof: but they had their just Plague, for they were all destroyed. After this the said Lord of Trinity caused the Fortrefs to be built again, which the Frenchmen had razed, and placed there a Garrison, and after sent another to the Fort of Villars, which is of the Valley of Lusene; and another he sent to the Fortrefs of Peruse, and a fourth Garrison he placed in the Castle of St. Martin. They of Angrogne (seeing themselves to be now, as it were, in a Sea of Troubles) after they had recommended themselves unto God by Prayer, and committed their cause unto him, sent to them of Peruse, St. Martin, and of Proglas, for aid and succour; which sent them all the help they were able.

The next day following there came Letters to Angrogne from the Lord of Trinity: the effect whereof was this; That he was sorry for that which was done the day before, and that he came not thither to make War against them, but only to view if it were a place convenient to build a Fort therein to serve the Duke. Furthermore, that his Souldiers seeing the People assembled, as it were to defend them, upon that occasion only were stirred up to give assault, and to set upon them. Also that he was sorry that such spoil was made of their Goods, and such hurt done

by fire. But if they would shew themselves obedient to the Duke, he had good hope that all should be well, and trusted some good Agreement should be made. The Angrogians answered, That they were marvellously aggrieved to be so assaulted, spoiled and tormented by the Subjects of their Leige and natural Prince: And as they had oftentimes before offered themselves to be more obedient and faithful to their Sovereign Prince the Duke, than any of all his Subjects besides; so yet they still offered the same Obedience. Also they most humbly besought him, not to think it strange if they, being constrained by such extreme necessity, defended themselves. Finally, as touching their Religion, they affirmed, that it was the pure Word of God, even as it was preached by the Prophets and Apostles, and the same which their Predecessors had observed for certain hundred years past. Moreover, that the cause was not concerning the Goods of the World, but the Honour and Glory of God, the Salvation or Destruction of the Souls both of them and theirs. And therefore it were much better for them to die all together, than to forsake their Religion. And yet if it might be proved unto them by good Demonstration out of the Word of God, that they were in error; not by force of Arms, by Blood and Fire, they would then yield themselves with all obedience; most humbly beseeching him, and all other the Lords of the Country of Piedmont, to be their Intercessors and Advocates to the Duke in this behalf.

Upon Monday being the fourth day of November, the Lord of Trinity sent his Army to Villars and Tailleur. The lesser Company ascended towards Villars. The People seeing their Enemies approaching, after they had called upon God with fervent Prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slew many: many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other Company ascended towards Tailleur. And altho they of that place were but few in number, and that part of the Army the greater, yet making their Prayers unto God, and commending their Cause unto him, they defended themselves likewise valiantly.

In the mean season, they of Villars being emboldened by their late Victory, came to assist their Neighbours, and being assembled together, they courageously pursued their Enemies, and put them to flight. In this Pursuit it chanced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poor people, by an Ambush of their Enemies which came another way, were suddenly enclosed on every side, and like to be destroyed; but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, which were soon cured again. On the Enemies side there were so many slain, that they were laid together by whole Cart-loads. This was the Reward of those which were desirous to shed innocent Blood. The same day the Inhabitants of Sanfio near to Roccapia, assembled in great number together, and went to a Rich Man's house of Roccapia, and spoiled all that he had. Certain of Roccapia (in number not past seventeen) understanding this, set upon them, and soon put them to flight, took away their Drum, and forced them to leave their Booty behind them.

After that the Lord of Trinity had received the Letters of the Angrogians, he sent unto them his Secretary, named Christopher Galtan, (which said himself, that he favoured the Verity of the Gospel) accompanied with a Gentleman of the said Valley; whose charge was to cause the chief Rulers to send certain to commune with the same Lord of Trinity, saying, that he had good tidings to declare unto them; and moreover, that he would deliver them a safe Conduct to come and go. Whereupon they sent four unto him, whom he intreated very courteously, and rehearsed unto them, how the Duke at his Departure from the Court, told him, that altho the Pope, the Princes and Cities of Italy, yea, his own Council were fully resolved, that of necessity they of the said Religion should be destroyed, yet notwithstanding, God otherwise put into his mind, and that he had taken Counsel of God what he should do in this matter; that is, that he would use them gently. Furthermore, he declared unto them, that the Dutches bear their good affection, and favoured them very much, and that he had commended their Cause unto the Duke, persuading with him to have regard to that poor People, and that their Religion was ancient and old, with many such other things. Moreover, they had, said he, great Friends in the Duke's Court, not doubt-

The Angrogians answer to the Message

The Town of Villars assaulted

God giveth victory to his servants

The justice ward upon the Lords Enemies

Galtan a faithful soldier Deep dissimulation in a crafty Priest

The Dutches a great favourer of the Angrogians

A Combat between the L. of Trinity and the Waldosy

Behold the policy of this poor people.

Gods holy help in time of need.

Gods secret judgement in punishing his Enemies.

The crafty Message of the L. of Trinity to the Angrogians.

ing but if they should send certain to the Court with a Supplication, they should obtain more than they themselves would require; and he for his part would imply himself in their Affairs to the uttermost of his power: and so he promised that he would retire himself with his Army. This he seemed to speak unfeignedly. The People desiring but to live peaceably in their Religion, and under the Obedience of their lawful Prince, were content to follow his Council.

About this season they of *Angrongne* perceived that a part of the Army attended the Hill of *Tailletes*, (which is the half way between *Angrongne* and those of the Valley of *Lufene*) and the other part had already gotten away, which led to the Meadow of *Toure*, by the which they of *Angrongne* might easily have been inclosed. Therefore they sent certain immediately to keep the Way, who soon after encountered with their Enemies and obtained the Victory, pursuing and chasing them to their Camp, not without great loss of their Men. The number of their Enemies slain, was not known; for their custom was immediately to carry away those which were slain. Not one of *Angrongne* perished that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this Combat would have hindered the Agreement; but the Lord of *Trinity* could well dissemble the matter, and excused that days Journey, putting the fault upon them of *Tailletes*, whom he charged to have slain certain of his Men in the High-way, and amongst other his Barbar.

A combat between the Angrongnians and the Perfidious.

The crafty dissembling of the Lord of Trinity.

On Saturday following, being the ninth of November, the said Lord of *Trinity* sent again for them of *Angrongne*, to consult with them touching the Agreement, using the like Communication as before; and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience they should carry their Armour into two of the Houses of the chief Rulers, not fearing, but it should be safe; for it should remain in their own keeping, and if need were, they should receive it again. Also, that he upon Sunday (which was the next day) would cause a Mass to be sung within the Temple of St. *Laurance* in *Angrongne*, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the Duke's wrath would be asswaged.

The next morning he went into the Temple (whereat they were fore agrieved, albeit they could not withstand him) his Army marching afore him: and having caused a Mass to be sung, he desired to see the Meadow of *Toure*, so much spoken of, that thereof he might make a true Report unto the Duke; and thither the Rulers with a great Troop of his own Men went, the residue of his Company remained behind; the which spoiled certain Houses, and seized the Armour which they had delivered up before; but they found no great store, for the People had taken away the greatest Part thereof. The said Lord being entered into the Meadow of *Toure*, the People began to make a Commotion; whereof he having intelligence, returned immediately. All that day he shewed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

Rebelling the Duke he drew him and dissembling the Perfidious to bring their wicked purpose to pass.

The People in this mean time perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were fore moved at the sight of the Army, the Spoil of the Souldiers, the taking away of their Armour, but especially because the said Lord of *Trinity* had viewed the Meadow of *Toure*, foreseeing his traitorous meaning and purpose. A few days after the said Lord of *Trinity* sent his Secretary *Gastaut* to *Angrongne* to talk with them concerning the Agreement, and to make a full Resolution thereof: which was read in the Assembly by the Secretary; the Sum whereof was this: That the People of *Angrongne* submitted themselves to render all Honour and Reverence to God according to his holy Word, and all due obedience to the Duke their Sovereign Prince, to whom they should send certain Men to demand Pardon of him, concerning their bearing Armour in their extreme necessity, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to live peaceably in their Religion, which was according to the Word of God, not compelling them to do any thing against their Conscience; as it appeareth more amply in the Supplication, which after this the *Angrongnians* made, and caused to be read before the Secretary in the open Assembly, the which here ensueth.

To the most excellent and worthy Prince, the Duke of Savoy, &c. our Sovereign Lord and natural Prince

K. Hen. 8.

Most Noble and Renowned Prince, we have sent certain of our Men unto your Highness, to give testimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned Obedience unto the same, and with all submission desire Pardon touching the bearing of Armour by certain of our People in their extreme necessity, and for all other our Treipasses, for the which your Sovereign Grace might conceive any offence against us.

The Supplication of the Angrongnians to their Duke.

Secondly, To define in most humble wise your said Highness, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it would please the same, to suffer us to live with freedom of Conscience in our Religion, which also is the Religion of our Ancestors, observed for certain hundred years past. And we are persuaded, that it is the pure Gospel of our Lord Jesus, the only Verity, the Word of Life and Salvation, which we profess. Also, that it may please your most gracious Clemency not to take in ill part, if we, fearing to offend and displease God, cannot content unto certain Traditions and Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, and herein to have pity upon our poor Souls, and the Souls of our Children, to the end that your Highness be not in any wise charged in the just Judgment of God for the same, where all Men must appear to answer for their doings.

A lawful request of the Angrongnians to live after Gods Word.

On our part, we protest that we will seek nothing but to be the true Servants of God, to serve him according to his holy Word; and also to be true and loyal Subjects to your Highness, and more obedient than any other, being always ready to give our Goods, our Bodies, our Lives, and the Lives of our Children, for your Noble Grace, as also our Religion teacheth us to do: only we desire that our Souls may be left at liberty to serve God according to his holy Word.

And we your poor humble Subjects shall most heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long Prosperity of your Highness, for the most virtuous Lady your Wife, and for the Noble House of *Savoy*.

To this Supplication they of St. *John*, of *Roccapia*, of St. *Barisalem*, and of *Perouse*, with those of the Valley of *Lufene*, did agree. For it was concluded, that the Agreement made should extend to all the Confederate of the same Religion. Whiles they were treating of this Agreement, the Lord of *Trinity* vexed cruelly them of *Tailletes*, under this pretence, because they had not presented themselves to treat of this Agreement: He commanded them after this sort; first he commanded that all their Armour should be brought before him, and then they on their knees, should ask him pardon, because they came not to treat of the Agreement with the rest; which notwithstanding the most part of them did. Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to know all the Names of those which would be of the foresaid Agreement.

The wicked dealing of the Lord of Trinity against them of Tailletes.

Whereupon the next morning the chief of the Householdiers went to the Village named *Bouvet*, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard a Sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their Names. The unrolling of their Names not being fully ended, word was brought, that the Souldiers had gotten the top of the Mountain, and had taken all the Passages; whereat they of *Tailletes* were fore amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their Wives and Children. Some they saved, the most part with their Goods, were in their Enemies hands already. At this time with sacking, spoiling and burning, they did much mischief.

After this the Lord of *Trinity* sent word to them which were fled, that, if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting on his promise, returned to *Bouvet*, and yet the next morning the Souldiers came thither to apprehend them and their Ministers, and beset the place on every side. Such as were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped, but very hardly: The rest were all hurt or taken, and yet they all escaped by a marvelous means: for it happened that there was an old Man which could not run fast, to whom one of the Souldiers came with a naked Sword in his hand to have slain him. The old Man seeing the imminent danger,

The Perfidious breaking of promise made.

Examples of Gods marvelous provision for his Servants in time of need.

caught

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caught the Souldier by the Legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

The Souldier cried out, Help, help, this Villain will kill me. His Fellows hearing him cry, made haste to rescue him; but in the mean time the old Man escaped. The rest seeing what the old Man had done, took heart of Grace, and albeit their Armour and Weapons were taken from them, yet with Stones and Slings they fo beat and discomfited their Enemies, that for that present time they carried no Prisoners away.

The day following the Souldiers returning to the said *Tailleur*, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all that they could finde, and so continued three days together; which was very easie for them to do, because the poor Men, fearing lest they should be charged with violating the Agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards *Villars*.

The Village of Tailleur's spoiled.

The fourth day the said Lord of *Trinity*, to torment the poor *Tailleur* yet more cruelly, sent his Army again before day to the Mountain, and into the same place, and because the People of the said Village were retired towards *Villars*, and scattered about the Borders thereof in the high Mountains, the Souldiers not yet satisfied with spoiling and lacking the rest that they found in the said *Tailleur*, ranging about the Confinies thereof, ravaged and made havoc on every side of whatsoever they could lay hands on, taking Prisoners both Men and Women, which were laden with carriage.

The cruelty of Tailleur's.

The poor Prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst other there was one, whose Ear a Souldier of *Mondeur*, in a raging fury, bit clean off, with these words, I will carry, said he, the flesh of this wicked Hereticks with me into my Country. They of *Villars* also complained of the great Cruelty that was shewed unto them, during the time of the Agreement.

The which when the Lord of *Trinity* understood, to make a shew that he was offended therewith, he came to his Souldiers (which were so weary that they could scarcely go, not with fighting, but because they were so heavily laden with spoil, that they were not able to carry it) and pretending to be in great choler, he bade them, and some things also of a small value he caused to be restored, but all the rest was kept back and carried away. The same day two Women, the Mother and the Daughter, were found in a Cave in the Mountain, wounded to death by the Souldiers, and died immediately after. So likewise a blind Man, an hundred years of age, which was fled into a Cave with his Son's Daughter being eighteen years old, which fed him, was slain by the Enemies, and as they would have forced the Maiden, the escaped from them, and fell from the top of the Mountain, and died.

Two Women were found in the Cave, the Mother and the Daughter, Martyrs. The Grandfather and his Niece died Martyrs.

At that time also a great Company of Women of *Tailleur* and *Villars* were taken as they fled, with their Goods, and brought to the Camp, and sent away empty. There was at the same time a certain Souldier which promised the Lord of *Trinity* to find out the Minister of *Tailleur*, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpose to pass, he never ceased until he had found him, and after that he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing and chaling him, certain at unawares coming out of the Mountain, rescued the poor Minister, and killed the Souldier with stones.

A wicked Pursuer killed with stones.

But this especially is to be noted, that during these troubles divers of the Papiists had sent their Daughters into the Mountains unto the *Waldos* to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ravished by the Souldiers, being wholly given over as to all Cruelty and Rapine, so to all Villany and Abomination, by whom they were before threatened to be so abused.

All this being done, the said Lord of *Trinity* caused the head Officers and chieft of the People to assemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the Army was a great charge to the Duke, and that it was meet that they should bear the one half of the Charges. For this cause he demanded of them twenty thousand Crowns. But by the means of the Secretary *Goustant*, who was promised a hundred Crowns for his Wine (that is to say, for a Bribe) four thousand of those twenty were abated, so that they granted unto him sixteen thousand, of the which Sum the Duke released the one half. Then the Lord of *Trinity* pressed this poor People to deliver the eight

The poor Waldos pressed to deliver the eight thousand out of hand, to pay the Souldiers their Wages (as he said) and so withdrew his Army.

thousand out of hand, to pay the Souldiers their Wages (as he said) and so withdrew his Army. The year before Corn was exceeding dear, for a Sack was commonly sold for six Crowns; yea, and some for eight Crowns, and also they had very little Corn growing upon their Mountains: wherefore they were now very bare of Money. But they being in this perplexity, and desiring nothing more than to live in peace and quietness, went about to sell their Cattel to pay this Money. But the Lord of *Trinity* had given out a Commandment, that none should buy any Cattel of the *Waldos* without his Licence. Then Licence was given out to certain to buy great store of Cattel, and that for a small price; and the common bruit was, that he had part of the Gain. When the Money was paid, yet the Army notwithstanding retired not.

The Duke's fault of price.

After this the Lord of *Trinity* commanded the *Waldos* to surrender up all their Armour, to furnish the Duke's Forts, otherwise he threatened to send his Souldiers among them, and indeed he constrained many so to do. Then he demanded moreover the eight thousand Crowns, which the Duke had remitted, and constrained them to promise the payment thereof. After that, he commanded that the Ministers should be sent away, until the matter were determined before the Duke, otherwise he would send his Souldiers to dislodge them out of hand: whereupon, with one common assent and accord, they determined that their Ministers should withdraw themselves for a space, until the Army were retired; which was not done without marvellous Sighs, and Lamentation and Tears. At that season there fell such abundance of Snow, that the like had not been seen of a long time before: so that the People were constrained to make a Way with great travel and pain, through the top of the Mountain of *St. Martin*, for their Ministers to pass. Now thought the Lord of *Trinity* so to have inclosed them, he kept the plain, and the Mountains being covered so thick with Snow, that by no means they should have escaped his hands. But the People caused them to pass the top of the Mountain, and at their departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the Village of *Bohy*, and came together in a secret place there, called *le Puy*, not without great Grief and Sorrow; for they found them altogether in tears and mourning, that their Ministers should be so taken from them, and they now left as Lambs amongst Wolves.

The care of the Waldos for their Ministers.

The Army was advertised that the Ministers were assembled together, and incontinent a great Troop of Harquebusses were at hand, which fought them even to the very top of the Mountain, in such sort that if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken. From that time for certain days after they did nothing but range about in all places, seeking for the Ministers, and there was no House, Chamber, Cave, nor secret Corner into which they did not enter, under pretence to seek for the Ministers. There was neither Chelt, nor any thing else so strong, but they brake it open, saying, that the Ministers were hidden therein, and by that means they took, spoiled, and carried away whatsoever they would.

Gods Providence for his Ministers.

The Lord of *Trinity* promised oftentimes, that altho if were forbidden to all the Ministers to preach, yet the Minister of *Angrougne* should be excepted: and furthermore, sent the said Minister word, that if he would demand any thing of the Duke, it should be granted him. Whereupon the said Minister made this Request, That the poor People might live peaceably in their Religion. A while after, he sent for the same Minister to confer with him privately upon certain Points of Religion. The Minister went unto him, having thereto the consent of the People. The Lord of *Trinity* propounded unto him three Points: The first concerning the Supremacy of the Pope; the other concerning Transubstantiation. Of the which two Points the Minister then immediately declared his Opinion, and he seemed to agree therunto, and required him to put the same in Writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to persuade the Minister to go to the Duke's Court, and there he to defend the Cause of the People, alledging certain Reasons to persuade him so to do. Whereunto the Minister answered, that he was bound to God and his Church, and if it seemed convenient to the Ministers and People that he should go, he would be content to do the same, and thereof he promised to send him answer immediately, with the which answer he seemed to be contented.

Mark here the false pretence, and traitorous meaning of the L. of Trinity, which by and by after seeketh the death of his good Minister.

Shortly after, the foresaid Lord, and tarrying for an answer, sent his Army to the Temple of St. Lawrence in *Angronne*, pretending to sing a Mass there, and suddenly the Souldiers besieged the Minister's house. The Minister being warned thereof, assayed to escape. The Souldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the Minister pushed on further, and the Souldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the People, durst go no further. The Minister withdrew himself into the Rocks upon the Mountain, accompanied with five other. The Army was by and by at his Heels, and fought a good while in the Houses and Cottages on every side, cruelly handling the People whom they took, to make them confess where their Minister was, spoiling their Houses, taking some Prisoners, and beating other some; but yet they could not learn of them where their Minister was. At the length they espied him among the Rocks, where they thought to have enclosed him, and so they pursued him in the Rocks, all covered with Snow, until it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his House, and diligently searched out all his Books and Writings, and carried them to the Lord of *Trinity* in a Sack, who caused them all to be burnt in his presence; supposing (as it well appeared) that the Letters which he had sent to *Angronne*, touching the Agreement, should be with the rest burnt: for he did not like the like in the other Ministers Houses. That day they spoiled forty Houses in *Angronne*, broke their Mills, and carried away all the Corn and Meal that they found.

About midnight the Souldiers returned with Torchlight to the Minister's House to seek him, and searched every Corner. The next morning Commandment was given to the Rulers of *Angronne*, that within twenty four hours they should deliver their Minister, or else *Angronne* should be put to the Fire and Sword. The Rulers answered, that they could not do so, for they knew not where he was, and the Souldiers had chafed him over the Mountain. After certain days, when the Souldiers had burned Houses, spoiled the People, broken their Mills, and done what mischief they could, the Army retired. Notwithstanding the Lord of *Trinity* left Garrisons in the foresaid Fortresses, but all at the coils and charges of the *Waldays*: the which Garrisons, not contented with their Wages, spoiled continually. Upon a night five Souldiers went with Torches to a rich Man's House of *Angronne*, and spoiled the same. The good Man of the House hardly escaped with life by the top of the House, for there were twelve Pellets shot off at him. Whereof one touched his Face, and strook his Hat from his Head, without any further hurt.

The Rulers of *Angronne*, which were gone to the Fortresses to carry thither Victuals and Money, were by the Souldiers retained, and in despite of them and the People caused a Mass to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it: and because they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almost to death. The one of them was sent again for mockery; the other with great peril of his life leapt over the Walls, and being pursued to *Angronne*, escaped.

Certain days after a certain company of Souldiers came unto the midst of *Angronne*, as tho they would have passed through, and called for Meat and Drink. The poor Men brought that they had unto them in a close Court. When they had eaten and drunken, they caused the Women to avoid, and then bound fourteen of those which had brought them Victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their Wives and Children perceiving this, so fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were fain to let go ten of their Prisoners for haste, and had much ado to save themselves. The other four they led away to the Fortresses; of the which two were ransomed: the other two were hanged up by the Feet and the Hands; and having tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great sum of money. The one of the which died the next night; the other lay sick without hope of life a long time after, and his flesh fell from his hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame, and after that his fingers fell off also.

In like manner did the other Garrisons entreat the Villages adjoining unto them.

The Garrison of *Touze* and of *Villars*, being assembled together in a night, went to *Taillette*, to the place called *Bouvet*, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houses, breaking open the doors, facking and spoiling all that they could lay hands of, took also 14 Prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the Arms, and so led them to the Fortresses of *Touze*. But two which were escaped, whilst the Souldiers were taking others, set upon them which led the Prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted and beat them with stones, that they forced them to let go 12 of the Prisoners, the which tumbling and rolling themselves down the Mountain, having their hands bound behind their backs, and fainted two and two together by the arms, were contented rather to die, than to be carried to the Fortresses; and yet in the end they escaped. The other two which were led to the Fortresses, were cruelly tormented, and in the end, the one of them the Captain flogged with his own hands, who was very young, and but a Child: The other which was about threecore years of age, whose name was *Odul Genet*, suffered a strange and cruel death: for when they had bound him, they took a kind of Beasts which live in Horse-dung, called in French *Escarbotes*, and put them into his Navel, covering them with a dish, the which within short space pierced into his Belly, and killed him. These and the like, more than barbarous cruelties, have been revealed by the Souldiers themselves.

The poor *Waldays* were yet in great Captivity and distress, but especially because they had not the preaching of God's Word amongst them as they were wont to have; and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, albeit secretly, for two principal causes: The one for fear of moving the Duke, and hindering the voyage of their Messengers, having yet some hope of good success. The other, that no occasion might be given to the Souldiers of further trouble and courage for that was it which they especially desired. Also they of *Angronne* were fully determined, as soon as their Messengers were returned from the Duke, to preach openly, what News soever they brought, were they good or evil; and furthermore, not to be Contributors to the finding of the Garrison, neither yet to suffer the same to enter into *Angronne*.

The Messengers which were sent to the Duke, being at *Versale*, were there detained fix weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the Popish Doctors, and were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the Mass. Furthermore, they would have constrained them to promise the same in the behalf of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the Duke, the Secretary *Gallant*, took the Supplication of the *Waldays* out of the Messenger's hands, and delivered another. After they had presented themselves to the Duke, and asked pardon for bearing of Armour; they were constrained also to crave pardon of the Pope's Legat; which at the beginning they would in no case do. Now when these Messengers were returned, bringing these woful News, and the People understood that there was a new Commandment given out, that they should return to the Mass: also that the Popish Preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

Hereupon, they of the Valley of *Luferne* and of *Boby*, being assembled together, by one assent sent two Ministers, with certain other of the People, to the Churches of *Pragela* (which be in the Country of *Dolphine*) to signify unto them the pitious estate of the poor Churches of the Valleys of *Piedmont*, to have their counsel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand if it were possible. For this cause they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called upon God desiring his Grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsel, well to consider of those weighty and urgent Affairs wherewith they were oppressed; in the end it was concluded, that all the People dwelling in the said Valleys and Mountains of *Piedmont*, and those of *Dolphine* should join in a league together. Whereupon they all promised by God's Grace and Assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the Gospel, and administration of the holy Sacraments; the one to aid and assist the other, and to render all obedience to their Superiors, so far as they were commanded by the Word of God. Moreover, that it should be lawful

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Note again how God bleth his people, standing to their defence against the bloody Papists.

Two Martyrs.

A barbarous kind of torment used against a Martyr of the Lord called Odul Genet, by the cruel Papists.

Be wife like Serpents.

The Messengers of the Angrongnians cruelly constrained.

A new commandment to the Angrongnians to go to Mass.

God's assistance in time of need.

for

The Minister of Angronne pursued of the Souldiers.

The Minister's house spoiled.

40 houses in Angronne spoiled.

God's holy protection in saving his Servants.

Two Rulers of Angronne beaten almost to death for not kneeling to the Mass.

Cruelly threatened for kindness.

Note how God doth bleth his Servants standing in their own defence. Two Martyrs of Angronne.

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for none of the said Vallies to promise or conclude any thing touching the estate of Religion, without the consent of the rest of the Vallies. And for more sure confirmation of the said League, certain of the Ministers and Elders of the Churches of *Dolphine* were sent to the Valley of *Lusferne*, to understand if they would give their consent hereto, and ratify the same.

These Messengers, the Ministers and others of *Dolphine*, being arrived in the Evening at the Village of *Boby*, and the People being there assembled, word was brought that the next day every Houholder should appear in the Council-House, to know whether they would return to the Ma's or no; and that they which would receive the Ma's, should quietly enjoy their Houses; and they which would not, should be delivered to the Justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the Gallies. Wherefore the People was brought to this extremity, either to die, or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed to them best, if the great Snow had not let them; wherefore seeing themselves in such distress, they most gladly consented to the League. After this they exhorted one another, saying: Forasmuch as we shall be all called for to morrow, to renounce and forsake our God, and revolt again to Idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false Religion of the Pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy Word. Let us all go to morrow into the Temple, to hear the Word of God, and after let us call down to the ground all the Idols and Altars. To this every Man agreed, saying, Let us so do, yea, and that very same hour in which they have appointed us to be at the Council-house.

The People of Piedmont brought in to great distress.

Images and Altars broken down in the Church of *Boby*.

The next day after they assembled themselves in the Church of *Boby*, and as soon as they came into the Temple, without any further delay, they beat down the Images, and cast down the Altars. After the Sermon, they went to *Villars* to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a Band of Soldiers, which were going to spoil a Village named *La Vall Guichard*, and to take the poor Inhabitants Prisoners. The Soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed, mocked them, and discharged their Hand-guns upon them, thinking at the first bruit to have put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them even to the Fortres. When they came to *Villars*, they beat down their Images and Altars, and afterwards besieged the Fortres, and demanded the Prisoners which were there detained.

Images and Altars cast down in the Church of *Villars*.

The same day the Judge of *Lusferne*, called *Podesta*, went to the Council-house, to enroll the Names of those which would return to the Ma's; but seeing what was done, he was fore afraid, and desired the People to suffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted unto him. Divers Gentlemen also of the Valley came thither with the Judge, to make their poor Tenants to forsake God; but seeing the Tumult, they were fain to flee into the Castle, where they and the Garrison were besieged ten days together, not without great danger of their Lives. The second day of the Siege, the Captain of *Touze* went with a Company of Soldiers, thinking to raise the Siege; but they were by those that kept the Passages either slain or discomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three Bands, and with the Garrison of *Touze*, which caused a furious Combat, wherein many of the Enemies were slain, and a great number hurt, and yet of those that besieged the Fort there was not one Man hurt.

God giveth victory to his Servants.

Another Combat between the Waldos and their Enemies.

In the time of this Siege they attempted divers means to take the said Fortres, but without Ordinance it was impossible so to do; wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreover, the Lord of *Trinity*, returning with his Army, was come to the Valley of *Lusferne*, and the next day after might easily have raised the Siege. Wherefore when the Garrison (not knowing that the Lord of *Trinity* was so near) desired that they might depart with Bag and Baggage, they granted their request. In this Siege half of the Soldiers were slain, and many were hurt, as well with Harquebusses as with Stones. During this Siege, the Soldiers for lack of water were constrained to make their Bread with Wine, which tormented their Stomachs, and caused great Dificalties. Here is not to be forgotten, that the Soldiers, which a while before did so cruelly persecute the poor Ministers, seeking by all means possible to destroy them, were now fain to pray them to save their Lives, and

to promise them that they should have no hurt, and also to safe-conduct them into a sure place; neither would they depart until they had promised them so to do. Which the Ministers did promise, and also perform very willingly. Then the Soldiers seeing themselves much beholden to the Ministers so gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promised them in recompence thereof all the pleasure that they could bestow them. The same night the Fortres was razed.

How the Ministers of the Gospel promised to their Enemies and enemies, doing good for evil. The Fortres, governed by the Angromnians.

The second day of *February* the Lord of *Trinity* camped at *Lusferne*, and placed a Garrison in the Priory of *St. John*, a Village of the *Waldos* between *Lusferne* and *Angrongne*. The next day in the morning the said Lord of *Trinity* sent word unto them of *Angrongne*, that if they would not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. All the week before they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would give no answer. The same day they of *Angrongne*, and the rest of the Vallies, fully agreed and determined to defend their Religion by force, and that the one should aid the other, and no agreement to be made by any one without the consent of the rest. About noon the Lord of *Trinity* marched with his Army by *St. John*, to enter into the Borders of *Angrongne* by a place called *La Sonnette*, where they had fought before. The People had made certain Bulwarks of Earth and Stone, not past three foot high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their Enemies, which assailed them divers ways. When the Enemies were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh Soldiers into their places; so that the Combat endured until night, and all that day the Army could not enter into the Borders of *Angrongne*. Many of the Enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and but two of *Angrongne* slain, of whom the one was slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy upon the spoil. The Army, being now well beaten and tired, rested a while, to make themselves stronger for a further mischief.

God condescendeth his servants to second their Religion by force.

Another Combat between the Lord of Trinity and the Angromnians.

God giveth victory again to his People.

The Friday following, which was the seventh of *February*, at the break of the day, the Army marched towards *Angrongne* by five several places. The People of *Angrongne* were not yet assembled, and none there were to resist, but only a few which kept the Watch; the which seeing their Enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they went about to enclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, they recoiled by little and little to a high place called *La Cass*, where the Combat was renewed with a greater fierceness than before. But the Lord of *Trinity* seeing the loss of his Men, and above all, that one of great credit and authority in the Duke's Court, was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and defended to *Angrongne*, (the People being fled to the Meadow of *Touze*) and there spoiled and burnt all the Wines, Victuals, and the rest of the Goods that he could find; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand Houses of *Angrongne*.

Another Fight between the Lord of Trinity and the Angromnians.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes set fire upon the two Temples of *Angrongne*, where the Word of God was preached, but they could never burn them. So did they also to the Minister's House, which notwithstanding remained whole, the Houses round about being all consumed with fire. This day none of *Angrongne* was slain or hurt, saving only one that was hurt in his thigh.

A notable Miracule of God in keeping the Temples of the One's from burning.

There were in all *Angrongne* but two that were Enemies to the Word of God, which that same day were slain by the Soldiers; not in the Combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a very covetous Wretch, and had great store of Gold and Silver, and would spend nothing, either to help himself, or succour others, no not his poor Parents. All this was spoiled by the Soldiers, with a hundred or two hundred Crowns besides, which he had about him. Besides these two there was not one of *Angrongne* slain that day. All the rest of the People retired to the Meadow of *Touze*, the situation whereof we will here declare, for the better understanding of that which followeth.

Note again the secret Work of God.

Unkindness to Parents rightly rewarded.

Touze is a little Valley upon the Borders of *Angrongne*, invironed about with Mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst thereof, there be about two hundred small Houses and Cottages, also Meadows, Pastures for Cattel, Ground for Tillage, Trees, and goodly Fountains. On the South-side and the North the Mountains are so high, that no Man can that way approach unto the said Valley. On the other coasts a Man

The Meadow of *Touze* described.

The just hand of God upon his Enemies.

may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not past two miles from *Angrongne*; the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by because of the Hills which be on both sides. There is also a River hard by, but very small, but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The People had carried thither very few Victuals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the Army.

The Enemies again driven back.

In the mean time the Lord of *Trinity*, after he had now twice assailed *Angrongne*, sent certain to burn *Rosa*, and to discover the ways which led to the Valley of *Lusferne*; but the Souldiers were driven back four days together by those which kept the Passages. Whereupon he sent his whole Army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of *Lusferne* sent new Aid. During this Combat, an Ambushment of Souldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no Man would have suspected it. The poor People, seeing themselves so environed of their Enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their Enemies, and other some into the Rocks.

The poor Courtiers run through the Pikes.

The Enemies being entered into *Rosa*, consumed all with Fire and Sword. The residue of the People fled by the secret way leading to the Valley of *Lusferne*, and wandered all that night upon the Mountains full of Snow, laden with their stuff, carrying their little Infants in their arms, and leading the other by the hands, with great pain and travel. When they of the Valley saw them, they ran unto them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor People were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor Infants which cried out for cold.

The Angrengians with their young Infants flee into the Mountains.

The Waldoys again assailed by the Lord of Trinity.

A few days after the Lord of *Trinity* entered into the Valley of *Lusferne* by three several ways, that is to say, by *Rosa*, by the Plains, and by the sides of *Taillera*. They which kept the Passages, at the first resisted their Enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to *Villars*, and there defended themselves awhile. But because they saw that their Enemies had already passed the Plain, and gotten above *Villars* towards *Boby*, they gave over, and left *Villars*, and fled into the Mountains. The Souldiers being entered, burned Houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor People which were fled into the Mountains, seeing the Village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, that had made them worthy to suffer for his Name, and for his Cause; and also they were glad to see the Village on fire, lest that their Enemies should encamp there themselves. Then the Souldiers in great rage mounted the Hills on every side, pursuing the poor People in great fury; but a few of them, after they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their Enemies to *Villars*. This done, the Army retired.

Few days after the Meadow of *Tours* was assailed by three several ways on the East side. The Combat endured a long season, where divers of the Enemies were hurt, and many slain. But none of this poor People were slain that day, only two were hurt, which were soon healed again. But to declare the Conflicts, Assaults, Skirmishes, and Alarms, which were at *Angrongne* and other places thereabouts, it were too long; for brevities sake it shall be sufficient to touch the most principal, and those which are most worthy of remembrance.

On Saturday, which was the 14th day of February, the People which were in the uppermost part of the Meadow of *Tours*, perceived that a Company of Souldiers were ascended up the Hill to *Angrongne*, and burning the rest of the Houses there: they doubted that it was a policy of their Enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the Meadow of *Tours* from them. Therefore they sent only six Harquebusses against those Souldiers; the which having the higher ground, and not espied of their Enemies, discharged all their Guns together. Whereupon incontinent the Souldiers fled, albeit no Man pursued them; whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.

The wicked fleeth when no Man pursueth him.

Shortly after they of the Ward of the Meadow of *Tours*, which were in the Watch on the top of the Mountain, (because every morning there was a Sermon made, wherunto the People resorted, and they might see afar off round about them) espied a Troop of Souldiers marching

on that side of the Hill which is between the East and the North, and soon after that discovered another Company, which marched on the North side towards the said Troop. The first were ascended an hour before the other, and fought on the top of the Mountain called *Melefe*, but they were soon discomfited: and because they could not run fast by means of the deep Snow, and difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they fell often down upon the ground. Whilist they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken from them their Drum, behold, there came certain unto them, crying out that the other Troop was entered into the Meadow of *Tours*, by means whereof they gave over the chase, or else not one of their Enemies had escaped, as they which were there reported for a truth. Not one of *Angrongne* was slain or hurt.

K. Hen. 8.

The Persecutors pursued.

The other Troop which came by the North side, took a high Hill in the top of the Mountain, the which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the Snow and Ice which was there. The chieft of this Company were *Lodowick*, of *Monteil*, (which had been before Master of the Camp in the King's Wars) and *Charles Truchet*. When they were come to the top of the Hill, they caused seven Souldiers to go down the Hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the Troop might defend that way or no. These seven went down almost to the Houses. They sent also other to occupy the rest of the high places which were near to the foot of the Hill and the Rocks. In the mean time the Ministers, and the People which were in the midst of the Valley of the Meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith; wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God ardently, not without great sighs, lamentation and tears, even until night.

God's People pray.

The seven Spies which came down to discover the ways, cried unto their Captain *Truchet*, Come down, come down, *Seigneur Charles*, this day *Angrongne* shall be taken. The other cried to them again, *Ascend, ascend, and return, or else you shall be slain every one of you*. Immediately issued out five against these Spies, and took certain, and chased the rest. The first of the five which set upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a Fork of Fire. Soon after eight of *Angrongne* issued out against the whole Troop, which was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, to assail such a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the other, to discover the Enemies, and carried a great Staff, which they call a *Rancon*, as is somewhat bigger than an Halbert: the other followed by two and two together, with Harquebusses. These eight went from Rock to Rock, from Hill to Hill, about the Mountain, and chased their Enemies valiantly. Then came twelve other, the which joining with these, fought with a wonderful courages and made great laughter of their Enemies. Soon after there came from the Valley of *Lusferne* an hundred Harquebusses, with one of their Ministers, according to their manner, which were wont to send out a Minister withal, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keep the People in order, that they exceed not measure, as it came to pass that day.

The courage of God's People against their Enemies.

At the length they saw them also coming which returned from the discomfiture of the former Troop, making a great noise, and having a Drum sounding afore them, which they had taken from their Enemies; which joined with them of the Valley of *Lusferne*, and having made their earnest prayer unto God, immediately they came to succour the other that now were encountering valiantly with their Enemies. Then the Enemies seeing such a Company marching against them, with such courage and boldness, after the other had once called upon God, their Hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soon as the other began to pray, they began also to flee: But because they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice, and fought, and some in the mean time fled.

A Conflict between the Angrengians and their Enemies.

He that carried the *Rancon*, and discovered the Enemies, was but a very young and a simple Man, and was esteemed to be one that could do nothing but (as they say in their language) handle *La Sape*, that is to say, a Hatchet, and kept Cattel: and yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the Enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great *Rancon* with laying load upon them; and

The merciful Works of the Lord.

K.Hen.8.

David with
his Sling
killed Go-
lish.The cruelty
of this
wretched
Truchet is
great: this
poor People
suffereth
before in
this story.God fighteth
for his Peo-
ple.Pharaoh's
heart yet re-
maineth in-
durant.The Wal-
doyes again
drive their
Enemies
back.

and after that he broke also four of their own Swords in pursuing of them. There was a Boy of eighteen years of Age, and of small stature, which alone slew the Lord of *Monteil*, Master of the Camp (as is said) to the King: wherewith the Enemies were marvelously astonished and discouraged. Another simple Man, who, a Man would have thought, durst not once have looked *Charles Truchet* in the face (because he was a very big Man, strong and puissant, and one of the chieftest Captains of the whole Army) threw down the said *Truchet* with the stroke of a Stone. Then a young Man leapt upon him, and slew him with his own Sword, which was four fingers broad, and cleft his head in pieces.

This *Truchet* was one of the principal Authors of this War, and one of the chieftest Enemies of true Religion, and of the poor *Waldoyes*, that could then be found. It was said also, that he vaunted and promised before to the said Lord of *Trinity*, that he would deliver into his hands the Meadow of *Touze*. But God soon brought his proud brags to naught. And for his spoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor People, he lay spoiled and naked like a Beast in the wild Mountain of *Angrogne*. Two of the chieftest among them offered to pay a great sum of Crowns for their Ransom, but they could not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited, that they fled without any resistance, and if the night had not let them, they had pursued them further.

The Minister, when he saw the great effusion of Blood, and the Enemies to flee, cried to the People, saying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks unto God. They which heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer: but they which were further off, and heard him not, chafed their Enemies till dark night. Infomuch, that if the rest had done the like, very few of their Enemies had escaped. That day they had spoiled their Enemies of a great part of their Armour and Munition. So God restored in this Combat, and in others, to the poor *Waldoyes*, the Armour which the Lord of *Trinity* had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place; and every Man cried, Who is he which fighteth not that God fighteth for us? This Victory gave great courage to the poor *Waldoyes*, and greatly astonished the Enemies.

The 18th of February, The Lord of *Trinity*, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of *Villars*, returned to burn all the little Villages round about, which pertain to the same, and especially to pursue the poor People, which were fled up into the Mountains, and dividing his Army into three parts, he entred by three several ways above mentioned. The two first Companies joined together between *Villars* and *Boby*, having a great Company of Horsemen. From thence they went to seek the People which were in the Mountain of *Combe*, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no Warders to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the Warders which were next, seeing their Enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them, and calling upon God for his aid and succour, they set themselves against their Enemies: and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their Bulwarks, that is to say, certain Houses which at that time served them for that purpose, albeit they were not made to that use. Many of the Enemies were slain at those two Combats, and not one of the other side. The Lord of *Trinity*, seeing his Men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his Army, which were esteemed to be 15 hundred Men. There came also about an hundred to succour the Warders. The Combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor People were assailed so vehemently, that they were fain to forsake their Bulwarks, losing two of their Men. Then the Enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their Trumpets, triumphing that they had put the People to flight. But the People, retiring not past a stones cast, took courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for succour, they turned themselves to the face of their Enemies, and with great force and power they hurled stones at them with their slings.

After this the Enemies rested themselves a while, and by and by after they gave a furious assault, but yet they were again mightily repelled. Yet once again the Enemies rested, and in the mean time the People fell to Prayer, calling upon God altogether, with their faces lifted up

towards Heaven; which fraied the Enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yea, God here shewed his great Power, even in the little Children also, which fervently called upon God, threw stones at their Enemies, and gave courage also unto the Men. So did also the Women, and the vulgar sort, that is to say, those which were meet for no feats of War, remaining upon the Mountain; and beholding these furious Combats, kneeled upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards Heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, *Lord help us.* Who heard their Prayers.

After that these three Assaults were given, there came one unto them crying; Be of good courage, God hath sent those of *Angrogne* to succour us. He meant, that they of *Angrogne* were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards *Tailletes*, where the third part of the Army was. The People perceiving that they of *Angrogne* were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, Blessed be God, who hath sent us succour: they of *Angrogne* be here to succour us. The Enemies hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a Retreat, and retired into the Plain.

That Troop which was gone towards *Tailletes*, divided themselves into three Companies. The first marched by the side of the Mountain, burning many Houses, and joined with the main Army. The second Company, which was of seven score, marched higher, thinking to take the People at unawares. But they were by seven Men strongly repelled and driven back. The third Company attained the top of the Mountain, thinking to inclose the People; but as God would, they of *Angrogne*, which came to succour them, encountered with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of *Villars*, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little Bread and Wine, (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day) chafed their Enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the Master of the Camp was fain to lead to the Lord of *Trinity* (which was at *Touze*) for succour, or else all would have been lost. Which he did; and immediately he rode with all speed to *Lusarne* to save himself, hearing the Alarm which was given at *St. John* by those of *Angrogne*, and fearing lest the way should have been stopped. The Army retired with great difficulty (notwithstanding the new Aid which was sent them) and with great loss of Men. One of their Captains confessed since, that if they had been pursued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the Valley of *Lusarne*.

On Monday, being the 17th of March next following, the Lord of *Trinity*, to be revenged of those of the Meadow of *Touze*, assembled all the Force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the Country. Infomuch that whereas before his Army was commonly but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand: and secretly in the night season he encamped with part of his Army in the midst of *Angrogne*, from whence the poor Inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the Sermon and Prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the Army to be encamped at the foot of the Mountain of *Angrogne* on the East side. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the Army coasted the Hills side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their Harneis and marching in such array, that the poor People at the first were astonished therat. Notwithstanding, the Assembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, Help us O Lord; beseeching him to have regard to the glory of his holy Name, to stay the effusion of Blood, if it were his good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of their Enemies to the truth of his holy Gospel. These two parts of the Army joined together near to the Bulwarks of the Meadow of *Touze*, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the Bands mounted, secretly by the Rocks, thinking, to have inclosed the People in their Bulwarks. But as soon as they which kept the Bulwark below had espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them; and as they marched, they met with the Aid which was sent unto them from the Valley of *Lusarne*, very luckily, and coming as it were from Heaven: which joining together, soon discomfited their Enemies with Stones and

The enemies
retire.The An-
grognians
help their
fellows.The Perfi-
cious put
to flight.The An-
grognians
fall to
prayer.

Harquebusses. They pursued them fiercely in the Rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, because the Rocks are so steep that no Man can ascend or defend without great pain and difficulty. The Captain of this Band was named *Bastian of Virgil*, a Man very expert in the Affairs of War. He at his going out of his Lodging, threatened that he would do great and terrible things that day. His Hostels hearing that, said unto him, Monsieur, if our Religion be better than theirs, you shall have the Victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you shall not prevail. Shortly after the Captain was brought again into his Inn, so wounded and so feeble, that he was not like to live. Then said his Hostels unto him, Monsieur, it is now well seen that their Religion is better than ours.

There was also another Band which kept the top of the Hill, to assault the Bulwarks from thence. The middlemost Bulwark was then assaulted, in the which were very few to defend the same: the which seeing the number of their Enemies, retired back, leaving therein five only to defend it. There was a huge Rock not far from the foresaid Bulwark, behind the same a great number of the Enemies were hid. And anon there issued out two Ensigns, assuring themselves to win the Bulwark; but immediately one of their Ensign-bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many recoiled back; the other set up his Ensign upon the Bulwark. They which were within, had neither Halberd, nor any other long Weapon, but only one Pike, and the same without any Iron; the which one of the five took, and threw down the Ensign, and manfully beat back the Scalers, and threw them down to the ground. Divers of the Enemies were entered into the Bulwark by a Dore below, and flew one of the five which kept the middle part of the Bulwark. The other four looked to be destroyed out of hand. Then one of the four chased away those which had entered below, with stones: and the other three, leaving their Hand-guns, defended themselves likewise with great stones: and perceiving the Band which was on the Rocks to flee, they took courage, and withstood their Enemies valiantly till their Companions were returned from the chase.

In the mean time the Bulwark which was upon the side of the Mountain, was furiously assailed by the one half of the Army. Those that were within, suffered their Enemies to approach near to the Bulwark, without any Gunshot or other defence: whereat the Enemies much marvelled; but when they were even at hand, they fell upon them some with throwing of stones, some with rolling down mighty stones, and some with Harquebusses. There was a huge stone rolled down, which passed throughout the whole Army, and slew divers. The Souldiers at that time had won a little Cottage near to the said Bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor Men. But among them one devised to roll down a great huge stone against the Cottage, which so shook it, and amazed the Souldiers, that they thought they had been all destroyed, and incontinent they fled, and never would enter into it again.

Then the Souldiers made certain Fences of wood, five foot long, three foot broad, and of the thickness of three boards; but they were so sore vexed with the shot of the Harquebusses, that they were fain to lay all those Fences aside. The Miners also made others of earth for the Souldiers. But all these Policies of the Enemies availed them nothing: for the slaughter was so great, that in divers places you might have seen three lying dead one upon another. God so wrought with the poor Christians, that the shot of two Harquebusses slew four Men.

It was said for a certain, that the shot of an Harquebuss came so near the Lord of *Trinity's* head, that it brake a Wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire sixscore paces backward; and seeing his Souldiers in such great numbers murthered and wounded on every side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the rest of his Army. That day he thought assuredly to have entered into the Meadow of *Toure*. Moreover, he was determined, if that days journey had not succeeded, to incamp thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the Assault. Many Gentlemen and others came thither to see the discomfiture of the poor *Waldos*; and likewise those of the Plain looked for nothing, but to hear the piteous ruin and delolation of this poor People. But God disposed it otherwise; for the Lord of *Trinity* had much ado to save himself and his: and seeing the mischief which they intended

to do unto others, was fallen now upon their own heads, they were wonderfully astonished. They of the Plain also, when they saw the number of the dead Bodies and the Wounded to be so great (for from noon until the evening they ceased not to carry them away) were likewise exceedingly dismayed. Albeit they carried not away all; for there were many that lay near to the Bulwarks, which the People covered with winding-sheets the next morning. The Souldiers themselves confessed to them of the Meadow of *Toure*, that if they had pursued them, they had been all slain, they were so tired and clean out of heart.

Many marvelled why the People did not follow the Army, but especially the Souldiers, seeing the great discomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten such vantage of them already, but this was done for two causes. The one was, because they had already determined not to follow the Army being once retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves. The other cause was, for that they were weary, and had spent all their Munition: For many of them had shot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty, spending great store both of Pellets and Hail-shot. The rest of the Army retired, crying with a loud voice, *God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong.*

The next day one of the principal Captains of the Army furnished his Charge to the Lord of *Trinity*, laying unto him, that he would never fight against this People any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual Memory, that in that Combat there were but two of the *Waldos* slain, and two hurt. Through the whole Country of *Piedmont*, every Man said, God fighteth for them. One of the Captains confessed, that he had been at many fierce Assaults and Combats, and sundry Battels well fought, but yet he never saw Souldiers so fainthearted and amazed: yea, the Souldiers themselves told him, they were so astonished, that they could not strike. Moreover, they said, that this People never shot, but they hurt or killed some of the Souldiers. Some others said, That the Ministers by their Prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight: and indeed wonderful is it, and marvellous are the Judgments of God, that notwithstanding so many Combats and Conflicts, so great Assaults and Adventures, so much and so terrible shot, continually made against this poor People, yet all in a manner came to no effect: so mightily God's Holy Power wrought for his People. Inasmuch that, for all the said Combats, Skirmishes, and so many Conflicts of all the *Angrognians* there were but nine only that miscarried, and the whole number of those that were slain were but only fourteen Persons. Where also is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and those also but poor silly Shepherds and Neatherds, to encounter with such a mighty Power, of so strong and brave Souldiers coming against them with Weapons and Armour, being so well furnished and appointed with Munition, as they were in all points accordingly; and the other on the contrary side being warned, and unprovided of all habilliment of War, having for their defence for the most part nothing else but Slings and Stones, and a few Harquebusses.

The 5th of March there was a hot Skirmish at *Angrogne*. For three Companies of Souldiers went to *Angrogne*, to burn and spoil all that remained, and to destroy the Wives which were hidden in the ground. Where, amongst themselves, they mocked and flouted the poor People, saying, *Their Lutheran Waldos* are valiant Fellows behind their Bulwarks: but if they had been in the plain Field, they had been well vanquished. After this it chanced that thirty of the *Waldos* went and assailed these foresaid Companies in the plain Field. They fought a long season, and that so near, that some of them fought hand to hand. In this Conflict one of those of *Angrogne*, wrestled with a Captain of the Enemies, strong and mighty, and cast him down upon the ground. Many of the Souldiers were slain, and many hurt. But of the *Angrognians* there was but one slain, and another hurt a little, which notwithstanding gave not over to fight manfully. Then the Souldiers, seeing the loss of their Men, retired suddenly.

After that, the Lord of *Trinity* sent two Gentlemen of the Valley of *Luserne* to them of *Angrogne*, to feel them if they would come to any agreement. To whom answer

The proud
threats of
Nathan.

The Bul-
warks man-
fully de-
fended.

Behold the
Artillery of
this simple
People, and
what war
Weapons
they fought.

The Lord of
Trinity
with his Ar-
my driven
back.

Allen. 8

The Papists
astonished
and dismayed
on every side
by the won-
derful judg-
ment of
God.

God's Peo-
ple avoid the
shedding of
blood.

God fighteth
for his Peo-
ple.

Only 14 of
all the Wal-
doy slain in
all these
Conflicts.

Another
skirmish be-
tween the Ro-
mies and
the Angro-
gnians.

K. Hen. 8

Note the
practise of
Papists.

Behold how
this traitor-
ous Trinity,
while he
pretendeth
an Agree-
ment, seek
about to de-
stroy their
poor Men.

David spare
King Saul.

The just
dealing of
the Angro-
gnians.

Succoured
Viduaux
among the
Angrognians
God's Mercy
towards his
People.

was made, that they would stand to their first Answer. From that time he sent very often to intreat of the Agreement: but what his meaning was, it might well appear. For when the poor People hoped for some agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. Upon this, there was a day assigned in the Valley of *Lufene*, to confer touching the Agreement with certain Men pertaining to the Lord of *Raconis*, and a safe Conduct was promised and granted.

The night afore the Ministers and Rulers of *Angrogne* should take their Journey, they perceived a Company of Souldiers going up a Hill, by the which they of *Angrogne* should pass, and hid them in Houses on the ways side, thinking to take at unawares them of *Angrogne*, which were bent to treat of the Agreement. But they, having intelligence of this conspiracy, watched and warded. It was an easy matter, as divers thought, that night to have taken the Lord of *Trinity*, and have spoiled his whole Camp. But they of *Angrogne* and *Lufene* would not execute this enterprise, lest thereby they should offend God, and pass the bounds of their Vocation, taking upon them no more but to defend themselves.

At that time a pitiful case happened in the Meadow of *Toure*. The Lord of *Raconis*, seeming to be sorry for this War, sent into the Meadow of *Toure* an honest Man of *Briquerus*, named *Francis of Gilet*, to take advice what means were best to further the Agreement. Who, having consulted with the Ministers and Rulers, returned homeward that day according to his Master's Commandment, and having sent back one which conducted him, was murdered soon after at the foot of *Angrogne*, by two of *Angrogne* which otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good Parentage. Soon after, one of the two, which had committed this Fact, entered into the Meadow of *Toure*, and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confessed the Fact without any further delay. Immediately the other also was taken.

The *Waldos* were marvellously troubled and aggrieved with this Fact, and wrote to the Lord of *Raconis*, declaring unto him the whole Circumstance of the Fact, and that they had the Offenders in Ward, and that if it would please him to send certain to examine the matter, they for their part would execute justice in the punishment of them, that their innocency to all Men should appear. The Lord of *Raconis* wrote unto them that they should deliver unto him the Offenders, and that he would do such justice upon them, as the Case required. To the which they of *Angrogne* answered, That upon three Conditions they should be delivered according to his request. First, That the Prisoners should be compelled to do nothing against their Consciences; and as touching Religion, nothing should be spoken unto them, but out of the Word of God. Secondly, That speedy and sharp justice should be executed upon them; and that hereafter this should be no prejudice to the Liberties and Privileges of the People of *Angrogne*. The third, That the execution of them should be upon the Borders of *Angrogne*, for an example to all other. This being accorded with one assent (yea without contradiction of their Parents) they sent their Prisoners, accompanied with fixty Gunners, to the Confinnes of *Lufene*, and there delivered them into the hands of the Lord of *Raconis*. This redounded to the great commendation of them of *Angrogne*.

After this, the Lord of *Trinity*, having left certain Garrisons about *Angrogne*, and the Valley of *Lufene*, went to *Perouse* near to the Valley of *St. Martin*, to favour the Garrison there, being in great danger, and there remained a month. During which time, they of *Angrogne*, and the Valley of *Lufene*, lived in more quietness than afore; but yet they were much afflicted, by reason of the scarcity of Victuals which were pressed them, and namely those of the Meadow of *Toure*, for they were spoiled of their Victuals. This poor People lived with Milk and with Herbs, having very little Bread. But afterwards, when they were even like to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succour, both of Corn and Bread than they had before. The Enemies thought to have taken the Meadow of *Toure* by Famine: for they took away the Victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every Household was suffered to have no more than should sustain them that day, and that also was very little: to the end that they should not succour this poor People.

After that the Lord of *Trinity*, being returned from *Perouse* to *Lufene*, sent certain to intreat of an Agreement, and required to commune with some of the People. Then they began to consult and devise by all means, how they might come to some good Agreement. But on *Monday*, being the 17th of *April*, by break of day, he sent certain Bands of *Spaniards*, which he had there, with the Garrison of *Toure*, to the Mountain of *Tallret*, by the way which leadeth to the Meadow of *Toure*, on the South side.

They murdered Men, Women, and Children of *Tallret*, whom they found in their Beds. Then they marched on along upon the Mountain, towards the Meadow of *Toure*. Anon after, the People perceived two other Companies of Souldiers, marching by *Angrogne* by two several ways, to assault the Meadow of *Toure*. In the morning as soon as they rose, they blew their Horns, for they saw the *Spaniards* already entered. When they had made their Prayers, every Man ran to meet the Enemies: some on the East side, and the other on the South. They which first resisted the *Spaniards* (who were already past the Bulwarks) were in the beginning but twelve Gunners, and a few other, whom they caused to go up to the Hill, and roll down great Stones. These twelve, having found a fit place for their purpose to stay the *Spaniards*, began to shoot off their Harquebusses at them. The *Spaniards* seeing themselves to lose assaulted both above and beneath, and the place so narrow & so strait, recoiled back, and retired as fast as they could by the same way by the which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they had been enclosed between the two Mountains: which place was so strait, that they could not have escaped. The People chased them unto their Camp, which was at *Toure*. As they fled, they found often some Forts, where they did resist for a little while, but they were always beaten out. In this Combat, God gave victory to the poor *Waldos*, and great slaughter of the *Spaniards*, where also very many of them were sore hurt and wounded.

The said Lord of *Trinity* sent unto the *Spaniards*, that they should not faint and give over, but stick to it like Men, and he would shortly send them succour; but they would not. Those of the Valley of *Lufene*, hearing of this conflict, came in the mean time to help their Neighbours. Amongst others, there was one slain in that battle, for whom the Lord of *Trinity* much lamented, saying, that he would rather have lost a whole Band than that Man. The other two Companies which marched by *Angrogne*, perceiving the *Spaniards* to be so beaten and put to flight, and seeing also those of the Meadow of *Toure* coming to encounter with them, retired in haste. Upon that the Lord of *Trinity* went to *Cavours*, three miles from *Lufene*, being in a great perplexity; and as he was about to send succour to the *Spaniards*, he heard the found of a Drum above *Lufene*, and suspected that there was an Army of the *Waldos* coming against him. Upon this divers of the Souldiers fled away by the Plain, crying that all was lost. It was certainly reported, that if the *Waldos* had pursued the Army, as they might easily have done, the Camp had that day been chased out of *Lufene*. The poor people lacked no courage so to do; for albeit they had neither eat nor drunk all the day before, and had so fore travelled and fought, yet they said, that if they had but a little refreshed themselves with a morsel of Bread, and a glass of Wine, they durst take upon them to enter into the Camp of their Enemies.

Within a few days after, they of *Angrogne* were advertised by the Lord of *Trinity*'s Letters, that he fully determined to cut down their Trees and Vines, and destroy their Corn being on the ground. And furthermore, that two Forts should be built at *Angrogne*. The day was assigned, and Horsemen appointed, with all speed to execute this mischievous enterprise. The poor people thought that they should be assailed as sore as ever they were, and right as hard as ever they did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt; for the night afore that this should be executed, the Lord of *Trinity* received certain Letters from the Duke, which said this enterprise. They of the Meadow of *Toure* being advertised that the Lord of *Trinity* did now intend to send Ordnance to beat down the Bulwarks which were made of Stones, they made a Bulwark of Earth, which was in compass about 500 paces, which they might easily see from *Lufene*. They in the Meadow of *Toure* told the Lord of *Trinity*'s Men, that if they brought any Artillery, they should

Note how
this bloody
wereth pre-
tending an
Agreement,
peace and
quietness,
suddenly
seeth the
destruction
of this poor
people.

The people
of Tallret
curiously
murdered
the
Spaniards.

The Trum-
pets of the
Waldos.

The Span-
ards be-
came
back.

God giveth
victory to
the *Waldos*
against the
Spaniards.

God taketh
the hearts
from his
Enemies.

God giveth
courage to
the poor
Waldos.

The mischie-
vous purpose
of Trinity
ruled by the
mercies
of God.

not to soon carry it away again; and shortly the Ordinance was sent back again.

The Wal-
doy send a
Supplicati-
on to the
Dutchels.

About this season, the chief Rulers and Ministers of the *Waldos*, requested earnestly the Lord of *Racenis* to present a Supplication which they had made to the Dutchels of *Savoy*: for they had intelligence, that she was fore offended that her Subjects were so cruelly handled. In which Supplication they declared the equity of their Cause, protesting all due obedience to the Duke their Sovereign Lord, and if it might be proved by the pure Word of God that they held any Error, they would with all humble submission receive correction, and be reformed, humbly beseeching her Grace to appease the displeasure which the Duke had conceived against them, by the untrue furnishes of their Adversaries; and if there were any thing wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious Pardon.

The Lord of
Trinity fore
s.k.

About this time the Lord of *Trinity*, by sickness, was in great danger of his Life. Soon after the Supplication was delivered, the Dutchels sent an Answer to the *Waldos*, by the said Lord of *Racenis*. The effect thereof was, That she had obtained of the Duke's Grace all that they demanded in their Supplication, upon such conditions as the said Lord *Racenis* would propound unto them. But when they understood that the said Conditions were very rigorous, they sent another Supplication unto the Dutchels, wherein they humbly besought her Grace to be a means that the said Conditions and Articles might be moderated; which Articles here follow.

Another
Supplication
sent to the
Dutchels.

First, *That they should banish their Ministers.*

Secondly, *That they should receive the Mass, and other Ceremonies of the Romish Church.*

Thirdly, *That they should pay a Ransom to the Souldiers for certain of their Men which they had taken.*

Fourthly, *That they should assemble and preach no more as they were wont to do.*

Fifthly, *That the Duke would make Fortresses at his pleasure in all that Country, with other like things.*

The Suppli-
cation of
the Dut-
chels.

The People made humble request in this their last Supplication, That it would please the said Dutchels to give the Duke her Husband to understand, how that these Conditions were strange and rigorous. And as for their parts, altho they had good trial of their Ministers, that they were good Men and fearing God, of sound Doctrine, of good Life, and honest Conversation; yet nevertheless they were contented so to do, if he would give leave to some of them to remain: requesting this, that it might be permitted unto them to chuse some other good Ministers in their places, before they departed, lest that their Churches should remain without Pastors.

The Condi-
tion where-
unto the
Waldos
did agree
and consent.

Concerning the Mass, and other Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, if the Duke should cause them to be ministered in their Parishes, they neither would nor could withstand the same, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to those that should minister them, or be present thereat: notwithstanding they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselves at the ministrations thereof, or to pay any thing to the maintenance of the same, or else to yield either favour or consent thereunto.

As touching the Ransom which was demanded of them for their Prisoners, considering the extreme Poverty that they were in, and the great Calamities and Damages which they had suffered, it was to them a thing impossible. Yea, if his Highness were truly informed what loss they had sustained, by burning, spoiling, and lacking of their Houses and Goods, without all mercy or pity, he would not only not require of them any such thing, but as a gracious and merciful Prince, he would succour and support them, that they might be able to maintain their poor Families, whom they nourished (as they were bound to do) to the Service of God, and of their said Lord and Prince: and therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poor Brethren remaining in Captivity and Prison, and such as were sent to

the Gallies for the profession of their Religion, might speedily be delivered and set at liberty.

K.Hen. 8

As for their Assemblies and Preachings, they were contented that they should be kept only amongst themselves, in their accustomed Places, and in other Valleys aforesaid, where any Assembly of the Faithful should be, which were desirous to hear the preaching of the Gospel.

Touching the Fortresses, so far as by those which were already made, they had suffered great molestations and troubles, as well concerning their Goods, as also their Religion: they were assured, that if he should build up new Forts, they should never be able to abide the Troubles, Miseries, and Calamities that would follow thereupon; and therefore they most humbly desired the said Dutchels to be so good and gracious unto them, as to obtain of the Duke, that he would accept their Persons in the stead of Forts; and that, seeing those Places were by Nature and of themselves strong and well fortified, it might please their said Lord the Duke to receive them into his protection and safeguard: and by the Grace and Assistance of God they would serve him themselves for such Walls and Forts, that he should not need to build any other. And because many of these which dwelt near about them had robbed and spoiled them, not only of their household Goods and such other things, but also driven away their Cattel; that it might please him to give them leave to recover the said Goods by way of Justice, and to buy again that which the Souldiers had sold, and that for the same price for the which it was sold.

Briefly, they also besought their said Lord, that it may please him to be so gracious unto them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their Franchises, Immunities, and Privileges, as well general as particular, given unto them as well by him as by his Predecessors: likewise of those which as well they as their Ancestors had bought of their Lords, and to receive them, as his most humble and obedient Subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

And because in time past, in the stead of good and speedy Justice, all iniquity was committed by those that had the administration of Justice in their Valleys, and so far as their Purges were emptied and punished rather than the Malefactors, that it might please him to give order that such Justice might be done amongst them; whereby the Wicked might be punished with all severity, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

Finally, so far as divers of this poor People (being astonished at the coming of the Army, and fearing lest they should not only be spoiled of all their Good, but also they with their Wives and Children be utterly destroyed) made promise against their Consciences, to live according to the Traditions of the Church of *Rome*: they were marvelously troubled and tormented in spirit; and did nothing but languish in that distress. Wherefore they humbly besought the said Dutchels to take pity upon them, and to obtain that they might not be compelled to do any thing against their Conscience; and moreover, that it might please the Duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of Conscience; also, that all their poor Brethren, banished for the Cause of Religion, might return home to their Houses; and that all Confiscations and Penalties made against them, might be abolished. And for their part, they promised to give all due reverence and honour to God and his Holy Word, and to be true and faithful Subjects unto their Lord and Prince. Yea, more than any other. Underneath the said Supplication there was written:

Torment of
Conscience
in sliding
from the
Truth.

Your faithful and humble Subjects, the poor afflicted of the Valleys of Luserne, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, and generally all the People of the Waldos, which inhabit the Country of Piedmont.

After that this Supplication was viewed and read of the said Dutchels, she so persuaded with the Duke, that answer was made with these conditions, declared in these Articles following.

Conclusions

K. Hen. 8

Conclusions and Articles lastly agreed upon between the right honourable Lord of Raconis on the part of the Duke's Highness, and them of the Valleys of Piedmont, called the Walldoys.

That there shall shortly be made Letters Patents by the Duke's Highness, by the which it may appear that he hath forgiven and pardoned them of the Valleys of *Angrogne, Boby, Villars, Valquichard, Rora, Taileret, La Rua de Bonet* (bordering upon *Toune*) *St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapia, St. Baribolomew*, and all such as have aided them; of all such Faults as they have committed, as well in bearing Armour against his Highness, as against the Lords and certain other Gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

That it shall be lawful for them of *Angrogne, Boby, Villars, Valquichard, Rora*, (Members of the Valley of *Luserne*) and for them of *Rodris, Marce, Manailan, and Salva*, Members of the Valley of *St. Martin*, to have their Congregations, Sermons, and other Ministeries of their Religion in places accustomed.

That it shall be lawful for them of *Villars* (Members of the Valley of *Luserne*) to have the same, but that only until the time that his Highness doth build a Fort in the same place. But whilst the said Fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their Preachings and Assemblies within the said precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, where they shall think good, on that side towards *Boby*. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to their Ministers to come within the Precinct aforesaid, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their Religion, so that they preach not, nor make any Assembly there.

It shall also be permitted to them of *Taileret, La Rua de Bonet*, bordering upon *Toune*, to have their Sermons and Assemblies in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the Confines of *Toune*.

That it shall not be lawful for the said Members of the Valleys of *Luserne* and *St. Martin*, to come to the rest of their Borders, nor any other of his Highness Dominions: nor to have their Preachings, Assemblies, or Disputations, out of their own Borders, having liberty to have them therein. And if they be examined of their Faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in Body or Goods.

The like shall be lawful for them of the parish of *Perouse*, which at this present are fled because of the said Religion, and were wont to have their Assemblies and Preachings, and other Ministeries according to their Religion, at the place called *le Puis*: so that they come not to other places and borders of the said Parish.

It shall be permitted to them of the Parish of *Pinachia*, of the Valley of *Perouse*, which at this present be fled because of the said Religion, and were wont to go to Sermons and Assemblies, and other Ministeries of that Religion, to have the like, only at the place called *le Grandobion*.

It shall be permitted to them of the Parish of *S. Germain*, of the Valley of *Perouse*, and to them of *Roccapia*, which at this present are fled because of the said Religion, and continue in the same, to have one only Minister, which may the one day preach at *St. Germain*, at the place called *le Adornilleux*, and the other day at *Roccapia*, at the place called *Vandini* only.

It shall be permitted to all them of the Towns and Villages of the said Valleys, which at this present are fled, and continue in the said Religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this War against the said Religion, to repair and return to their Houses with their Households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the Sermons and Assemblies which shall be made by their Ministers in the places above specified; so that they obey that which is above-said.

And because that many of the said Towns and Villages dwell out of the Precinct of the Preaching, having need to

be visited, and of other things according to their said Religion, their Ministers, which dwell within the Precinct, shall be suffered, without prejudice, to visit and duly aid them of such Ministeries as shall be necessary for them, so that they make no Sermons or Assemblies.

By especial Grace it shall be permitted to all them of the Valley of *Meane*, and them of *St. Baribolomew*, Neighbours to *Roccapia*, and are fled and continue in the said Religion, peaceably to enjoy the Grace and Liberties granted in the next Article before, so that they observe all which they before promise to observe.

The Goods already seized as forfeit, shall be restored to all the Inhabitants of the said Valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the said Religion, as well of them of the said Valleys, as of *Roccapia, St. Baribolomew*, and of *Meane*, so that they be not seized for any other cause than for the said Religion, and for the War present and lately past.

It shall be lawful for them aforesaid to recover by way of Justice, of their Neighbours, their moveable Goods and Cattel, so it be not of Souldiers: and that which hath been sold, they shall also recover by way of Justice, so that they restore the price for which it hath been sold. Their Neighbours shall have the like against them.

All the Franchises, Freedoms, and Privileges, as well general as particular, granted as well by his Highness Predecessors, as by himself, and obtained of other inferior Lords; whereof they shall make proof by publick writing, shall be confirmed unto them.

The said Valleys shall be provided for, to have good Justice ministered unto them, whereby they may know they are kept in safeguard by his Highness, as well as all his other Subjects.

The Inhabitants of the said Valleys, shall make a Roll of all the Names and Surnames of all them of the said Valleys, which are fled for Religion, as well such as have abjured as others, to the end they may be restored and maintained in their Goods and Households, and enjoy such Grace and Benefits as their Prince and Lord hath bestowed on them.

And inasmuch as it is known to every Man, that the Prince may build Fortresses in his Country, where it shall please him without contradiction, nevertheless to take all suspicion out of the minds of the aforesaid *Walldoys*, it is declared, that if at any time hereafter his Highness will make a Fort of *Villars*, the Inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the Charges, but only as they shall think good, lovingly to aid their Prince. Which Fort being builded (by God's Aid) a Governor and Captain shall therein be appointed, which shall attempt nothing but the service of his Highness, without offence of the Inhabitants, either in their Goods or Consciences.

It shall be lawful for them, before the discharging of their Ministers, such as it shall please his Highness to have discharged, to chuse and call other in their steads: so that they chuse not *Mr. Martin de Pragela*, nor change not from one place to another of the said Valleys, any of them which be discharged.

The Mass, and other Service after the usage of *Rome*, shall be kept in all the Parishes of the said Valleys, where the Sermons, Assemblies, and other Ministeries of their Religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present thereat, nor to minister aid or favour to such as shall use that Service.

All the Expences and Charges born by his Highness in this War, shall be forgiven and released to them for ever: also the 8000 Crowns wherein the Inhabitants of the said Valleys were behind, as part of 16000 Crowns which they had promised in the War passed. And his Highness will command that the Writings for that cause made, shall be annulled and cancelled.

All the Prisoners shall be rendered and restored which shall be found to be in the hands of the Souldiers, paying Ranfom reasonable, according to their Goods, as they shall be seized: and those which shall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released without ranfom.

Likewise all they of the said Valleys, which for Religion, and not for other Causes, are detained in the Gallies, shall be released without Ranfom.

Finally, It shall be lawful for all them of the said Valleys, them of *Meane, Roccapia*, and *St. Baribolomew*, of what degree, estate, and condition soever they be

The Parish of Meane, and St. Baribolomew.

The Goods of the Walldoys restored.

The Liberties restored.

The Parish of Taileret, La Rua de Bonet.

The Valleys of Luserne & St. Martin.

The Parish of Perouse.

The Parish of Pinachia.

The Parish of S. Germain.

Order for Villages being far from the Parish Church.

Mr. Martin de Pragela, Minister of the Walldoys.

Mass set up, but not compelled, to come to it.

The Prisoners released by ranfom reasonable.

The Captives in Gallies restored.

la (except Ministers) to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily conversation with the rest of his Highness's Subjects, and to tarry, go, and come in all places of his Highness's Country, to sell and buy, and use all Trades of Merchandise, in all places in his Highness's Country, as before is said, so that they preach not, nor make any Assemblies or Disputations, as we have before said: And that they which be of the Limits dwell not out of them: and they dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: And in so doing they shall not be molested by any means, and shall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods, but shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his Highness.

Furthermore, his Highness shall let order to stay all troubles, inconveniences, secret conspiracies of wicked Persons, after such sort, that they shall remain quietly in their Religion. For observation whereof, *George Monastier*, one of the Elders of *Angrogne*; *Constantin Dialstini*, otherwise called *Rembaldo*, one of the Elders of *Villars*; *Pirrone Arduino*, sent from the Communality of *Boby*; *Michael Rammet*, sent from the Communality of *Taillet*, and of *La Rue de Bonet*, bordering upon *Touze*; *John Malenose*, sent from certain Persons of *St. John*; *Peter Paschall*, sent from the Communality of the Valley of *St. Martin*; *Thomas Remaw* of *St. Germaine*, sent from the Communality of the same place, and of all the Valley of *Perouse*, promise for them and their Communalities severally, that the Contents of these Conclusions aforesaid shall be inviolably kept, and for breach thereof do submit themselves to such punishment as shall please his Highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the Families or the Communalities to allow and confirm the said Promise.

The honourable Lord of *Raconis* doth promise, that the Duke's Highness shall confirm and allow the foresaid Conclusions to them, both generally and particularly, at the intercession and special favour of the noble Lady the Princess.

In testimony whereof, the foresaid Lord of *Raconis* hath confirmed these present Conclusions with his own hand; and the Ministers have likewise subscribed in the name of all the said Vallies; and they which can write, in the name of all their Communalities.

At Cavor, the 5th day of June, 1562.

Philip of Savoy,
Francis Valla, Minister of *Villars*.
Claudius Burgius, Minister of *Taillet*.
Georgius Monastierius,
Michael Rammet.

This Accord being thus made and passed, by the means of the Dutchess of *Savoy*, the poor *Waldoys* have been in quiet until this present: and God of his infinite goodness having delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at liberty to serve him purely, and with quietness of conscience.

Wherefore there is none at this present, (except he be altogether blind or senseless) but he seeth and well perceiveth, that God would make it known by experience to these poor *Waldoys*, and all other faithful People, that all things turn to the best to them which love and fear him: For by all these Afflictions which they suffered, (as is before rehearsed) this good heavenly Father hath brought them to repentance and amendment of life; he hath effectually taught them to have recourse to his Fatherly Mercy, and to embrace *Jesus Christ* for their only Saviour and Redeemer.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the Flesh, to withdraw their hearts from the World, and lift them up to Heaven; and to be always in a readiness to come to him, as unto their most loving and pitiful Father. To be short, he hath sent them to the School of his Children, to the end they should profit in patience and hope; to make them to mourn, weep, and cry unto him. And above all, he hath made them so often to prove his succours at time of need, to see them before their eyes, to feel and touch them with their hands (as a Man would say) after such sort, that they have had good occasion, and all the Faithful with them, never to distrust so good a Father, and so careful for the health of his Children, but to assure themselves they shall never be confounded, what thing soever happen.

And yet to see this more manifestly, and that every Man may take profit thereof, it shall be good to understand what this poor People did whilst they were in these Combats and Conflicts. So soon as they saw the Army of their Enemies approach, they cried all together for aid and succour to the Lord; and before they came to defend themselves, they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted up their hearts, and fought to the Lord. As long as the Enemies were at rest, every one of these poor People on their knees called upon God. When the Combat was ended, they gave him thanks for the comfort and succour which they had felt. In the mean time the rest of the People, with their Ministers, made their hearty prayer unto God, with sighs and tears, and that from the morning until the evening. When night was come, they assembled again together: They which had fought, rehearsed the wonderful aid and succour which God had sent them, and so all together rendred thanks unto him for his fatherly goodness. Always he changed their sorrow into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all sides; but by the evening they were delivered, and had great cause of rejoicing and comfort.

This poor People had two terrible Enemies, War and Famine, which kept them under in such sort, that a Man would have thought they had been utterly lost and destroyed: But God of his endless mercy delivered them from such dangers, and restored them to their houses, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietness; and all they which had declared themselves to be their open Enemies, were brought to confusion, as well those which fought to get their goods, as those which only desired to shed their blood. For proof whereof, the only example of two Gentlemen of the Valley of *Luserne* shall suffice. These not only moved cruel War against their poor Tenants and others, but most shamefully spoiled them, and took intolerable Fines of all those that disobeyed their Edicts to keep a good Conscience.

Besides this, they went about to seize all their Goods as forfeit, waiting to have the whole forfeiture thereof themselves. And for this cause they did not only incense the Duke with false reports, and with grievous complaints and accusations against these poor *Waldoys*, but also pursued the same so long, and with such charges, that they were fain to sell their inheritance, in hope to bring their purpose to pass, and to enjoy that goodly Prey, which they thought could not escape their hands. But in the end for their reward they got nothing but shame and confusion.

And as for the Monks and Priests, which by such means thought to advance themselves, and to bring their Turbidity in estimation, they have lost the little Rule which they had over that People, and are confounded, and their Religion brought to disdain. Thus God beareth down those which exalt themselves above measure, and maketh his Adversaries to fall into the pits which they themselves have made. Let us pray unto him therefore, that it would please him likewise to stretch out his puissant Arm at this day to maintain his poor Church now afflicted, and to confound all the devices of Satan and his Members, to the advancement of his Glory and Kingdom.

The Conclusion of the Story.

And thus hast thou, Christian Reader, for thy erudition and comfort, the story and doings discoursed concerning these two Countries, both of *Province* and also of *Piedmont*, the one being subject under the dominion of *France*, the other belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*; in the which two foresaid Regions and Countries how long the Gospel of *Christ* hath continued (even from the time of the first *Waldenses*) the History itself declareth.

Furthermore, what injuries and Wrongs have been done against them for the Gospel's sake, what rigour and cruelty hath been shewed of the adversary part: again, for their part, what patience in their suffering, what constancy in their doctrine, what truth in their words, and simplicity in their deeds, what obedience towards their Magistrates, and faith towards God they have used; and finally, how miraculously and mightily God hath fought for his People, and confounded the Enemies, the said History may give thee full knowledge and experience.

Wherein

The liberty
of Trade is
granted.

The Elders
of the Val-
lies of Pied-
mont.

The Lord of
Raconis.

The Lady
Princess In-
tercessor for
the *Waldoys*.

All things
turn to the
best to them
that love the
Lord.

R. Hen. 8.

The behavior
of these good
Men in their
Persecutions

War and
Famine two
Enemies
against these
Men.

Example of
Gods favour
towards his
Servants, and
confusion
towards their
Persecutors.

The conclu-
sion of the
story of Me-
tindol and
Angrogne
Metindol
and Calvares
in Province
under the
French King,
Angrogne
and others
under the
Duke of
Savoy.
The cruelty
of the Ad-
versaries.
The patience
of the
Martyrs.

R. Hen. 8.

Then they which are in Jewry, let them fly in to the Mountains, Luke 21.

The Walds compelled to defend themselves.

Note how the Lord blessed the Walds, leading to their own defence.

Wherein this thou hast moreover, for thy more learning, to note and consider with thy self, besides many other memorable things in this Story contained, how unwilling this People were at first, and what remorse of Conscience they had for their obedience towards their Magistrates, to lift up any hand or finger for their own defence. And therefore many of them being slain and cruelly murdered, as willingly offering their Throats without any resistance to the cruel hands of their Enemies, the rest were compelled to fly into the Mountains, being spoiled of House, Victual, and Weapon, only to save their poor lives with flying (which otherwise they would not with resisting) in Rocks and Caves, thinking there rather to perish by Famine, than to use that defence for themselves, which Nature giveth to every brute Beast to help it self, as it may, against violence and injury. Yet these poor *Walds* refusing all resistance, and laying down their own Weapons (for obedience sake) yea, not lifting up their own hands to defend their own heads, only used the poor shift of flying from their Enemies, till at length, the rage of those bloody Persecutors, satisfied with no Blood, nor contented with any reason, ceased not fill most furiously to infect them, yea, to take also the Mountains from them, which he had taken from them their Houses before; neither yet permitting them to live with the wild Beasts in the Desert, which could not live in their Towns at home, till at length, by extreme necessity, the Providence of God so working with them, they were compelled to turn their faces, and to take those Weapons, which the ground gave unto their hands. And with these stones so marvellously the God of Hosts wrought for his People, that they beat, vanquished, and overthrew their Adversaries, they confounded their Pride, they abated their Malice, and at last stayed the intolerable rage of their Persecution. So mercifully and victoriously the Lord God Omnipotent fought with his People, or rather for his People, they but turning almost their faces to their Enemies, no otherwise than he fought in times past with *Jehona* against the Heathen, with the *Israelites* against the *Philistines*, with the *Maccabees* against *Antiochus* and the *Syrians*.

This History carrying with it a true narration of things done in the said Country of *Piedmont*, and written as it seemeth by certain of the Ministers which were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and simplicity we have collected, partly out of the Italian, and partly out of the French Tongue: for in both Languages it is written, altho in the French Tongue it is much more largely discoursed, which Book most principally herein we have followed; the Title

whereof thus beginneth, *Histoire des persecutions & Guerres faitz contre le peuple appelle Vauds, &c.*

Now that we have finished these Foreign Histories, concerning such Matters as have been passed in other Realms and Nations, of *Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Savoy*; consequently it remaineth, after this digress, to return and reduce our story again to our own Country Matters, here done and passed at Home, after that first we shall have added one foreign Story more concerning the martyrdom of a Christian Jew, which suffered about these years in *Constantinople* among the Turks, in this wise as followeth.

The story of a Christian Jew in Constantinople, martyred by the Turks.

A Jew christened and martyred at Constantinople. Anno 1528.

The Turks of Constantinople.

TO these Foreign Martyrs aforesaid we will adjoin the History of a certain Jew, who in the year of our Lord 1528, dwelling in the City of *Constantinople*, and there receiving the Sacrament of Baptism, was converted; and became a good Christian. When the Turks understood hereof, they were vehemently exasperated against him, that he forsaking his Jewishness, should be regenerate to the Faith of Christ; and fearing lest his Conversation should be a detriment to their Mahometical Law, they sought means how to put him to death; which in short time after they accomplished. And for the greater infamy to be done to the Man, they cast his dead Corps into the streets, commanding that no Man should be so hardy as to bury the same.

Wherein the marvellous Glory and Power of Christ appeared. For the dead Corps lying so by the space of nine days in the midst of the streets, retained so his native colour, and was so fresh, without any kind of filthiness or corruption, and also not without a certain pleasant and delectable scent or odour, as if it had been lately slain, or rather not slain at all. Which when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvellously astonished; and being greatly afraid, they themselves took it up, and carried it to a place near without the Town, and buried it.

Ex lib. clal. It. & Italian.

Anno 1528.

A Christian Jew Martyr.

The Martyrdome of a Christian Jew.



The

The Conclusion.

The Contents of the Book before following.

Antichrist long hid, and now revealed.

Having thus comprehended the Troubles and Persecutions of such godly Saints, and blessed Martyrs, which have suffered in other Forreign Nations above mentioned: here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth Book, we are, God willing, to return again to our own Matters, and to prosecute such Acts and Records, as to our own Countrey of England do appertain. In the process whereof, among many other things, may appear the marvellous Work of God's Power and Mercy in suppressing and banishing out of this Realm, the long usurped Supremacy of the Pope: also in subverting and overthrowing the Houses of Monks and Friars, with divers other matters appertaining to the Reformation of Christ's true Church and Religion. All which things as they have been long wished, and greatly groaned for in times past of many godly learned Men: so much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, seeing these days of Reformation which God hath given us. If John Husse, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wickliffe before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; If Zisca with all the Company of the Bohemians; if the Earl Reymundus, with all the Tholosians; if the Waldos, or the Albigenses, with infinite other, had been either in these our Times now, or else had seen then this ruin of the Pope, and revealing of Antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispensed unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now beholding that thing which they so long time have wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but render therefore most humble thanks to the Lord our God: who by his mighty Power, and the brightness of his Word, hath revealed this great Enemy of his so manifestly to the eyes of all Men, who before was hid in the Church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espy him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, the Bishop of Rome (commonly received and believed, almost of all Men, to be the Vicar and Vicegerent of Christ here in Earth) to be Antichrist, and the great Adversary of God, whom St. Paul so expressly prophesieth of in these latter days to be revealed by the brightness of the Lord's coming, as all Men now for the most part may see it is come to pass? Wherefore to the Lord, and Father of Lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

The End of the Seventh Book.

KING
Hen. 8.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

CONTINUING

The History of *English* matters appertaining to both States, as well *Ecclesiastical*, as *Civil* and *Temporal*.

Martyrs of
Coventry.Mist. Smith
R. Hatches,
Archer,
Hawkins,
Thom. Bond,
Wrighton,
Landfild,
Martyrs.

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their
Martyrdom.

Mistress Smith, Widow.
Robert Hatches a Shoemaker.
Archer a Shoemaker.
Hawkins a Shoemaker.
Thomas Bond a Shoemaker.
Wrighton a Glover.
Landfild a Hosier.
At Coventry Anno 1519.

Simon Mour-
ton, the Bi-
shops Sum-
mer.

THe principal cause of the apprehension of these persons was, for teaching their Children and Family the Lords Prayer and Ten Commandments in English, for which they were upon *Ashwednesday* taken and put in prison, some in places under ground, some in Chambers and other places about, all *Friday* following.

The Bishop of
Coventry.

Then they were sent to a Monastery called *Mackfack* Abby, Six

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their
Martyrdom.

miles from *Coventry*. During which time their Children were sent for to *Gray-Friers* in *Coventry*, before the Warden of the said Friers, called *Frier Stafford*: who straitly examining them of their Belief, and what Heresies their Fathers had taught them, charged them upon pain of suffering such death as their Fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in English.

Frier Stafford
Warden.

When done, upon *Palm-Sunday* the Fathers of these Children were brought back again to *Coventry*, and there the Week next before *Easter* were condemned for relapse (because most of them had born Fagots in the same City before) to be burned.

Only *Mistress Smith* was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And

Seven godly Martyrs burned in Coventry



because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as the should go home, the foresaid *Simon Mourton* the Surmner offered himself to go home

with her. Now as he was leading her by the Arm, and heard the rattling of a Scrol within her Sleeve; Yea, saith he, what have ye here? And

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their
Martyrdom.

so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lords Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. Which when the wretched Sumner understood; *Ab Sirrba*, said he, *Come, as good now as another time*; and so brought her back again to the Bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the six Men before named, the Fourth of April, in a place thereby called the little Park, Anno 1519.

Robert Silkeby.
At Coventry Anno 1521.

In the same number of these Country Men above rehearsed was also *Robert Silkeby*, who at the apprehension of these, as is above recited, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the said City of *Coventry*, where he was also burned the morrow after he came thither, which was about the Thirteenth day of *January*, Anno 1521.

Thus, when these were dispatched, immediately the Sheriffs went to their Houses, and took all their Goods and Cattel to their own use, not leaving their Wives and Children any parcel thereof to help themselves withal. And forasmuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty shewed, and at the unjust death of these innocent Martyrs, the Bishop, with his Officers and Priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their Tenants, Servants, and Farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lords Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat Flesh on *Fridays* and other Fast days. Which could not be proved either before their death or after, nor yet was any such matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of this History be yet alive, which both saw them and knew them. Of whom one is by name *Mother Hall*, dwelling now in *Bacington*, two miles from *Coventry*. By whom also this is testified of them, that they above all other in *Coventry* pretended most shew of worship and devotion at the holding up of the Sacrament, whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not known. This is certain, that in godliness of life they differed from all the rest of the City: Neither in their occupying would they use any Oath, nor could abide it in them that occupied with them.

James Beton
Archbishop
of Saint
Andrews.

M. Hew
Spens, Dean
of Divinity
in the Uni-
versity of St.
Andrews.

Patrick Hamelton a Scottish Man born, of an high and Noble Stock, and of the Kings blood, young, and of flourishing age, and excellent towards, of twenty three years, called *Abbot of Ferme*, first coming out of his Country with three companions, to seek godly learning, went to the University of *Marpurge* in *Germany*, which University was then newly Erected by *Philip Laungrave* of *Hef*, where he using

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their
Martyrdom.

M. John
Weddel, Re-
ctor of the
University.

James Simp-
son, Official.

Tb. Ramfay,
Canon, and
Dean of the
Abbey of St.
Andrews.

Allane Mel-
drum, Can-
on.

John Grefon,
principal of
the Black-
Friars.

John Dilli-
daff, Warden
of the Gray-
Friars.

Mart. Bal-
bur Lawyer.
John Spens,
Lawyer.

Alex. Yong,
Bachelor of
Divinity, Ca-
non.

Frier Alex.
Chambel,
Prior of the
Black-Fri-
ers, &c.

conference and familiarity with learned men, namely with *Franciscus Lambertus*, so profited in knowledge, and mature judgment in matters of Religion, that he through the incitation of the said Lambert was the first in all that University of *Marpurge* which publicly did set up Conclusions there to be disputed of, concerning Faith and Works: arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the same. What these propositions and conclusions were, partly in his Treatise hereafter following, called *Patrick's Places*, may appear.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned *Patrick* increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to resolve with himself touching his return into his Country, being desirous to impart unto his Country-men, some fruit of understanding, which he had received abroad. Whereupon, perceiving in his godly purpose, he took one of the three which he brought out of *Scotland*, and so return home without any longer delay. Where he not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refuted their abuses, was first accused of Heresie, and afterward constantly and stoutly sustaining the quarrel of Gods Gospel, against the High-Priest and Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, named *James Beton*, was cited to appear before him and his College of Priests, the First day of *March*, Anno 1527. But he being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in Spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for, and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the Scriptures be convicted, by force he was oppressed: and so the Sentence of Condemnation being given against him, the same day after Dinner, in all the hot haste, he was had away to the Fire, and there Burned; the King being yet but a Child, which thing made the Bishops more bold. And thus was this Noble *Hamelton*, the blessed Servant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruel Adversaries, yet not without great fruit to the Church of Christ; for the grave testimony of his blood left the verity and truth of God more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many, than ever could after be pluckt away: inasmuch that divers afterward, standing in his quarrel, sustained also the like Martyrdom, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear, as place and time shall require.

In the mean season we think good to express here his Articles, and Order of his Process, as we received them from *Scotland*, out of the Registers.

KING
[H. 8.]

Of this Phi-
lip Lam-
grave of
Hef, read
before.

Of the Uni-
versity of
Marpurge
read before.

The godly
zeal of St.
Hamelton
towards
his Country.

The Mar-
tyrdom and
burning of
Mr. Patrick
Hamelton.

The

M. Smith
condemned
for having
the Lords
Prayer in
English.
Anno 1520.
Rob. Silkeby.
Martyr.

Testimony
of the
Story.

Note how
these Mar-
tyrs holding
with the
Popish Sa-
craments,
yet were
burned of
the Popish
only for a
few Scrip-
tures in
English.

[Ann.]
1527

The Story
of M. Pa-
rick Ha-
melton, in
Scotland.

{KING
Hm.8.}

The Articles and Opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamelton, by James Beton Archbishop of Saint Andrews.

Articles out
of the Regi-
sters.

That Man hath no Free-will.

That there is no Purgatory.

That the Holy Patriarks were in Heaven before Christs passion.

That the Pope hath no power to loose and bind: Neither any Pope had that power after Saint Peter.

That the Pope is Antichrist, and that every Priest hath the power that the Pope hath.

That Master Patrick Hamelton was a Bishop.

That it is not necessary to obtain any Bulls from any Bishop.

That the Vow of the Popes Religion is a Vow of Wickedness.

That the Popes Laws be of no strength.

That all Christians, worthy to be called Christians, do know that they be in the state of Grace.

That none be saved, but they are before Predestination.

Whoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.

That God is the cause of sin, in this sense, that is, that he withdraweth his grace from Men, whereby they sin.

That it is diabolical Doctrine, to enjoy to any inner actual penance for sin.

That the said Master Patrick himself doubteth whether all Children, departing incontinent after their Baptism, are saved or condemned.

That Auricular Confession is not necessary to Salvation.

These Articles above written were given in, and laid against M. Hamelton, and inserted in their Registers, for the which also he was condemned, by them which hated him to death. But other learned Men, which commended and reasoned with him, do testify, that these Articles following were the very Articles, for the which he suffered.

1. Man hath no Free-will.

2. A Man is only justified by Faith in Christ.

3. A Man so long as he liveth, is not without sin.

4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, which believeth not that he is in grace.

5. A good Man doth good Works: good Works do not make a good Man.

6. An evil Man bringeth forth evil Works: evil Works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil Man.

7. Faith, Hope, and Charity be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one Man in this Life.

And as touching the other Articles, whereupon the Doctors gave their Judgments, as divers do report, he was not accused of them before the Bishop. Albeit in private disputation he affirmed and defended the most of them.

Here followeth the Sentence Pronounced against him.

The sen-
tence is
given by
Patrick
Hamelton.

Christi nomine invocato: We James, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Primate of Scotland, with the Council, Decree, and Authority of the Most reverend Fathers in God, and Lords, Abbots, Doctors, of Theology, Professors of the Holy Scripture, and Masters of the University, assisting us for the time, sitting in Judgment within our Metropolitan Church of Saint Andrews, in the cause of Heretical gravity, against Master Patrick Hamelton, Abbot or Penitentiary of Fettes, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain Articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful Inquisition made in Lent last past: We have found the same Master Patrick many ways infamed with Heresie, disputing, holding and maintaining divers Heresies of Martin Luther, and his Followers, repugnant to our Faith, and which are already * condemned by general Councils, and most famous Universities. And he being

under the same Infamy, we deeming before him to be summoned and accused upon the Premises, he of evil mind (as may be presumed) passed to other parts forth of the Realm, suspected and noud of Heresie. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or prorsenledge, hath presumed to preach wicked Heresie.

We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers Opinions of Luther, and wicked Heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our Council: That Man hath no Free-will: That Man is in sin so long as he liveth: That Children, incontinent after their Baptism, are sinners: All Christians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: No man is justified by works, but by faith only: Good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: That Faith, Hope, and Charity are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest, &c. with divers other Heresies and detestable Opinions: and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel nor persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.

All these premises being considered, we having God and the integrity of our Faith before our eyes, and following the council and advice of the Professors of the Holy Scripture, Men of Law, and other assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Master Patrick Hamelton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the foresaid Heresies, and his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the Church, general Councils, and most famous Universities) to be an Heretick, and to have an evil opinion of the Faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished like as we condemn, and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all Dignities, Orders, Offices, and Benefices of the Church, and therefore do judge, and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the secular Power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated.

This our sentence definitive was given and read at our Metropolitan Church of St. Andrews, the last day of the Month of February, Anno 1527, being present the Most reverend Fathers in Christ, and Lords, Gawand, Bishop of Glasgow, George, Bishop Dunkeld, John Bishop of Brechin, William Bishop of Dunblane, Patrick Prior of Saint Andrews, David Abbot of Abbotrothke, George Abbot of Dunfermeling, Alexander, Abbot of Caumbus Kineth, Henry Abbot of Lendons, John Prior of Peterweme, the Dean and SubDean of Glasgow, M. Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramfay, Allane Meldrum, &c. in the presence of the Clergy and the People.

After the condemnation and Martyrdom of this true Saint of God was dispatched by the Bishops and Doctors of Scotland, the Rulers and Doctors of the University of Louvaine, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent Blood, that for the abundance of heart they could not stay their Pen to utter condign thanks, applauding and triumphing in their Letters sent to the aforesaid Bishop of Saint Andrews, and Doctors of Scotland, at the worthy and famous deservings of their achieved enterprise in that behalf; as by the Tenour of their said Letter may appear, which here followeth.

The copy of a Letter congratulatory, sent from the Doctors of Louvaine to the Archbishop of Saint Andrews and Doctors of Scotland, commending them for the death of M. Patrick Hamelton.

Your excellent Vertue (most honourable Bishop) hath a Letter, &c. so deserved, that albeit we be far distant both by sea and land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we desire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, by whose works that true Faith, which not long ago was tainted with Heresie, not only remaineth unburnt, but also is more confirmed. For as our dear Friend

Q 2

Master

Condemned by Councils and Universities is no mention of the Scripture.

Note here that these Articles agree not with the Articles in the Register before mentioned.

Wolves in Lambskins.

M. Patrick given to the secular Power.

at thanks, to them of Scotland for shedding the blood of

Master Alexander Galoway, Chanon of Aberdeen, hath shewed us the presumption of the wicked Heretick Patrick Hamelton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you have cut off when there was no hope of amendment, &c.

What joy
the People
make in
falling the
blood of
Christians.

The which thing as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many States, as of the Clergy, Nobility, and vulgar People, not rashly, but most prudently, the Order of Law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and always do approve the same, not doubting but that the Articles which be inserted are Erroneous: so that whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacity, should be esteemed an enemy to the Faith, and an adversary to the holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appear to be without Error, to them that will consider not the bare words: as for example, Good Works make not a good Man, but a good Man worketh good Works: yet there is no doubt but they contain a Lutheran sense, which in a manner they signifie, to wit, that Works done after faith and justification make not a Man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be among extrene Nations which shall imitate the same, &c.

If ye could
flow to
what place
of the Scrip-
ture, we
would gladly
hear you.
The Univer-
sity of St.
Andrews
was found-
ed about
the year of
our Lord
1516 in the
reign of
King James
the fifth
who
brought in-
to Scotland
out of other
Counties
two Do-
ctors of Di-
vinity, and
eight Do-
ctors of De-
crees: with
divers
other.
Heb. xvi. 17.
He meant
eth Philip the
first of France,
who wrote
against the
compendiar
and Luther,
that these
Heretics have
been extinct
sometime in
Scotland,
and at
length was
beheaded
for Treason.
King Henry
the eighth
is here a
Minister,
when he
married
with you,
but when
he put
down the
Popes and
his Abbies,
then ye
make him
an Heretick.

Certainly ye have given us great courage, so that now we acknowledge your University, which was founded according to the example of our University of Lovaine, to be equal to ours, or else above; and would God occasion were offered of testifying our minds toward you. In the mean time let us labour with one consent, that the ravening Wolves may be expelled from the Sheepfold of Christ, while we have time. Let us study to Preach to the People more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have Inquisitors, and espies of Books containing that Doctrine, especially that are brought in from far Countries, whether by Apostate Monks, or by Merchants, the most suspected kind of Men in these days. It is said, That since Scotland first embraced the Christian Faith, it was never defiled with any Heresie. Persevere therefore, being moved therunto by the example of England your Neighbour, which in this most troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the Bishops, among the which * Rollensis hath shewed himself an Evangelical Phoenix, and partly of the King, declaring himself to be another Matthias of the New Law, pretermittin nothing that may defend the Law of his Realm. The which if your Most renowned King in this behalf, it shall not be the least part of your praise, & eternal glory. Further as touching the commendation due for your part (Most reverend Bishop) in this behalf, it shall not be the least part of your praise, and together with the rest of the Prelates, Abbots, Priors, and Professors of holy Scriptures. Let your reverend Fatherhood take this little testimonial of our duty toward you in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.

From Lovain, Anno 1528. April 21.

By the Masters and Professors of Theology in the University of Lovaine.

Yours to command.

In this Epistle of the Lovainian Doctors I shall not need (gentle Reader) to note unto thee, what a penititious thing in a Common-wealth is blind ignorance, when it falleth into cruel Hearts. Which may well be compared to a Sword put into the Hands of one that is both Blind and Mad. For as the blind Man, having no sense to see and judge, knoweth not whom he slinketh: so the madman, being cruel and furious, hath no compassion in sparing any. Whereupon it happeneth many times with these Men, as it did with the Blind furious Pharisees, that as they having the Sword of Authority in their hands, in stead of Malefactors and false Prophets, slew the

true Prophets of God, and at last Crucified the King of Glory: so these Catholick Lovainians, and followers of their Messias of Rome, take in their hands the Sword of Jurisdiction, who neither seeing what to spare, nor caring whom to smite, under the stile and pretence of Heretics, murder and blaspheme, without mercy, the true Preachers of the Gospel, and the holy Anointed of the Lord.

But to return to the matter again of M. Hamelton; here is moreover to be observed, as a note worthy of memory, that in the year of our Lord 1564, in the which year this present History was Collected in Scotland, there were certain faithful Men of credit then alive, who being present the same time when M. Patrick Hamelton was in the Fire, heard him to cite and appeal the Black-frier called Cambel, that accused him to appear before the high God, as general Judge of all Men, to answer to the innocency of his death, and whether his accusation was just or not, between that and a certain day of the next Month, which he there named. Moreover, by the same witness it is testified, that the said Frier died immediately before the said day came, without remorse of conscience that he had persecuted the innocent. By the example whereof divers of the people the same time much moved, and firmly believed the Doctrine of the forefraid Matter Hamelton to be good and just.

Herunto I thought good to adjoin a certain godly and profitable Treatise of the said M. Patrick Hamelton, written first by him in Latin, and afterward translated by John Frith into English; which he names Patrick's places: not unprofitable in my mind, to be seen and read of all Men, for the pure and comfortable Doctrine contained in the same, as not only by the Treatise it self may appear, but also by the preface of the said John Frith, prefixed before, which also I thought not inconvenient to insert with the same, as here followeth.

A brief Treatise of M. Patrick Hamelton, called Patrick's places, Translated into English by John Frith, with the Epistle of the said Frith prefixed before the same, as followeth.

John Frith unto the Christian Reader.

Blessed be God of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in these last days and perilous times hath stirred up in all Countries witnesses unto his Son, to testify the truth unto the unfaithful. To save at the least some from the snares of Antichrist, which lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young Man, Patrick Hamelton, born in Scotland of a noble Progeny: who to testify the truth sought all means, and took upon him Prisonhood (even as Paul circumcised Timothy, to win the weak Jews) that he might be admitted to Preach the pure Word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the Chamberlain and other Bishops of Scotland had perceived that the Light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless, God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole World what a Man these Monsters have murdered) hath reserved a little Treatise, made by this Patrick, which places, if ye list, ye may call Patrick's Places: for it treateth exactly of certain Common places, which knowen, ye have the pith of all Divinity. This Treatise I have turned into the English-Tongue, to the profit of my Nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may eschew the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way which leadeth to life everlasting. Amen.

The Doctrine of the Law.

The Law is a Doctrine that biddeth good, and forbid-
deth evil, as the Commandments do specify here
following.

KING
HEN. 8.

A marvelous
example of
Gods just
punishment
upon the ac-
cuser of M.
Hamelton.

A Treatise
of M. Pa-
trick Hamel-
ton, called
Patrick's
Places.

The Preface
of John
Frith before
Patrick's
Places.

Patrick's
Places.

Patrick's
Places.
What the
Law is.

The

{ KING }
{ Lita. 8 }

The Ten Commandments of God.

A division
of the Com-
mandments.
Ex. 20.

1. Thou shalt Worship but one God.
2. Thou shalt make thee no Image to worship it.
3. Thou shalt not swear by his Name in Vain.
4. Hold the Sabbath day Holy.
5. Honour thy Father and thy Mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy Neighbour.

All these Commandments are briefly comprised in these two bere under ensuing.

Love thy Lord God with all thine Heart, with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind, This is the first, and great Commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy Neighbour as thy self. On these two Commandments hangeth all the Law and the Prophets.

Mat. 22.

Certain General Propositions proved by the Scripture.

The first Proposition.

He that loveth God loveth his Neighbour.

The first
Proposition.
The love of
God.

This Proposition is proved 1 John 4. If a Man say, I love God, and yet hateth his Brother, he is a lyer. He that loveth not his Brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

The second Proposition.

He that loveth his Neighbour as himself, keepeth all the Commandments of God.

This Proposition is proved Mat. 7. Rom. 13. Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them. For this is the Law and the Prophets, Mat. 7.

He that loveth his Neighbour, fulfilleth the Law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not bear false witness: Thou shalt not desire, &c. And if there be any other Commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thy self, Rom. 13.

All the Law is fulfilled in one word, That is, Love thy Neighbour as thy self. Galatians 5.

Gal. 5.

Argument.

Major. Bar- He that loveth his Neighbour keepeth all the Commandments of God. Romans 13.
Minor. ba- He that loveth God, loveth his Neighbour. 1 John 4.
Conclusion. ra. Ergo, he that loveth God keepeth all the Commandments of God.

The fourth Proposition.

He that hath Faith loveth God.

The third
Proposition.
The love of
God.

My Father loveth you, because you love me, and believe that I come of God. John 16.

Argument.

Major. Bar- He that keepeth the Commandments of God hath the love of God.
Minor. ba- He that hath Faith keepeth all the Commandments of God.
Conclusion. ra. Ergo, he that hath Faith loveth God.

The fourth Proposition.

He that keepeth one Commandment of God, keepeth them all.

This Proposition is confirmed, Heb. 11. It is impossible for a Man without Faith to please God, that is, To keep any one of Gods Commandments, as he should do. Then whosoever keepeth any one Commandment hath Faith.

Hebr. 11.

Argument.

Bar- He that hath Faith keepeth all the Commandments of God. Major.
ba- He that keepeth one Commandment of God hath Faith. Minor.
ra. Ergo, he that keepeth one Commandment, keepeth them all. Conclusion.

The fifth Proposition.

He that keepeth not all the Commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.

The fifth
Proposition.

Argument.

He that keepeth one Commandment of God, keepeth all. The Law requires perfect obedience.
Ergo, he that keepeth not all the Commandments of God, keepeth not one of them. Conclusion.

The sixth Proposition.

It is not in our power to keep any one of the Commandments of God.

The sixth
Proposition
or assertion.

Argument.

Bar- It is impossible to keep any of the Commandments of God, without grace. Major.
ra- It is not in our power to have Grace. Minor.
co. Ergo, it is not in our power to keep any of the Commandments of God. Conclusion.

And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and Faith, forasmuch as neither without them we are able to keep any of the Commandments of God, neither yet be they in our power to have. Non est volentis neque currentis, &c. Rom. 9.

The seventh Proposition.

The Law was given us to shew our sin.

By the Law cometh the knowledge of sin; Rom. 3. I knew not what sin meant, but through the Law: For I had not known what lust had meant, except the Law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the Law sin was dead, that is, It moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the Law; Rom. 7.

Rom. 7.

The eighth Proposition.

The Law biddeth us do that thing which is impossible for us.

The eighth
Proposition.

Argument.

Da- The keeping of the Commandments is to us impossible. Major.
ri- The Law commandeth to us the keeping of the Commandments. Minor.
i. Ergo, the Law commandeth unto us that is impossible. Conclusion.

Objection.

Objection.

But thou wilt say: Wherefore doth God bid us do that is impossible for us?

Answer.

Answer.

I answer, to make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand: and thou maiest seek remedy at some other: for the Law doth nothing else but command thee.

The Law, ordained to bring us to Christ.

The Doctrine of the Gospel.

The Gospel is as much to say in our Tongue, as good tydings; like as these be here-under following, and such other.

Luke 2. Christ is the Saviour of the World.
Luke 2. Christ is the Saviour.
Rom. 5. Christ died for us.
Rom. 4. Christ died for our sins.
1 Pet. 2. Christ bought us with his Blood.
Apoc. 1. Christ walke us with his Blood.
Gal. 1. Christ offered himself for us.
Esey 53. Christ bare our sins on his back.
1 Tim. 1. Christ came into this World to save Sinners.
1 Job. 3. Christ came into this World to take away our sins.
1 Tim. 2. Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins.
Rom. 8. Christ was made Debtor for us.
Col. 2. Christ hath payed our Debt, for he died for us.
1 Cor. 7. Christ made satisfaction for us and our sins.
1 Cor. 1. Christ is our Righteousness.
1 Cor. 1. Christ is our Sanctification.
Eph. 2. Christ is our Redemption.
Rom. 5. Christ is our Peace.
1 Cor. 3. Christ hath pacified the Father of Heaven for us.
Coloss. 2. Christ is ours and all his.
1 Job. 1. Christ hath delivered us from the Law, from the Devil and from Hell.
 The Father of Heaven hath forgiven us our sins, for Christs sake.
 Or any such other like to the same, which declare unto us the mercy of God.

The Nature and Office of the Law and of the Gospel.

The Law sheweth us our sin.
Rom. 3. The Gospel sheweth us Remedy for it.
Job. 1. The Law sheweth us our Condemnation.
Rom. 7. The Gospel sheweth us our Redemption.
Col. 1. The Law is the word of Ire.
Rom. 4. The Gospel is the word of Grace.
Act. 14. 20 The Law is the word of Despair.
Deut. 27. The Gospel is the Word of Comfort.
Rom. 7. The Law is the word of Unrest.
Luke 2. The Gospel is the Word of Peace.
Eph. 6.

¶ A Disputation between the Law and the Gospel, where is shewed the difference or contrariety between them both.

The Law faith, Pay thy Debt.
 The Gospel faith, Christ hath paid it.
 The Law faith, Thou art a Sinner, despair, and thou shalt be damned.
 The Gospel faith, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, for thou shalt be saved.
 The Law faith, Make amends for thy sins.
 The Gospel faith, Christ hath made it for thee.
 The Law faith, The Father of Heaven is angry with thee.
 The Gospel faith, Christ hath pacified him with his Blood.
 The Law faith, Where is thy Righteousness, Goodness, and Satisfaction?
 The Gospel faith, Christ is thy Righteousness, thy Goodness, Satisfaction.
 The Law faith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the Devil, and to Hell.
 The Gospel faith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.

The Doctrine of Faith.

Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for Righteousness.
 To believe God, is to believe his Word, and to recount it true that he saith.
 He that believeth not Gods Word, believeth not God himself.

He that believeth not Gods Word counteth him false and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his Word, and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himself.

*KING 1
Esey. 53*

The ninth Proposition.

The ninth Proposition

¶ Faith is the Gift of God.

Argument.

Da-ri-i. Every good thing is the Gift of God.
 Faith is good.
 Ergo, Faith is the Gift of God.

Major.
Minor.
Conclusion.

The tenth Proposition.

The tenth Proposition.

¶ Faith is not in our power.

Argument.

Da-ri-i. The Gift of God is not in our power.
 Faith is the Gift of God.
 Ergo, Faith is not in our power.

Major.
Minor.
Conclusion.

The eleventh Proposition.

The eleventh Proposition.

¶ He that lacketh Faith cannot please God.

Without Faith it is impossible to please God, Rom. 14. all that cometh not of Faith is sin; for without Faith can no man please God, Heb. 11.

Induction.

An argument called Inductive.

He that lacketh Faith trusteth not God; he that trusteth not God, trusteth not his Word; he that trusteth not his Word, holdeth him false and a liar; he that holdeth him false and a liar believeth not that he may do what he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God.

Ergo, a primo ad ultimum, he that lacketh Faith cannot please God.

If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done, either of Men or Angels, yet being in this case it is impossible for him to please God.

The twelfth Proposition.

The twelfth Proposition.

¶ All that is done in Faith pleaseth God.

Right is the Word of God, and all his Works in faith, Psal. 33.
 Lord thine eyes look to Faith: That is as much to say, as, Lord thou delightest in Faith, Jer. 5.

The thirteenth Proposition.

The thirteenth Proposition.

¶ He that hath Faith is just and good.

Argument.

Da-ri-i. He that is a good Tree bringing forth good fruit, is just and good.
 He that hath Faith is a good Tree bringing forth good fruit.
 Ergo, He that hath Faith is just and good.

Major.
Minor.
Conclusion.

The fourteenth Proposition.

The fourteenth Proposition.

¶ He that hath Faith, and believeth God, cannot displease him.

Induction.

Inductive.

He that hath Faith believeth God; he that believeth God believeth his Word; he that believeth his Word wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lie, knowing that he both may and will fulfil his Word.

Ergo, a primo ad ultimum, he that hath Faith cannot displease God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true.

Objection.

PRINCIPLE
1. Hm. 8. 1
Objection.

Objection.

Thou wilt then say, That Theft, Murder, Adultery, and all Vices please God.

Answer.

Nay verily, for they cannot be done in Faith: For a good Tree beareth good fruit, Mat. 7. 12.

The 15th Proposition

The fifteenth Proposition.

A definition of Faith, Heb. 11.

¶ Faith is a certainty or assuredness.

Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen, Hebrews 11.

The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the Children of God, Rom. 8. Moreover, he that hath faith worketh well that God will fulfil his Word. Whereby it appeareth, that Faith is a certainty or assuredness.

A man is justified by Faith.

Justification by Faith.

Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness, Rom. 4.

We suppose therefore, that a man is justified by Faith, without the deeds of the Law, Rom. 3. Gal. 2.

He that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousness, Rom. 4.

The just liveth by his Faith, Abac. 2. Rom. 1.

We wot that a man is not justified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ, and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the Faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law, Gal. 2.

Faith in Christ what is it.

What is the Faith of Christ?

The Faith of Christ is to believe in him; that is, to believe his Word, and believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil.

Thou wilt ask me, What Word? I answer, The Gospel.

He that believeth in Christ shall be saved, Mark 16.

He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life, John 3.

Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath everlasting life, John 6.

This I write unto you, that you believe on the Son of God, that ye may know that you have eternal life, 1 John 5.

Thomas, because thou hast seen me, therefore hast thou believed: Happy are they which have not seen, and yet have believed in me, John 22.

All the Prophets to him bear witness, that whosoever believeth in him shall have remission of their sins, Acts 10.

What must I do that I may be saved? The Apostles answered, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, Acts 16.

If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believest with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe, Rom. 10.

He that believeth not in Christ shall be condemned. He that believeth not the Son shall never see life, but the ire of God biddeth upon him, John 3.

The Holy Ghost shall reprove the World of sin, because they believe not in me, John 16.

They that believe in Jesus Christ are the Sons of God.

We are all the Sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ, 1 John 3.

He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God is safe, John 1.

Peter said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. Jesus answered and said unto him, Happy art thou Simon the Son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened to thee this, but my Father that is in Heaven, Matth. 16.

We have believed and know that thou art Christ the Son of the living God.

I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, which should come into the World, John 11.

These things are written that ye might believe, that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye in believing might have life, John 20.

I believe that Jesus is the Son of God, Acts 8.

The sixteenth Proposition.

He that believeth the Gospel believeth God.

The sixteenth Proposition.

Argument.

Da- He that believeth Gods Word believeth God.

ri- The Gospel is Gods Word.

i. Ergo, He that believeth the Gospel believeth God.

Major.

Minor.

To believe the Gospel is this, That Christ is the Saviour of the World, John 4.

Christ is our Saviour, Luke 2.

Christ bought us with his blood, Heb. 13. 1 Pet. 1.

Apoc. 5.

Christ washed us with his blood, Apoc. 1.

Christ offered himself for us, Heb. 9.

Christ bare our sins on his own back, &c. 1 Pet. 2.

Conclud.

The seventeenth Proposition.

¶ He that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God.

The seventeenth Proposition.

Argument.

Fe- He that believeth not Gods Word, believeth not God himself.

ri- The Gospel is Gods Word.

i. Ergo, he that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God himself; and consequently he that believeth not those things above written, and such other, believeth not God.

Major.

Minor.

Conclud.

The eighteenth Proposition.

He that believeth the Gospel shall be saved.

The eighteenth Proposition.

Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel unto every Creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned, Mark 16.

¶ A Comparison between Faith and Incredulity.

Faith is the root of all good.

Incredulity is the root of all evil.

Faith maketh God and man good Friends.

Incredulity maketh them Foes.

Faith bringeth God and man together.

Incredulity sundreth them.

All that Faith doth, pleaseth God.

All that Incredulity doth, displeaseth God.

Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.

Incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil.

Faith maketh a man a Member of Christ.

Incredulity maketh him a Member of the Devil.

Faith maketh him Inheritor of Heaven.

Incredulity maketh a man the Inheritor of Hell.

Faith maketh a man the Servant of God.

Incredulity maketh him the Servant of the Devil.

Faith sheweth us God to be a sweet Father.

Incredulity sheweth him a terrible Judge.

Faith holdeth stiff by the Word of God.

Incredulity wavereth here and there.

Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.

Incredulity holdeth him false and a liar.

Faith knoweth God.

Incredulity knoweth him not.

Faith loveth both God and his Neighbour.

Incredulity loveth neither of them.

Faith only saveth us.

Incredulity only condemneth us.

A comparison between Faith and Incredulity.

Faith

Faith extollet God and his deeds.
Incredulity extollet her self and her own deeds.

Of Hope.

What Hope is.

Hope is a trusty looking, after the thing that is promised us to come as we hope after the everlasting Joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him.

We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.

IT is good to trust in God and not in man, *Psal. 118.*

He that trusteth in his own heart is a Fool, *Prov. 28.*

It is good to trust in God, and not in Princes, *Psal. 118.*

They shall be like unto the Images which they make, and all that trust in them, *Psal. 115.*

He that trusteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly, *Prov. 12.*

Cursed is he that trusteth in man, *Jer. 17.*

Bid the rich men of this World that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God, *1 Tim. 6.*

It is bad for them that trust in money to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, *Luke 18.*

Moreover we should trust in him only, that may help us, God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.

Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him, *Psal. 2. Jer. 17.*

Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust, *Psal. 14. Eccles. 34.*

He that trusteth in him shall understand the verity, *Sap. 3.*

They shall rejoyce that trust in thee: they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them, *Psal. 5.*

Of Charity.

The rule of Charity.

Charity is the love of thy Neighbour. The rule of Charity is this; Do as thou wouldst be done to: for Christ holdeth all alike, the Rich, the Poor, the Friend and the Foe, the Thankful and Unthankful, the Kinsman and Stranger.

A Comparison between Faith, Hope, and Charity.

A difference between Faith, Hope and Charity.

Faith cometh of the Word of God, Hope cometh of Faith, and Charity springeth of them both.

Faith believeth the Word, Hope trusteth after that that is promised by the Word; Charity doth good unto her Neighbour, through the love that it hath to God, and gladness that is within her self.

Faith looketh to God and his Word; Hope looketh unto his Gift and Reward; Charity looketh on her Neighbours profit.

Faith receiveth God; Hope receiveth his Reward; Charity loveth her Neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.

Faith pertaineth to God only; Hope to his Reward, and Charity to her Neighbour.

The Doctrine of Works.

No manner of Works make us righteous.

What good Works do.

WE believe that a man shall be justified without Works, *Rom. 3.*

No man is justified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ, and we believe in Jesus Christ that we may be justified by the Faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law: for if righteousness come by the Law, then died Christ in vain, *Gal.*

That no man is justified by the Law is manifest; for as *Al. 17.* righteous man liveth by his Faith, but the Law is not of Faith.

Moreover, sith Christ the Maker of Heaven and Earth,

and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunk in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the Treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them: therefore, no Deeds or Works may make us righteous.

ARGUMENT
Hm. 8. }
Works do not make us righteous.

No Works make us unrighteous.

IF any evil Works make us unrighteous; then the contrary Works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no Works can make us righteous: therefore no Works make us unrighteous.

ARGUMENT
Hm. 8. }
Works do not make us unrighteous.

Works make us neither good nor evil.

IT is proved that Works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: therefore no Works make us either good or evil; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewise one.

ARGUMENT
Hm. 8. }
Works make us neither good nor evil before God.

Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.

Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: But a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

ARGUMENT
Hm. 8. }
The goodness of the tree good before his fruit.

A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works: for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit.

Every man, and the works of man, are either good or evil.

Every tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil, *Mat. 12.*

ARGUMENT
Hm. 8. }
Good fruits are signs of a good tree, but not the cause thereof.

A good man is known by his works: for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works. *Ye shall know them by their fruit;* for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

Beware of the false Prophets, which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves: Ye shall know them by their fruits, *Luke 7.*

None of our Works either save us or condemn us.

IF works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then thou wilt say, It maketh no matter what we do. I answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wastest Faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast Faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds.

ARGUMENT
Hm. 8. }
Works do not save or condemn.

The man is the tree, his works are the fruit.

Faith maketh the good tree, and Incredulity the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit, such a man, such works. For all things that are done in Faith please God, and are good works; and all that are done without Faith displease God, and are evil works.

ARGUMENT
Hm. 8. }
Faith maketh the man good. A good man maketh good works.

Whoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and all things that pertain to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thy self by thy works, or whereto should he die for thee, if any works might save thee?

ARGUMENT
Hm. 8. }
To say that our Works do save us, is to deny that Christ is our Saviour.

What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily that thou shouldst have died perpetually; and Christ to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death, into his own death: for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

Now

{ KING } Now seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, **{ Hm. 8. }** neither canst thou pay it; but shouldst be damned if his blood were not. But sith he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

Finally, he hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and deliveth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldst help other for his sake both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without Reward.

O how ready would we be to help other, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us, he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you, therefore follow his footsteps, whom all the World ought to praise and worship. *Amen.*

¶ He that thinketh to be saved by his Works calleth himself Christ.

No Saviour but Christ. **F**Or he calleth himself the Saviour, which pertaineth to Christ only.

What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved my self, which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ only is the Saviour of the World.

¶ We should do no good Works for the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or remission of sin.

No remission but in Christ. **F**OR whosoever believeth to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin, through Works, he believeth not to get the same for Christs sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved for Christs sake, they believe not the Gospel: for the Gospel saith, *You shall be saved for Christs sake, your sins are forgiven for Christs sake.*

He that believeth not the Gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that they which believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but recount him as a Liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

Objection.

Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds?

Answer.

Good works excluded not to be left undone, but not to justify us, when they are done. I say not so, but I say we should do no good Works to the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin. For if we believe to get the Inheritance of Heaven through good Works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God. Or if we think to get Remission of our Sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God a Liar. For God saith, *Thou shalt have the Inheritance of Heaven for my Sons sake. Thy sins are forgiven thee for my Sons sake:* and you say it is not so, *But I will win it through my Works.*

Not the doing of good works, but the trusting in good works condemned. Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil.

Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the Gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and makest thy self Fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, which giveth all things, and is not the poorer?

Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him; if then we want ought, let us thank our selves.

Pres not therefore to the Inheritance of Heaven through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thy self holy and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride.

FINIS.

¶ Certain brief Notes or Declarations upon the foresaid places of Master Patrick.

THis little Treatise of Master Patricks Places, albeit in quantity it be short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large Volumes, declaring to us the true Doctrine of the Law, of the Gospel, of Faith, and of Works, with the nature and properties, and also the difference of the same. Which difference is thus to be understood, that in the cause of Salvation, in the office of justifying, these are to be removed and separated asunder, the Law from the Gospel, and Faith from Works: otherwise in the person that is justified, and also in order of Doctrine, they ought commonly to go necessarily together.

Therefore, wheresoever any question, or doubt riseth of Salvation, or our justifying before God, there the Law and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that Grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that Faith may stand alone, which Faith alone without Law or Works, worketh to every man particularly his Salvation, through meer promise, and the free Grace of God. This word particularly, I add, for the particular certifying of every mans heart, privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Christ. For as the Body of Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole World in general: so is Faith the instrumental cause, by which every man applyeth the said Body of Christ particularly to his own Salvation. So that in the action and office of justification, both Law and Works here be utterly secluded, and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reason is this, for seeing that all our Redemption universally springeth only from the Body of the Son of God crucified, then is there nothing that can stand us in stead, but that only wherewith this Body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forasmuch as neither the Law nor Works, but Faith only is the thing which apprehendeth the Body and Death of Christ, therefore Faith only is that matter which justifieth every Soul before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the object only of our Faith is the Body of Christ, like as the brazen Serpent was the only faueth object only of the eyes of the Israelites looking, and not of their hands working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So the Body of Christ, being the object of our Faith, striketh righteousness to our Souls, not through working, but believing only.

Thus you see how Faith, being the only eye of our Soul, standeth alone with her object in case of justifying; but of necessity, in the body she standeth not alone: for besides the Eye, there be also Hands to work, Feet to walk, Ears to hear, and other Members more, every one convenient for the service of the Body, and yet there is none of them all that can see, but only the eye. So in a Christian mans life, and in order of Doctrine, there is the Law, there is Repentance, there is Hope, Charity, and deeds of Charity; all which in Life and in Doctrine are joyed, and necessarily do concur together, and yet in the action of justifying there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place but only Faith apprehending the Object, which is the Body of Christ Jesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our Salvation, by Faith; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him according as it is written, John 1. Whosoever received him he gave them power to be made the Sons of God, even all such as believed in his Name, &c. Also Eley 53. And this just Servant of mine in the knowledge of him shall justify many, &c.

As many as received him, to them he gave power, that they should become the Sons of God, to them that believe in his Name, &c. John 1. And he that receiveth him, that he give power, that they should become the Sons of God, to them that believe in his Name, &c. Eley 53.

Argument.

Da- Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh us justified before God, John 1.
si- Christ only is apprehended and received by Faith.
fi. Ergo, Faith only maketh us justified before God.

Argument.

Argument.

- Be- Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ, *Eph* 53.
 ro. The Law and Works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of Christ.
 co. Ergo, the Law and Works pertain nothing to Justification.

Argument.

- All our righteousness, is as filthy rags, *Eph* 64.
 Ce- Nothing which is unjust of it self can justify us before God, or help any thing to our Justifying.
 lo- Every work we do is unjust before God, *Eph* 64.
 rs. Ergo, no work that we do can justify us before God, nor help any thing to our justifying.

Argument.

- When ye have done all that is commanded you, say we are unprofitable servants, *Luke* 17. Without me ye can do nothing, *John* 15.
 Co- If works could any thing further our Justification, then should our works something profit us before God.
 me- No works, do the best we can, do profit us before God, *Luke* 17.
 rs. Ergo, no works that we do can any thing further our Justification.

Argument.

- Be- All that we can do with God, is only by Christ, *Joh* 15.
 ro. Our works and merits be not Christ, neither any part of him.
 co. Ergo, our works and merits can do nothing with God.

Argument.

- The Law worketh anger, *Rom* 4.
 Da- That which is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of justification.
 ri- The Law is the cause of condemnation, *Rom* 4.
 in. Ergo, it is not the cause of Justification.

A Consequent.

- Now are we quit and delivered from the Law, being dead to that wherein we were once holden, *Rom* 7.
 We are quit and delivered from the Law, *Rom* 7.
 Ergo, we are not quit and delivered by the Law.
 Forasmuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture in express words, hath thus included our Salvation in Faith only, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and means in our Justification, and to make this difference between the Law and the Gospel, between Faith and works, affirming, with Scripture and word of God, that the Law condemneth us, our works do not avail us, and that Faith in Christ only justifieth us. And this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians, especially in conflict of conscience between the Law and the Gospel, Faith and Works, Grace and Merits, Promise and Condition, Gods free election and mans Free-will: so that the light of the free Grace of God in our Salvation may appear to all consciences, to the immortal Glory of Gods holy Name. Amen.

The order and difference of places.

Antithesis.
 The Law to be discerned from the Gospel.

The Gospel. { Faith. Promise. }
 { Grace. Election. }

The Law. { Works. Condition. }
 { Merits. Mans free-will. }

- 'The difference and repugnance of these forefald places being well noted and expended, it shall give no small light to every faithful Christian, both to understand the Scriptures, to judge in cases of Conscience, and to reconcile such places in the Old and New Testament, as else may seem to repugn, according to the rule of *S. Augustine*, saying, *Distingue tempora, & conciliabis Scripturas, &c.* Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the Scriptures, &c. Contrariwise where men be not perfectly in these places instructed, to discern between the Law and the Gospel, between faith and works, &c. So long

they can never rightly establish their minds in the free Promises of Gods Grace: but walk confidently without order, in all matters of Religion. Example whereof we have too much in the Romish Church, who confounding these places together without distinction, following no method, have perverted the true order of Christian Doctrine, and have obscured the sweet comfort and benefit of the Gospel of Christ, not knowing what the true use of the Law was of the Gospel meaneth.

The ignorance and blindness of the Popes Churches in confounding these places.

¶ In the Doctrine of the Law three things to be noted.

'In the Law therefore three things are to be considered. First, what is the true vigour and strength of the Law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also his inward motions, and inclinations of will and affection from the appetite of sin. And therefore saith *St. Paul*, The Law is spiritual, but I am carnal, &c. *Rom* 7. Whereupon rightly this Proposition, That it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the Law, item, the Law commandeth that which is to us impossible, &c.

The first point to be noted in the Doctrine of the Law.

The strength of the Law.

'2. The second thing to be noted in the Doctrine of the Law, is, to consider the time and place of the Law, what they be, and how far they extend. For as the surging Seas have their banks and bars to keep them in; so the Law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to pass. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time and dominion of the Law had been everlasting. But now seeing Christ hath come, and hath died in his righteous Flesh, the power of the Law against our sinful flesh doth cease. For the end of the Law is Christ, *Rom* 10. that is, the death of Christs Body is the death of the Law to all that believe in him: so that whosoever repent of their sins, and flee to the death and passion of Christ, the condemnation and time of the Law to them is expired. Wherefore this is to be understood as a perpetual rule in the Scripture, that the Law with all his Sentences and Judgments, wherefore they are written, either in the Old Testament or in the New, do ever include a privy exception of repentance and belief in Christ, to the which always it giveth place, having there his end, and can proceed no further: according as *St. Paul* doth say, The Law is our Schoolmaster until Christ, that we might be justified by Faith, *Gal* 3.

The due time and place of the Law.

The death of Christ is the death of the Law, that is, of the condemnation of the Law.

'Moreover, as the Law hath its time how long to reign, so also it hath its proper place, where to reign. By the reign of the Law here is meant the condemnation of the Law: for as the time of the Law ceaseth when the Faith of Christ in a true repenting heart beginneth; so hath the Law no place in such as be good and faithful; that is, in Sinners repenting and amending, but only in them which be evil and wicked. Evil men here I call such, which walking in sinful flesh, are not yet driven by earnest Repentance to flee to Christ for Succour. And therefore saith *St. Paul*, To the just man there is no Law but, set, but to the unjust and disobedient, &c. *1 Tim* 1. By the just man here is meant, not he which never had disease, but he who knowing his disease seeketh out the Physician, and being cured, keepeth himself in health, as much as he may, from any more Surfeits. Notwithstanding he shall never so keep himself, but that his health (that is, his new Obedience) shall always remain frail and imperfect, and shall continually need the Physician. Where by the way these three things are to be noted; first, the sickness it self: secondly, the knowing of the sickness: thirdly, the Physician. The sickness is sin. The knowing of the sickness is repentance, which the Law worketh. The Physician is Christ. And therefore although in remission of our sins repentance is joyed with faith, yet it is not the dignity or worthiness of Repentance that causeth remission of sins, but only the worthiness of Faith, whom faith only apprehendeth no more than the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but only the Physician. For else when a man is cast and condemned by the Law, it is not Repentance that can save or deserve life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the Prince, and not his Repentance that saveth.

The time of the Law how long it lasted, *Gal* 3.

Justi non est in seipsa, sed in iustitia, &c. iustitia, &c. iustitia, &c.

1 Tim. 1.

'The third point to be considered in the Doctrine of the Law, is, this, that we mark well the end and purpose why the Law is given which is not to bring us to Salvation, but to bring us to Christ. The third point to be considered in the Doctrine of the Law, is, this, that we mark well the end and purpose why the Law is given which is not to bring us to Salvation, but to bring us to Christ.

In remission of sins three things to be noted.

1. The sickness. 2. The knowing of the disease. 3. The Physician. Repentance is joyed with faith, yet it is in no cause of Salvation.

The third point to be noted in the Doctrine of the Law.

{ KING }
Hes. 8

Inconven-
iences that
elie in not
knowing
the true
end of the
Law.

tion, nor to work Gods favour, nor to make us good : but rather to declare and convict our wickedness, and to make us feel the danger thereof, to this end and purpose, that we seeing our condemnation, and being in our selves confounded, may be driven thereby to have our refuge to Christ the Son of God, and to submit our selves to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and in none other. And this end of the Law discreetly ought to be pondered of all Christians. Otherwise they that consider not this end and purpose of the Law, fall into manifold Errors and Inconveniences. First, they pervert all order of Doctrine. Secondly, they seek that in the Law which the Law cannot give. Thirdly, they are not able to comfort themselves, nor other. Fourthly, they keep mens Souls in an uncertain doubt and dubitation of their Salvation. Fifthly, they obscure the light of Gods Grace. Sixthly, they are unkind to Gods Benefits. Seventhly, they are injurious to Christs Passion, and Enemies to his Cross. Eighthly, they stop Christian liberty. Ninthly, they bereave the Church, the Spouse of Christ, of her due comfort, as taking away the Sun out of the World. Tenthly, in all their doings they shoot at a wrong mark : for where Christ only is set up to be apprehended by our Faith, and so freely to justify us ; they leaving this Justification by Faith, set up other marks, partly of the Law, partly of their own devising, for men to shoot at. And here cometh in the manifest and manifold Absurdities of the Bishop of Romes Doctrine, which (the Lord willing) we will rehearse, as in a Catalogue here following.

Errors and Absurdities of the Papists, touching the Doctrine of the Law and of the Gospel.

Errors in the Popes
Doctrine
concerning
the Doctrine
of the Law

This Article
repegneth
against this
place of
John 1. The
Law is given
by Moses,
Grace and
verily by Je-
sus Christ.
What is the
whole Ser-
vice of God
in the Popes
Church, but
only an
heap of Ce-
remonies?

This Article
repegneth
against this
place, Gal. 3.
For if ye
returne to
the Law, ye
shall be
cursed.
This Article
repegneth
against this
place, Gal. 3.
For if ye
returne to
the Law, ye
shall be
cursed.

1. They erroneously conceive opinion of Salvation in the Law, which only is to be sought in the Faith of Christ, and in no other.
2. They erroneously do seek Gods favour by works of the Law : not knowing that the Law in this corrupt nature worketh only the anger of God, Rom. 3.
3. They err also in this, that where the Office of the Law is divers and contrary from the Gospel, they without any difference confound the one with the other, making the Gospel to be a Law, and Christ to be a *Moses*.
4. They err in dividing the Law unskillfully into three parts, into the Law-Natural, the Law-Moral, and the Law-Evangelical.
5. They err again in dividing the Law-Evangelical into Precepts and Counsels, making the Precepts to serve for all men, the Counsels only to serve for them that be perfect.
6. The chief substance of all their teaching and preaching resteth upon the works of the Law, as may appear by their Religion, which wholly consisteth in rites, Merits, Traditions, Laws, Canons, Decrees, and Ceremonies.
7. In the Doctrine of Salvation, of Remission, and Justification, either they admit the Law equally with the Gospel, or else, cleaving the Gospel, they teach and preach the Law, so that little mention is made of the Faith of Christ, or none at all.
8. They err in thinking, that the Law of God requireth nothing in us under pain of damnation, but only our obedience in extern actions : as for the inward affections and conscience they esteem but light matters.
9. They, not knowing the true nature and strength of the Law, do erroneously imagine that it is in mans power to fulfil it.
10. They err in thinking, that it is in mans power not only to keep the Law of God, but also to perform more perfect works than be in Gods Law commanded, and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof rise the works of Supererogation, of Satisfaction, of Congruity and Congnity, to store up the Treasure-house the Popes Church, to be sold out to the people for money.
11. They err in saying, that the State Monastical is more perfect for keeping the Counsels of the Gospel, than other States be in keeping the Law of the Gospel.
12. The Counsels of the Gospel they call the vows of their religious men, as profound Humility, perfect Chastity, and wilful Poverty.

13. They err abominably, in equalling their Laws and Constitutions with Gods Law, and in saying, that mans Law bindeth under pain of damnation, no less than Gods Law.

14. They err unskillfully, in punishing the Transgressors of their Laws more sharply than the Transgressors of the Law of God, as appeareth by their Iniquities, and their Canon-Law, &c.

15. Finally they err most horribly in this, that where the free promise of God ascribeth our Salvation only to our Faith in Christ, excluding works : they contrary ascribe Salvation only, or principally to works and merits, excluding Faith. Whereupon ariseth the application of the sacrifice of the Mass, *Ex opere operato*, for the quick and dead, application of the Merits of Christs Passion, in Bulls, application of the merits of all religious Orders, and such other more, above specified more at large in the former part of this History.

Said, I am
not like this!
Publican.
This Article
repegneth
against this
place, They
bind heavy
burdens and
grievous to
bear, and lay
them on
mens shoul-
ders, Matth.
23. Was it
ye Servitors
and Pharisees,
which
for the Dis-
cernment of
men trans-
gress the com-
mandments of God

Here follow three Cautions to be observed and avoided in the true understanding of the Law.

The first Caution.

First, That we, through the mis-understanding of the Scriptures, do not take the Law for the Gospel, nor the Gospel for the Law ; but skillfully discern and distinguish the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many there be, which reading the Book of the *New Testament*, do take and understand whatsoever they see contained in the said Book, to be only and merely the voice of the Gospel. And contrariwise, whatsoever is contained in the compals of the *Old Testament* ; that is, within the *Law, Stories, Psalms, and Prophets*, as well the word and voice of the Law. Wherein they are deceived ; for the preaching of the Law and of the Gospel are mixed together in both the *Testaments*, as well the *Old* as the *New*. Neither is the order of these two Doctrines to be distinguished by Books and leaves, but by the diversity of Gods Spirit speaking unto us. For sometimes in the *Old Testament* God doth comfort as he comforted *Adam* with the voice of the Gospel. Sometimes also in the *New Testament* he doth threaten and terrify, as when Christ threatened the *Pharisees*. In some places the *Old Testament*, *Moses* and the *Prophets* play the *Evangelists* : in some other places the *Evangelists* play the *Prophets*, as when he called *Elijah* a Prophet or an Evangelist. In some places likewise Christ and the Apostles supply the part of *Moses* : And as Christ himself until his death was under the Law (which Law he came not to break, but to fulfil) so his Sermons made to the *Jews*, run all for the most part upon the perfect Doctrine and Works of the Law, shewing and teaching what we ought to do by the right Law of Justice, and what danger ensueth in not performing the same. All which places of the Scriptures are to be referred to the *Law*, and vnto the *Gospel*, where Christ thus preacheth, *Blessed be they that be pure of heart, for they shall see God, &c.* Mat. 5. Again, *Except ye be made like these Children ye shall not enter, &c.* Mat. 18. Item, *But he that doth the will of my Father shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, &c.* Mat. 7. Item, the Parable of the unkind Servant, justly cast into prison for not forgiving his Fellow, &c. Mat. 18. The Mat. 18. calling of the rich Glutton into Hell, &c. Luke 16. Item, *Luke 16. He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c.* Luke 12. With such other places of like condition. All these (I say) pertaining to the Doctrine of the Law, do ever include in them a secret exception of earnest Repentance and Faith in Christs precious Blood. For else, *Peter* denied, and yet repented. Many *Publicans* and Sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted to their fellow Servants, and yet many of them repented, and by Faith were saved, &c. The Grace of Christ Jesus work in us earnest Repentance and Faith in him unfeigned.

Three cau-
tions to be
avoided
concerning
the right
understand-
ing of the
Law.

The voice
of the Gos-
pel foundeth
itself some-
times in the
Old Testa-
ment.

The voice
of the Law
sometimes
is used in
the New
Testament.

What places
of the Scrip-
tures are to
be referred
to the Law,
and vnto
the Gos-
pel.

Briefly, to know when the Law speaketh, and when the Gospel speaketh, and to discern the voice of the one from the voice of the other, this may serve for a note, That when there is any moral work commanded to be done,

done, either for eschewing of punishment, or upon promise of any reward temporal or eternal, or else when any promise is made with condition of any work commanded in the Law, there is to be understood the voice of the Law.

The promise of the Gospel is without condition. Free without merit, simple without condition.

Contrary, where the promise of life and salvation is offered unto us freely, without all our merits, and simply without any condition annexed, of any Law, either Natural, Ceremonial, or Moral: all those places, whether they be read in the *Old Testament* or in the *New*, are to be referred to the Voice and Doctrine of the Gospel. And this promise of God freely made to us by the Merits of Jesus Christ, so long before prophesied to us in the *Old Testament*, and afterward exhibited in the *New Testament*, and now requiring nothing, but our faith in the Son of God, is called properly the Voice of the Gospel, and differeth from the voice of the Law in this, that it hath no condition adjoined of our meriting, but only respecteth the Merits of Christ the Son of God; by whole Faith only we are promised of God to be saved and justified according as we read, *Rom. 3. The righteousness of God cometh by Faith in Jesus Christ; in all and upon all that do believe, &c.*

What is the Gospel properly.

Rom. 3.

The second caution.

The second caution or danger to be avoided, is, that we now knowing how to discern rightly between the Law and the Gospel, and having intelligence not to mistake the one for the other, must take heed again that we break not the Order between these two, taking and applying the Law where the Gospel is to be applied, either to our selves or toward other. For albeit the Law and the Gospel many times are to be joyned together in order of Doctrine: yet care may fall sometimes, that the Law must be utterly sequestered from the Gospel. As when any person or persons do feel themselves with the Majesty of the Law and Judgment of God so terrified and oppressed, and with the burthen of their sins overweighed and thrown down into utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of Hell, as happeneth many times to soft and timorous consciences of Gods good Servants: when such mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any such example or place of the Scripture which pertaineth to the Law, let them think the same nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning-weed belongeth to a Marriage-Feast: and therefore removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the Law, of fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only set before their eyes the Gospel, the sweet comforts of Gods promise, free forgiveness of sins in Christ, Grace, Redemption, Liberty, rejoicing, Praises, Thanks, Singing, and a Paradise of Spiritual Iocundity, and nothing else: thinking thus with themselves, that the Law hath done his office in them already, and now must needs give place to his better: that is, must needs give room to Christ the Son of God, who is the Lord and Master, the Fulfiller and also the Finisher of the Law; for the end of the Law, is Christ,

Who they be to whom the Gospel only be longeth.

A Mourning Gown in a place of marriage doth not agree.

Christ the Fulfiller, and also the Finisher of the Law.

Rom. 10.

The third caution. How to separate the Law from the Gospel.

The third danger to be avoided, is, that we do not use or apply; on the contrary side, the Gospel in stead of the Law. For as the other before was even as much as to put on a Mourning-Gown in the Feast of a Marriage: so is this but even to cast Pearls before Swine. Wherein is a great abuse among many. For commonly it is seen that these worldly Epicures and secure Mammonists, to whom the Doctrine of the Law doth properly appertain, do receive and apply to themselves most principally the sweet Promises of the Gospel: and contrariwise, the other contrary and bruiled hearts, to whom belong only the joyfull tidings of the Gospel and not the Law, for the most part receive and retain to themselves the terrible Voice and Sentences of the Law. Whereby it cometh to pass, that many do rejoice where they should mourn; and on the other side many do fear and mourn where they need not. Wherefore to conclude, in private use of life, let every person discreetly discern between the Law and the Gospel, and apply apply to himself that which he seeth convenient.

How to joyn both the Law and the Gospel.

And again, in publick order of Doctrine, let every discreet Preacher put a difference between the broken heart of the mourning Sinner, and the unrepentant Worldling, and so conjoyn both the Law with the Gospel, and the Gospel with the Law, that in throwing down the wicked ever he spare the weak-hearted; and again, to spare the

weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly. And thus much concerning the conjunction and difference between the Law and the Gospel, upon the occasion of Mr. Patrick's Places.

{ KING
H 2.8 }

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Henry Forest
At Saint Andrews in Scotland.

James Beton
Archbishop
of St. Andrews.

Within few years after the Martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamelton, one Henry Forest, a young man born in *Lothburgh*, who a little before had received the Orders of *Bennet* and *Collet* (as they term them) affirmed, and said, That Master Patrick Hamelton died a Martyr, and that his Articles were true: for the which he was apprehended, and put in prison by James Beton Archbishop of Saint Andrews. Who, shortly after, caused a certain Frier, named *Walter Laing*, to hear his Confession. To whom when Henry Forest in secret confession had declared his conscience, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put to death, and that his Articles were true and not heretical, the Frier came and uttered to the Bishop the confession that he had heard, which before was not thoroughly known.

Henry Forest
Martyr.

The Frier
uttereth the
Confession
of Henry
Forest.

Whereupon it followed, that his Confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was therefore convened before the Council of the Clergy and Doctors, and there concluded to be an Heretic, equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamelton, and there decreed to be given to the secular Judges to suffer death.

When the day came of his death, and that he should first be degraded, and was brought before the Clergy in a green place, being between the Castle of Saint Andrews and another place called *Monymail*, as soon as he entered in at the door, and saw the face of the Clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, saying, *Fie on falsehood, Fie on false Friars, Revealers of Confession: after this day let no man ever trust any false Friars, Contemners of Gods Word, and Deceivers of men.* And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small Orders of *Bennet* and *Collet*, he said with a loud voice, *Take from me not only your own Orders, but also your own Baptism;* meaning thereby whatsoever is besides that which Christ himself instituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in Baptism. Then after his degradation, they condemned him as an Heretic equal with Master Patrick aforesaid: and so he suffered death for his faithful Testimony of the truth of Christ and of his Gospel, at the North Church-fille of the Abbey-Church of Saint Andrews, to the intent that all the people of *Angush* might see the fire, and to might be the more feared from falling into the like Doctrine, which they term by the name of Heretic. *Ex Scriptis Testimonii Scriptorum.*

Frier Walter
Laing, be-
trayer of the
Confession of
this Henry
Forest.

Fie on false
Friars.

James

KING
{ Hen. 8. }

Persecutors.

James Hamelton,
Katharine Hamelton
his Sister,
A Wife of
Lieth, recu-
sured.
David Straton,
Norman Gurley,
Martyrs.James Hay,
Bishop of
Ross, and
Commissioner
of James.Beton Arch-
bishop of St.
Andrews.Master John
Spens, Law-
yer.A great He-
retic in the
Po-
church, that
no w-
can live in
but the
works of
Christ.A great He-
retic in the
Po-
church, that
no w-
can live in
but the
works of
Christ.Against
Purgatory.Martyrs, and the causes of their
Martyrdom.James Hamelton, Brother to Master
Patrick.
Katharine Hamelton.
A Wife of Lieth.
David Straton.

Master Norman Gurley.

Within a year after the Martyrdom of Henry Forest, or thereabout was called James Hamelton of Kyncligow, his Sister Katharine Hamelton, the Spouse of the Captain of Dunbar, also another honest Woman of Lieth, David Straton of the House of Lawrie, and Master Norman Gurley. These were called to the Abby Church of Halyroodhouse in Edinburgh by James Hay Bishop of Ross, Commissioner to James Beton Archbishop, in presence of King James the fifth of that name; who, upon the day of their accusation, was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamelton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his Brother. To whom the King gave counsel to depart, and not to appear; for in case he appeared, he could not help him; because the Bishops had periwaded him, that the cause of Heretic did in no wise appertain unto him. And so James fled, and was condemned as an Heretic, and all his Goods and Lands confiscated, and disposed unto others.

Katharine Hamelton his Sister, appeared upon the Scaffold, and being accused of an horrible Heretic, to wit, that her own works could not save her, she granted the same; and after long reasoning between her and Master John Spens the Lawyer, the concluded in this manner. *Work here. Work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of works can save me, but only the works of Christ my Lord and Saviour.* The King hearing these words, turned him about and laugh, and called her unto him, and caused her to recant, because she was his Aunt, and she escaped.

The Woman of Lieth was detected hereof, that when the Midwife in time of her labour, bad her say, *Our Lady help me;* she cried, *Christ help me, Christ help me, in whose help I trust.* She also was caused to recant, and so escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.

Master Norman Gurley, for that he said, *there was no such thing as Purgatory, and that the Pope was not a Bishop, but Antichrist, and had no Jurisdiction in Scotland.*

Also David Straton, for that he said *There was no Purgatory, but the Passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this World;* and because that when Master Robert Lawson Vicar of Eglesprig, asked his Tith-Filh of him, he did call them to him out of the Boat, so that some of them fell into the Sea. Therefore he accused him, as one that should have said, that no Tithes should be paid. These two, because after great solicitation made by the King, they refused to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the Bishop of Ross as Heretics, and were burned upon the Green side, between Lieth and Edenburgh, to the intent that the Inhabitants of Piffie seeing the fire, might be stricken with terror and fear, not to fall into the like. *Ex eodem scripto.*

¶ And thus much touching those Martyrs of Scotland that suffered under James Beton, Archbishop of S. Andrews. After whom succeeded David Beton in the said Archbishoprick, under whom divers other were also martyred, as hereafter (God willing) in their order shall appear.

Persecutors.

John Long-
land Bishop
of Lincoln.Rowland Vi-
car of great
Wickam, the
Bishop's
Chaplain.Martyrs, and the causes of their
Martyrdom.Thomas Harding, an aged Father,
dwelling at Chesham in Bucking-
hamshire.At Chesham in Buckinghamshire,
Anno 1553.

Thomas Harding dwelling at Chesham in the County of Buckingham, with Alice his Wife, was first abjured by William Smith Bishop of Lincoln, Anno 1506, with divers other more, which the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken and compelled, some to bear Fagots, some were burned in the Cheels with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual Prison, some thrust into Monasteries, and spoiled clean of all their Goods, some compelled to make Pilgrimage to the great Block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to Saint Romuld of Buckingham, some to the Rood of Wendover, some to Saint John Sborne, &c. Of whom mention is made in the Table before.

Of this Thomas Harding much rehearsal hath been made before.

First, This Thomas Harding, with Alice his Wife, being abjured and enjoined Penance, with divers other more, by William Smith Bishop of Lincoln, afterward by the said Bishop was released again, in the year of our Lord 1515, of all such Penance as was enjoined him and his Wife at their

Abjuration, except these three Articles following, and were discharged of their Badges, or signs of their Fagot, &c. Only this Penance following the Bishop continued. *sub pena relapsi.*

First, *That neither of them during their life should dwell out of the Parish of Amerham.*

Item, *That either of them during their life should fast Bread and Ale every Corpus Christi Even.*

Item, *That either of them should during their lives, upon Corpus Christi day, every year go in Pilgrimage to Atheridge, and there make their offerings, as other people did, but not to do Penance. Also they were licensed by the said Bishop to do their Pilgrimage at Atheridge, on Corpus Christi Even, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, upon any cause reasonable.*

This Penance being to them enjoined, Anno 1515, they observed till the year of our Lord 1522, save only in the last year the foresaid Alice his Wife omitted her Pilgrimage going to Atheridge upon Corpus Christi day. Also the said Thomas Harding, being put to his Oath to detect other, because he contrary to his Oath dissembled, and did not disclose them, was thereto enjoined, in Penance for his Perjury, to bear upon his right sleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green Cloth, or Silk, embroidered like a Fagot during his whole life, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal. And thus continued he from the year one thousand five hundred twenty two, until the year 1532.

At last the said Harding in the year above said 1532, about Easter Holy days, when the other people went to the Church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the Woods, there solitarily,

T. Harding
Martyr.It was hap-
py that they
were not
put to taste
bread and
water.The taking
of T. Har-
ding.

Persecutors. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

litarly to worship the true living God, in spirit and truth : Where, as he was occupied in a Book of *English Prayers*, leaning or sitting upon a Stile by the Woods side, it chanced that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the Officers of the Town, declaring, that he had seen *Harding* in the Woods looking on a Book. Whereupon immediately a rude Rabble of them, like mad men, ran desperately to his house to search for Books, and in searching went so nigh, that under the Boords of his Floor they found certain *English Books* of holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly Father, with his Books, was brought before *John Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, then lying at *Woolburn*. Who with his Chaplains, calling Father *Harding* to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes than with any sound arguments. *Thomas Harding*, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the Bishops Prison, called *little-cage*, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the Bishop, sitting in his Tribunal Seat like a Potentate, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his Martyrdom to *Rouland Messenger*, Vicar of great *Wickham*. Which *Rouland* at the day appointed, with a rabble of other like to himself, brought Father *Harding* to *Cheesham* again. Where, the next day after his return, the said *Rouland* made a Sermon in *Cheesham Church*, causing *Thomas Harding* to stand before him all the preaching time ; which Sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the late of his Apostolical See, with the idolatry, fancies and traditions belonging unto the same. When the Sermon was ended, *Rouland* took him up to the high Altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the Bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christs natural Body born of the Virgin *Mary*. To this *Thomas Harding* answered, *The Articles of our Belief do teach us, That our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day ; that he then ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God in the glory of his Father.*

Then was he brought into a mans house in the Town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the foresaid *Rouland* again, about ten of the Clock, with a company of Bills and Staves, to lead this godly Father to his burning. Whom a great number both of men and women did follow. Of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary, the wicked rejoiced thereat. He was brought forth, having thrust in his hands a little Crofs of wood, but no Idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the Stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his Spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to Heaven, saying, *Jesus, receive my spirit.*

When they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a Billet at him, and dashed out his Brains ; of what purpose he so did, it is not known ; but as it was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the Proclamation was made at the burning of *William Tilsforth* above mentioned ; whereas Proclamation was made the same time, *That whosoever did bring a Fagot or a Stake to the burning of an Heretick, should have forty days of pardon.* Whereby many ignorant people caused many of their children to bear Billets and Fagots to their burning.

In fine, when the Sacrifice and Burnt-offering of this godly Martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the Dell, going to *Boley*, at the North end of the Town of *Cheesham*, *Rouland* the Ruler of the roff, commanding silence, and thinking to fend the people away with an *Isa, missa est*, with a loud voice

The Harding put to death by the Bishops Prison.

The Harding condemned.

The Faith and Confession of Thomas Harding.

The patient death and Martyrdom of Thomas Harding.

40 days of pardon for bringing Fagots to burn good men.

Persecutors. Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

said to the people these words, not advising belike, what his Tongue did speak, *Good People, when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of an Heretick, but of a good true Christian man, and so they departed to Dinner, Rouland* with the Rabble of other Priests much rejoicing at the burning of this good man. After Dinner they went to Church to Even-song, because it was *Corpus Christi* Even, where they fell to singing and chanting, with ringing and piping of the Organs. Well was he that could reach the highest Note, so much did they rejoyce at this goods mans burning. He should have been burned on the *Ascension* Even, but the matter was deferred unto the Even of *Corpus Christi*, because they would honour their bready *Messias* with a bloody Sacrifice. Thus *Thomas Harding* was consumed to ashes, he being of the age of sixty years and above. *Ex testimonio Scrip. Civium Amarhamensium.*

I find in the Records of *Lincoln*, about the same time, and in the said County of *Buckinghamshire*, in the which the foresaid *Thomas Harding* did suffer, that divers other for the like Doctrine were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder followeth.

Mistress Alice Doly.

Elizabeth Wigthbill.

Dr. London.

Elizabeth Wigthbill being brought before Doctor *London*, in the Parlorage at *Stamton Harecourt*, and there put to her Oath, deposed against Mistress *Alice Doly* her Mistis, That the said Mistress *Doly*, speaking of *John Hacker* of *Colemanstree* in *London*, *Water-bearer*, said, That he was very expert in the Gospels, and all other things belonging to Divine Service, and could express and declare it, and the Pater noster in English, as well as any Priest, and it would do one good to hear him : saying moreover, That she would in no case that this were known, for hurting the poor man ; commanding moreover the said *Elizabeth*, that she should tell no man heretof : affirming at that same time, that the foresaid *Hacker* could tell of divers Prophecies, what should happen in the Realm.

Over and besides, the forenamed *Elizabeth* deposed, That the said Mistress *Doly* her Mistis shewed unto her, that she had a Book which held against Pilgrimages ; and after that, she caused Sir *John Booth* Parson of *Briwel*, to read upon a Book which he called *Legenda aurea* ; and one Saints life he read which did speak against Pilgrimages. And after that was read, her Mistis said unto her, *Lo Daughter, now ye may hear as I told you, that this Book speaks against Pilgrimages.*

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mistress *Doly* by the said *Elizabeth*, that she being at Sir *William Barentens* place, and seeing there in the Closet Images new gilded, said to the said *Elizabeth*, *Look here be my Lady Barentens Gods.* To whom the said *Elizabeth* answered again, *That they were fit for remembrance of good Saints.* Then said she, *If I were in an house where no Images were, I could remember to pray unto Saints as well as if I did see the Images.* Nay (said the other) Images do provoke devotion.

(RING) 1. H. 8. 5

Alice Doly accused.

Against Pilgrimage.

Against Images.

Then

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Martyrdom.

Then said her Mistress, *Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot see, and hath mouth and cannot speak, and hath hands and cannot feel.*

Item, The said Mistress Doly was reported by the said party to have a Book containing the 12 Articles of the Creed, covered with bords and red covering. Also another black Book, which she set most price by, which Book she kept ever in her Chamber, or in her Coffer, with divers other Books. And this was about the year of our Lord 1520. Ex Registro Lincoln.

¶ Note here, good Reader, in this time, which was above 46 years ago, what good matter here was to accuse and molest good Women.

Roger Hachman, of Northfokke
in Oxfordshire,
Anno 1525.

Against this Roger Hachman it was laid by Depositions brought in, That he sitting at the Church-ale at Northfokke, said these words, *I will never look to be saved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unless I may have my salvation by Petition, as an Outlaw shall have his pardon of the King; and said, That if he might not have his salvation so he thought he should be lost.* Ex Regitu. Lincoln.

Robert West, Priest of Saint Andrew Underhaft, at London,
Anno 1529.

Against this Robert West Priest, it was objected, That he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having Wife and Children, &c.

Item, For saying, *That whereas the Doctors of the Church have commanded Priests to say Mattens and Evening, they had no authority so to do.* For the which he was abjured, and was enjoined Penance. Ex Regitu.

John Ryburn, at Roshborough,
Anno 1530.

It was testified against John Ryburn, by his Sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her Oath, That the coming to him upon the Assumption Even, found him at Supper with Butter and Eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered, that it was no convenient time then to eat. To whom he said again, *That God never made such fasting days; but you (quoth he) are so far in Limbo Patrum, that you can never turn again.* And in further communication, when she said that she would go on Pilgrimage to the holy Crofs at Wenderover; he said again, that she did naught: *For there is never a step (said he) that you set in going on Pilgrimage, but you go to the Devil; and you go to Church to worship that the Priest doth hold above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the Mouse he will eat it; and said, that he would never believe that the Priest hath power to make his Lord.*

Item, It was testified by another

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Martyrdom.

Sister named Alice Ryburn, That she, being with her Brother in a Close called Brimers-Close, heard him say these words, *That a time shall come when no elevation shall be made.* Whereunto she answering again, asked, *And what service shall we have then?* He said, *That Service that we have now.* Furthermore, the said John Ryburn was accused upon these words, for saying that the service of the Church was naught, because it was not in English: *For, said he, if we had our Pater noster in English, we would say it nine times against once now, &c.* Ex Registro Lincoln. Fol. 300.

¶ Note here out of the Records of the Register, that in this Examination of John Ryburn, first his two Sisters, then his own Wife, and at last his own Father were called before John Longland Bishop of Lincoln, and compelled by Oath to depose against him.

John Eaton,
Cecily his Wife, at Roshborough,
Anno 1530.

John Longland Bishop of Lincoln.

Richard Ryburn.

John Eaton, and Cecily his Wife, of the Parish of Spin, were detected by Richard Ryburn, That they were marked of certain in the Parish on the Sunday then last past, in the facing time, to hold down their heads, and would not look upon the Sacrament.

Item, In the Feast of Exaltation of the body Crofs, when the Bells did ring solemnly, between Mattens and high Maïs, for saying in a Butchers house, *What a Clappering of Bells is here?*

Item, The said John Ryburn was detected of Richard his Father, for saying these words, *The Priests do naught, for they should say their Service in English, that every man may know it.*

Item, For these words speaking to one of his Sisters, *The Sacrament of the Altar is not at they take it to be. But if it be, as I trust, we shall see none of them holden up, one of these days, over the Priests head, &c.*

Item, For saying, *That the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that were done, or should be done, and therefore it was no need to go on Pilgrimage.* It was also laid to his charge, and confessed by himself, *That he had Jesus Gospels in English, and that he was present in the House of John Taylor, when one John Simons read to them a Lecture out of the Gospel of the Passion of Christ, the space of two hours.*

Item, For saying, *That Images were but Idols, and it was idolatry to pray to them.*

For saying moreover, *That at sacring time he kneeled down, but he had no devotion, nor believed in the Sacrament.* Item, *That the Popes authority and pardon, cannot help mans soul, and it was but casting away money, that is given for pardons; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus, he will give us pardon every day.*

Thomas Lound Priest, who had been with Luther two years, being afterward cast into the Fleet at London, was a great instructor of this John Ryburn.

R 2 John

A Prophecy

Sister & galest Bro: ther, Wife against Husband.

J. Eaton and Cecily his Wife.

A Prophecy

R. Hachman accused.

Will. Smith, of Northfokke in Oxfordshire.

Tho. Ferrar.

Roger West accused.

Dr. Wharton, Chancellor Tontial Bishop of London.

J. Ryburn accused.

Dr. Morgan.

Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	Persecutors.	Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.	{ KING } { Hen. 8. }
<i>J. Simonds</i> accusd.	<i>John Simonds.</i> It was laid against <i>John Simonds</i> , for saying that men do walk all day in Purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to Hell or to Heaven. <i>Item</i> , He said, That Priests should have Wives. It was reported by the confession of the said <i>John Simonds</i> , That he converted to his Doctrine eight Priests, and had holpen two or three Friars out of their orders.	<i>Simon Wisdom</i> of Burford.	<i>Simon Wisdom</i> of Burford was charged in judgment, for having 3 Books in English, one was the Gospels in English, another was the Psalter, the third was the summe of the holy Scripture in English. <i>James Algar</i> of Aiger, Anno 1530.	<i>Simon Wisdom</i> abjured.
<i>Ex Regis.</i> <i>Longinfol.</i>	<i>William Wingrave.</i> <i>Tho. Hawks</i> of Hichenden. <i>Robert Hawks</i> of Westwicombe. <i>John Taylor.</i> <i>John Hawk.</i> <i>Thomas Horn</i> of Cobhill. <i>Nicholas Field.</i> <i>Richard Dean.</i> <i>Thomas Clerk</i> the younger. <i>William Hawks</i> of Chesham. Anno 1530.	<i>John Longland</i> Bishop of Lincoln.	<i>James Algar</i> of Aiger, Anno 1530. It was articulated and objected to <i>James Algar</i> , firstly, that he speaking to a certain Dr. of Divinity named <i>Aglonby</i> , said, that every true Christian man living after the laws of God, and observing his commandments, is a Priest as well as he, &c. <i>Item</i> , That he said, That he would not have his Executors to deal any penny for his soul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his Conscience gave him, that the soul, so soon as it departeth out of the body, goeth straight either to Heaven or Hell. <i>Item</i> , When Dr. <i>Aglonby</i> aforesaid had alledged to him the place of <i>S. Matthew</i> , the 16th. <i>Thou art Peter</i> , &c. he answered him again with that which followeth in the Gospel after, <i>Get thee after me Satan</i> , &c. <i>Item</i> , The said <i>James</i> , hearing of a certain Church to be robbed, said openly, it made no great force, for the Church hath enough already.	<i>James Algar</i> abjured.
<i>Divers accusd</i> for hearing the Scriptures read in English.	<i>John Longland</i> Bishop of Lincoln. These persons with other were examined, excommunicated and abjured, for being together in <i>John Taylor's</i> House at Hichenden, and there hearing <i>Nicholas Field</i> of London, to read a parcel of Scripture in English unto them, who there expounded to them many things; That they which went on Pilgrimage were accusd; That it booteth not to pray to Images, for they were but stocks made of Wood, and could not help a man; That God Almighty biddeth us work, as well one day as another, saving the Sunday, for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested; That they needed not to fast so many fasting days, except the Embering days; for he was beyond the Sea in <i>Almany</i> , and there they used not to fast, nor to make such Holidays. <i>Item</i> , That Offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained Gods service: Nay, said <i>Nicholas</i> , it maintaineth great Houses, as Abbys and other. <i>Item</i> , That men should say their <i>Pater noster</i> , and <i>Ave Maria</i> in English, with the Creed, and declared the same in English. <i>Item</i> , That the Sacrament of the Altar, was not as it was pretended, the flesh, blood and bone of Christ, but a Sacrament, that is a Typical signification of his holy body. To <i>William Wingrave</i> moreover it was objected, that he should say, that there was no Purgatory; and if there were any Purgatory, and every Mass that is said should deliver a soul out of Purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for there be more Masses said in a day than there be bodies buried in a Month.	<i>John Longland</i> Bishop of Lincoln.	<i>John French</i> of Longwistam. At Longwistam, Anno 1530. Against <i>John French</i> likewise these three Articles were objected. 1. That he believed not the body of Christ, flesh, blood and bone, to be in the Sacrament. 2. That he was not confessed to any Priest of long time. 3. That Priests had not power to absolve from sins, &c. For the which he likewise, with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneed down, and to ask his holy Catholick Fathers and Mothers of Rome blessing.	<i>John French</i> abjured.
<i>Ex eod. Regis fol. 223.</i>			But what stand I here numbering the Sand? For if all the Register Books were sought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them which through all the other Diocesses of the Realm in these days, before and since, were troubled and pursued for these and such like matters. But these I thought for examples sake here to specify, that it might appear what Doctrine it is, and how long it hath been in the Church, for the which the Prelates and Clergy of Rome have judged men Hereticks, and so wrongfully have molested poor simple Christians. Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will something speak (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary party, who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the Church, to the intent that by those rulers it may better be discerned and judged, what manner of Church that was, which then so persecuted the true Doctrine of Christ, and Members of his Church.	

ING
in. 8.

A brief Discourse concerning the Story of Thomas Wolsey, late Cardinal of York, by way of digression; wherein is to be seen and noted the expresse Image of the proud, vain-glorious Church of Rome, how far it differeth from the true Church of Christ Jesus.

radial
off.

ALTHOUGH it be not greatly pertinent unto this our History, nor greatly requisite, in these so weighty matters entreating of Christs holy Martyrs; to discourse much of *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal of York: Notwithstanding forsomuch as there be many, which being carried away with a wrong opinion, and estimation of that false glittering Church of Rome, do think that Holiness to be in it, which indeed is not: To the intent therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious Church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, more notoriously may appear to all men, and partly also to refresh the Reader with some variety of matter, I thought compendiously to express the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeanor of this forefaid *Thomas Wolsey*, Cardinal and Legat of Rome, in whom alone the image and life of all other such like followers and professors of the same Church, may be seen and observed. For like as the *Lacedaemonians* in times past were accustomed to shew and demonstrate drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the fowls of that Vice, they might enflame them the more to the stiddy and desire of Sobriety; even so I sholl not be hurtful sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

example of
be Lacedaemonians.

Wherefore thou shalt note here (good Reader) in this History, with all judgment, the great difference of life and conversation between this Church and the other true humble Martyrs and Servants of God, whom they have and do yet persecute. And first to begin with the first meeting and coming in of this Cardinal, and his fellow Cardinal *Campeius* into England: It was about the time when Pope Leo, intending to make War against the *Turks*, sent three Legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germany, another into France: *Laurentius Campeius* was appointed to come into England. When he was come to *Calis*, and that the Cardinal of York had understanding thereof, he sent certain Bishops and Doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the Legat, and to shew him, that if he would have his Embassage effect, he should send in Post to Rome, to have the said Cardinal of York made Legat, and to be joyned with him in Communion. Which thing he much affected, misdoubting lest his authority thereby might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the Legat; and therefore required to be joyned with him in like degree of the Embassage. *Campeius* being a man light of belief, and suspecting no such matter, gave credit unto his words and sent unto Rome with such speed, that within thirty days after the Bull was brought to *Calis*, wherein they were both equally joyned in Communion; during which time the Cardinal of York sent to the Legat at *Calis* red Cloth to cloath his Servants withal, which at their coming to *Calis* were but meanly apparelled.

Cardinal
Wolsey feeleth
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equal Commu-
nion with Cam-
peius.

Note the
flare and
pride of the
Popes
Clergy.

The receiv-
ing of the
Popes Legat
into Eng-
land.

When all things were ready, *Campeius* passed the Seas and landed at *Dover*, and so kept forth his journey toward *London*. At every good Town as they passed, he was received with Procession, accompanied with all the Lords and Gentlemen of *Kent*. And when he came to *Black-beath*, there met him the Duke of *North-folk*, with a great number of Prelates, Knights and Gentlemen, all richly apparelled, and in the way he was brought into a rich Tent of Cloth of Gold, where he shifted himself into a Cardinals Robe furred with Ermines, and so took his Mule, riding toward *London*. Now mark the great humillity in this Church of the Pope, and compare the same with the other Church of the Martyrs, and see which of them is more Gospell-like.

This *Campeius* had eight Mules of his own, laden with divers Farthels and other preparations. The Cardinal of York, thinking them not sufficient for his estate, the night before he came to *London*, sent him twelve Mules more, with empty Coffers covered with red to furnish his carriage withal. The next day these twenty Mules were led through the City, as though they had been laden with treasures, apparel and other necessities, to the great admiration of all men, that they should receive a Legat as it were a God, with such and so great treasure and riches. For so the common people do always judge and esteem the majesty of the Clergy, by no other thing than by their outward shewes and pomp; but in the midst of this great admiration there happened a ridiculous spectacle, to the great derision of their pride and ambition. For as the Mules passed through *Chesapside*, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze (as the manner is) it happened that one of the Mules breaking his Collar that he was led in, ran upon the other Mules, whereby it happened, that they so running together, and their Girts being loosed, overthrow divers of their burthens, and so there appeared the Cardinals gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorn of many, especially of Boys and Girls, whereof some gathered up pieces of Meat, other some pieces of Bread and roasted Eggs, some found Horse-shoes and old Boots, with such other Baggage, crying out, Behold here is my Lord Cardinals treasure. The Mulsters being therewithal greatly abashed, gathered together their treasure again as well as they could, and went forward.

Abandon
and was
in the Car-
dinal.

How God
condemns
deeds the
pride and
pomp of
men.

The Card-
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great Mules
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roasted Eggs,
and rotten
shoes, and
such other
treasures.

About three of the Clock at afternoon, the 29th day of July, the Cardinal himself was brought through the City, with great pomp and solemnity, unto *Pauls* Church, where when he had blessed all men with the Bishops blessing (as the manner is) he was guided forth unto the Cardinal of Yorks House: where he was received by the said Cardinal, and by him on the next day, being Sunday, was conducted unto the King, to fulfil his Embassage against the *Turk*, which might have destroyed all *Hungary*, in the mean time whilst they were tudyng with what solemnity to furnish out their Embassage.

Ex Edwars
Halls.

When the Cardinal of York was thus a Legat, he set up a Court, and called it the Court of the Legat, and proved Testaments, and heard causes, to the great hindrance of all the Bishops of the Realm. He visited Bishops, and all the Clergy, exempt, and not exempt; and under colour, of Reformation, he got much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more mischief; for by example of his pride, Priests and all spiritual persons waxed so proud, that they wore Velvet and Silk, both in Gowns, Jackets Doublets and Shoes, kept open lechery, and so highly bare themselves, by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst once reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called Heretick, and then they would make him smoke, or bear a Fagot. And the Cardinal himself was so elated, that he thought himself equal with the King; and when he had said Mass, he made Dukes and Earls to serve him of Wine with Affay taken, and to hold the Basin at the Lavatories.

Furthermore, As he was Embassador sent to the Emperor at *Brussels*, he had over with him the Great Seal of England, and was served with his Servitors kneeling on their Knees, and many Noblemen of England waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the Germans: that beheld it; such was his monstrous pomp and pride. Ex *Paralip. Ab. Urph.*

Ex Paralip.
Ab. Urph.

This glorious Cardinal in his tragical doings did exceed so far all measure of a good Subject, that he came more like a Prince than a Priest; for although the King bore the sword, yet he bare the stroke, making (in a manner) the whole Realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his Pipe. Such practices and fetches he had, that when he had well stored his own Coffers, first he fetched the greatest part of the Kings treasure out of the Realm, in twelve great Barrels full of Gold and Silver, to serve the Popes Wars; and as his avaricious mind was never satisfied with getting, so his restless head was so buisie, ruffling in publick matters, that he never ceased before he had set both England, France, Flanders, Spain and Italy together by the ears.

The clothing
of cardinal
Wolsey.

Cardinal
Wolsey a
great cause
of Wars.

Thus this Legate well following the steps of his Master the Pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their Religion, under the pretence of the Church practised great hypocrisie, and under the authority of the King he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every mans substance, so pilling the Commons and Merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Neither yet were the Church-men altogether free from the pillax and pollax, from the pilling and polling (I mean) of this Cardinal, who under his power Legantine gave by preventions all Benefices belonging to spiritual persons; by which, hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himself more riches, or hatred of the Spirituality. So far his licence stretched, that he had power to suppress divers Abbys, Priories and Monasteries; and so he did, taking from them all their goods, moveables and unmoveables, except it were a little pension, left only to the heads of certain houses. By the said power Legantine he kept also general Visitations through the Realm, sending Doctor John Alein his Chaplain, riding in his Gown of Velvet, and with a great train, to visit all Religious Houses, whereat the Friars observants much grudged, and would in no wise condescend therunto; wherefore they were openly accused at *Pauls-Cross*, by Frier *Forrest* one of the same Order; so that the Cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all other. Against whom great disdain arose among the people, perceiving how he by Visitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Testaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, and other pollings in his Courts Legantine, had made his treasure equal with the Kings, and yet every year he sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the Cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the Commons against the Cardinal, this was one, which much pinched them, for that the said Cardinal had sent out certain straight Commissions in the Kings name. That every man should pay the sixth part of his goods. Whereupon there followed great muttering amongst the Commons, in such sort, that it had almost grown to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of *Sussex*, where not the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Sussex* with wisdom and gentleness stept in and appeased the same.

Another thing that rubbed the stomachs of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the Cardinal was this, to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the Kings chief Counsellor, to set a Reformation in the order of the Kings Household, making and establishing new Ordinances in the same. He likewise made new Officers in the House of the Duke of *Richmond*, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a Council, and established another Household for the Lady *Mary*, then being Princess; so that all things were done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with much more, took he upon him, making the King believe that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pain, inasmuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him; whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

At this time, the Cardinal gave the King the Lease of the Mannor of *Hampton Court*, which he had of the Lord of *Saint Johns*, and on which he had done great cost. Therefore the King again, of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his Mannor of *Richmond*, and so he lay there certain times. But when the Common people, and especially such as were King *Henry* the 7th's servants, saw the Cardinal keep house in the Royal Mannor of *Richmond*, which King *Henry* the Seventh so much esteemed, it was a marvel to hear how they grudged, saying, See a Butchers Dog ly in the Mannor of *Richmond*. These with many other opprobrious words were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so high, that he regarded nothing; yet was he hated of all men.

And now to expresse some part of the ruffling practices and busie intermeddlings of this Cardinal in Princes Wars, first here is to be noted, that after long Wars between *England* and *France*, 1524. (in the which Wars King *Henry*, taking the Emperors part against *France* the French King, had waged with his money the Duke of

Bourbon, and a great part of the Emperors Army, to invade and disturb certain parts of *France*) it hapned that the French King, coming with his Army toward *Millain* at the Siege of *Pavia*, was there taken by the Duke of *Bourbon*, and Viceroy of *Naples*, and so led Prisoner into *Spain*.

Where note by the way, that all this while the Cardinal held with the Emperor, hoping by him to be made Pope; but when that would not be, he went clean from the Emperor to the French King, as, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

After this Victory gotten, and the French King being taken Prisoner, who remained in custody about a year and half; at length through great labour and sollicitation, as well of other, as namely of the Cardinal and King *Henry*, an order was taken, and conditions propounded between the French King and the Emperor; among which conditions it was agreed, that they should resit the *Turks*, and oppress the *Lutherans*, and so was the King set at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldest Sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his Oath, being absolved by the Bishop of *Rome*, and said that he was forced to swear, or else he should never have been delivered. Which was Anno 1526. Pope *Clement* the Seventh, seeing the French King restored to liberty, and misdoubting the puissance and domination of the Emperor in Italy so near under his Nose, absolveth the French King from his Oath, also joyneth together a Confederacy of *Venitians*, and other Princes against the Emperor, bearing great hatred against all them that any thing favoured the Emperors part, especially the Family of *Columna* in *Rome*, which Family was then Imperial; and therefore to shew his hatred against them, he said to *Pompey*, Cardinal of the same Family, in threatening words, That he would take away his Cardinals Hat. To whom it was answered again of the Cardinal, That if he so did, he would put on a Helmet to overthrow the Popes Triple Crown. Whereby it may appear here by the way, what holiness and vertue lieth in the Pope and Cardinals of that Catholicke See of *Rome*.

Thus the false Pope, under the lying Title of Holiness, was the Father of much mischief and of great Wars, which after ensued. For the Duke of *Bourbon*, and other of the Emperors Captains, having intelligence of the Popes purpose and confederacy, gathered their Army together, and after much bloodshed and fighting, about *Millain*, *Harold* and *Cremona*, at length they approached and bent their Siege against *Rome*, and after three sharp assaults, obtained the City, with the whole spoil thereof; where also they besieged the foresaid Pope with his Cardinals, in the Mount of *Adrian*, and took him Prisoner An. 1527. As touching the cause of the besieging of *Rome*, now you have heard; for the manner of the taking of *Rome*, and of the Pope, the order thereof is thus described in *Hall* and other.

The Sacking of Rome, and taking of Pope CLEMENT.

THE Emperors Army departing from *Florence* to the City of *Seynes*, where they lost their Ordnance, took counsell there to go to *Rome*, and so much they travelled by night and day, commonly passing forty Miles day and night (their good will was such) that the sixth day of *May*, with Banners displayed they came before the City of *Rome*, being *Saturday*; the same day, and on *Sunday*, the Romans made Bulwarks, Rampiers, and other defences, and layed Ordnance on the Walls, and shot at them without, fiercely.

The Duke of *Bourbon* determined that it was not best to lie still without, and be slain with Ordnance, considering that they were all naked people, and without great Ordnance; wherefore he determined to take the chance, and to give the assault, and so manfully they approached the Walls between the *Burgo Novo* and old *Rome*. But the Romans valiantly defended them with Hand-guns, Pikes, Stones, and other Weapons, so that the enemies were faine to retreat. Then the Romans were glad and set many fair Banners on their Towers and Bulwarks, and made great shouts; which the Duke of *Bourbon* seeing,

[KING]
[HEN. 2.]

French the
French King
takes Pri-
soner.

The French
King, Prisoner
a year and a
half.

The Pope
absolveth
the French
King from his
Oath.

The answer
of the Car-
dinal to the
Pope.

The Pope
strieth up
Wars.

The taking
of Rome.

In Paraph.
John. Crisp.

The Duke
of Bourbon.

cried

The pilling
and polling
of the Car-
dinal.

The Priests
obscure
accused of
the Car-
dinal
Of Priests
Forch. Side
infra.
Ex. Halla.
en. 17. Reg.
Henric. 8.

Ex. Halla.
An. 19. Reg.
Henric. 8.

Hampton
Court given
to the King.

The Card-
inal ruffling
in matters
and Wars
of Princes.

KING cried to a new Assault. Then the *Drumblades* strook and every man with a Ladder mounted; and at the first encounter, again the *Romans* put them a little back, which the Duke of *Bourbon* perceiving, cried *God and the Emperor*. Then every man manfully set on. There was a fore fight, many an Arrow shot, and many a man felled; but at last the Emperors men got the Wall, and between every assault fell a Mist, so that they within could not see what part they without would assail, which was profitable to the Emperors party. At the three assaults were slain three hundred *Switzers* of the Popes Guard. In this last assault was the Duke of *Bourbon* stricken in the Thigh with a Hand-gun, of the which he shortly after died in a Chappel of *St. Siff*, whither his Souldiers had brought him; and this chance notwithstanding, the Army entered into *Rome*, and took the Popes Palace, and set up the Emperors Arms.

Three assaults against Rome.

The Duke of Bourbon wounded.

The Pope curst his enemies.

The Pope slain.

The Cardinals begot.

The Bulwark of the Romans besieged and taken.

The Castle of St. Angelo besieged.

Rome spoiled.

that came to play laden with Plate, went again almost naked, and then fell to rifling again. Many of the Citizens, which could not patiently suffer that vexation, drowned themselves in *Tyber*. The Soldiers daily, that lay at the Siege, made jests of the Pope. Sometime they had one riding like the Pope, with a Whore behind him, sometime he blessed, and sometime he cursed, and sometime they would with one voice call him *Antichrist*; and they went about to undermine the Castle, and to have thrown it down on his head, but the water, that environeth the Castle, disappointed their purpose.

The Pope mocked and covered openly in Rome before his own face.

The Pope besieged and taken.

In this season the Duke of *Urbine*, with fifteen thousand men, came to aid the Pope; but hearing that *Rome* was taken, he tarried forty Mile from *Rome*, till he heard other word. The Marquels of *Saluce*, and Sir *Frederico de Badjo*, with fifteen thousand footmen, and a thousand Horsemen, were at *Vitarbe* the 10th day of *May*; where they hearing that the City of *Rome* was taken, also tarried. The Cardinal of *Colame* came with an Army of *Neapolitans* to help the Emperors men, but when he saw the cruelty of the Soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

The Bishop of *Rome* was thus besieged till the 8th of the Ides of *July*; at which day he yielded himself for necessity and penury of all things in the Castle; and then he was restored to give Graces, and grant Bulls as he did before; but he tarried still in the Castle of *Saint Angel*, and had a great number of *Almains* and *Spaniards* to keep him; but the *Spaniards* bare most rule in the Castle, for no man entered, nor came out of the Castle but by them. When the Month of *July* came, Corn began to fail in *Rome*, and the Pestilence began to wax strong; wherefore the great Army removed to a place called *Narvia* forty Miles from *Rome*, leaving behind them such as kept the Bishop of *Rome*.

War and pestilence in Rome.

When they were departed, the *Spaniards* never were contented till they had gotten the *Almains* out of the Castle of *S. Angel*, and so they had the whole custody of the Pope. And thus much for the sacking of *Rome*. See *Paralip. Abb. Urser*.

When the Cardinal here in *England* heard how his Father of *Rome* was taken Prisoner, he began to stir Coals, and hearing of his Captivity, he laboured with the King all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the said Pope against the Emperors; and to be a defender of the Church, which if he would do, the Cardinal perswaded him that he should receive great reward at Gods hand. To whom the King answered again, and said in this manner, *My Lord, I more lament this evil chance, than my Tongue can tell; but where you say I am the defender of the Faith, I assure you, that this War between the Emperor and the Pope is not for the Faith, but for the temporal Possessions and Dominions; and now sit Pope Clement is taken by men of War, what should I do? My person nor my people cannot rescue him; but if my Treasure may help him, take that which seemeth to you most convenient.*

The Cardinal bettered him for the Pope.

The Pope's eighth for temporal possessions.

Thus the Cardinal when he could not obtain at the Kings hands what he would, in stirring him up to mortal War, he made out of the Kings Treasure twelve hundred thousand pounds, which he carried over the Sea with him. After this, the Cardinal sent his Communion as Legate, to all the Bishops, commanding Fastings and solemn Processions to be had, wherein they did sing the Letany after this sort, *Sancit Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente Papa*, and so forth all the Letany.

Twelve hundred thousand pounds conveyed out of England by the Cardinal.

A new found Letany of the Lord Cardinals against the King.

This Cardinal, passing the Seas with the foresaid sums of money, departed out of *Calis*, accompanied with *Cuthbert Tonstal* Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Sands* the Kings Chamberlain, the Earl of *Darby*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, and Sir *Thomas More*, with many other Knights and Squires, to the number of twelve hundred Horse, having in his carriage fourscore Wagons, and threecore Mules and sumpter Horses.

It were long to discourse in this place the manifold abuses and Treasons which he practised when he came to the French Court at *Amias*, converting the great sums of money which before you heard he had obtained of the

King

King for the relief and ranfome of Pope Clement, which at that time was prisoner in the Emperours army, and bestowing the fame in the hiring of Soldiers, and furnishing out the French Kings army; appointing also certain English Captains in the King of England's name, to go against the Emperor, to rescue the Pope, all which army was paid with the King of England's money.

Besides that, he privily by his Letters caused Clarentius King at Arris, to joyn with the French Herald, and openly to defie the Emperor; whereby there began great displeasure to rise between the Emperor and the King; but that the Emperor of his Politick nature would take no occasion of displeasure against the King of England.

Now again he uttered another of his practices: for upon the said defiance, the Cardinal furnishing and whispering in the Kings ear, that the Emperor had evil intreated and imprisoned the Kings Embassadors in Spain, caused Hugo de Mendoza, the Emperours Embassador in England, to be attached, and put in safe keeping, and his house with all his goods to be seized. Which so remained, until that manifest Letters came of the gentle intreaty of the Kings Embassadors in Spain, and then he was again set at liberty. When as the Embassador complained hereof to the Cardinal, he laid all the fault upon Clarentius; saying also, that Clarentius had defied the Emperor, without the Kings knowledge, at the request of the Herald of France: wherefore at his return he should lose his head at Calais. Whereof Clarentius being advertised by the Captain of Balaon, in his return took shipping at Bullen, and so privily came into England, and by means of certain of his friends of the Kings Privy-chamber he was brought into the Kings presence before the Cardinal knew of it. Whereas he flewed unto the King the Cardinals Letters of Commission, and declared the whole order and circumstance of their gentle entreaty. When the King heard the whole circumstance thereof, and had a while mused thereupon, he said, O Lord Jesus, he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary. Well Clarentius, I will no more be so light of credence hereafter; for now I see well that I have been made believe the thing that was never done: and from that time forward the King never put any more confidence or trust in the Cardinal.

The cause why the Cardinal should bear the Emperor all this malice and grudge, after some writers, appeareth to be thus: At what time as Pope Clement was taken prisoner, (as is before said) the Cardinal wrote unto the Emperor, that he should make him Pope. But when he had received an answer that pleased him not, he waxed furious mad, and sought all means to displease the Emperor, writing very sharply unto him many menacing Letters, that if he would not make him Pope, he would make such a ruffling betwixt Christian Princes as was not this hundred years before, to make the Emperor repent, yea though it should cost the whole Realm of England.

Whereunto the Emperor made answer in a little Book, Imprinted both in Spanish and Dutch, answering unto many menaces of the Cardinal, and divers of his Articles; but specially to that his ruffling threat, wherein he menaced him, that if he would not make him Pope, he would set such a ruffling betwixt Christian Princes as was not this hundred years, though it should cost the whole Realm of England. Whereunto the Emperor answering again, biddeth him look well about him, lest through his doings and attempts he might bring the matter in that case, that it should cost him the Realm of England in deed.

You have heard before, how that when Pope Clement was prisoner in the Emperours army, the Cardinal required the King, because he did bear the Title of Defender of the Faith, that he would rescue the Pope. Also what the Kings answer was thereunto, and what sums of money he had obtained of the King. Now because you shall not also be ignorant, by what means, and upon what occasion this Title of the Defender of the Faith was given unto the King, we think it good somewhat to say in this place. When as Martin Luther had uttered the abomination of the Pope and his Clergy, and divers Books were come into England, our Cardinal here thinking to find a remedy for that, sent immediately unto Rome for this Title of Defender of the Faith: which afterward the Vicar of

Croyden preached, that the Kings Grace would not lose it for all London and twenty miles about it. Neither is it marvel, for it cost more than London and forty miles about it, considering the great sums which you have heard the Cardinal obtained of the King for the Popes relief, besides the effusion of much innocent blood.

When this Glorious Title was come from Rome, the Cardinal brought it unto the Kings Grace at Greenwich; and though that the King had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning were all the Lords and Gentlemen that could in so short space be gathered, sent for, to come and receive it with honour. In the morning the Cardinal gat him through the backside into the Friars Observants, and part of the Gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from Rome: part met him half way, and some at the Court-gate. The King himself met him in the Hall, and brought him up into a great Chamber, where was a feat prepared on high for the King and the Cardinal to sit on whilst the Bull was read. Which pomp of all men of wisdom and understanding laughed to scorn.

This done, the King went to his Chappel to hear Mass, accompanied with many Nobles of his Realm, and Embassadors of sundry Princes. The Cardinal being revealed to sing Mass, the Earl of Essex brought the Basin of water, the Duke of Suffolk gave the Aftay, and the Duke of Norfolk held the Towel, and so he proceeded to Mass. When Mass was done, the Bull was again published, the Trumpets blew, the Shalms and Sackbuts played in honour of the Kings new title. Then the King went to dinner, in the midst whereof the King of Heralds and his Company began the Larged, crying, *Hiericus, Dei Gratia, Rex Anglie & Francie, Defensor Fidei, & Dominus Hibernie*. Thus were all things ended with great glory.

Not much unlike to this was the receiving of the Cardinals Hat; which when a Russian had brought unto him to Westminster under his Cloak, he clothed the messenger in rich array, and sent him back again to Dover; appointing the Bishop of Canterbury to meet him, and then another Company of the Lords and Gentlemen, I wot not how often, before it came to Westminster; where it was set upon a Cupboard, and Tapers round about it, so that the greatest Duke in the land must make courtesy thereunto, and to his empty seat, he being away.

And so far as we are in hand with the acts and doings of Cardinal Wolsey, among many other things which of purpose we overpass, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touching his uncourteous, or rather churlish handling of Richard Pacy, Dean of Pauls. This Pacy, being the Kings Secretary for the Latin Tongue, was of such ripeness of wit, of learning and eloquence, alio in foreign languages so expert, that for the one he was thought most meet to succeed after John Coles, in the Deanry of Pauls: beside which he was also preferred to the Deanry of Exeter. For the other he was sent in the Kings affairs Ambassador to Venice. Which function there he so discharged, that it is hard to say whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the Venetians, both for dexterity of his wit, and specially for the singular promptness in the Italian Tongue, wherein he seemed nothing inferior, neither to Peter Vanne here in England, the Kings Secretary for the Italian Tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the best in that Tongue in all Venice. For opinion and fame of learning, he was so notoriously accepted, not only here in England with Linacre, Grocynus, More and other, but also known and reported abroad in such sort, that in all the great heap of Erasmus Epistles, he wrote almost to none so many, as he wrote to this Richard Pacy.

As the said Pacy was Resident Ambassador at Venice, the King having War the same time with Francis the French King (as is afore-rehearsed) through the conducting of the Duke of Bourbon, whom he then waged with his expences, sent commandment to Pacy to give attendance to the Duke of Bourbon, concerning the receipt of that money and other necessities and exploits

KING
H. 8.

The glorious vanity of the Cardinal laugh'd to scorn.

The Kings title augmented.

The theatrical receiving of the Cardinals Hat.

The cruel dealing of the Cardinal against Richard Pacy, R. Pacy Dean of Pauls.

Rich. Pacy Ambassador at Venice.

The Duke of Bourbon waged War with the King of England money.

he wages the Cardinal.

he crafty practice of the Cardinal.

The Cardinal set Clarentius to defie the Emperor, and afterward would be excused by this death.

The Cardinal proud threats against the Emperor.

The Emperours answer unto the Cardinals threats.

The Title of Defender of the Faith.

{ KING } to that expedition appertaining. In the mean while, as the **{ Hen. 8. }** French King with his Army, and the Duke of Bourbon were approaching in Battel together, near about the City of *Pavia*, it so happened (some think through the crafty packing of the Cardinal) that the Kings money was not so ready as it was looked for. By reason whereof the Duke of Bourbon, perceiving his Soldiers about to shrink from him to the French King for lack of payment, called to him the Embassador, complaining unto him, how the King of England had deceived him, and broke promise with him, to his great dishonour and utter undoing. *Pacie* then being sure of the Kings will, and suspecting the crafty fetch of the Cardinal, desired the Duke not to take discomfort, nor any diffidence of the Kings assured promise, excusing the delay of the money as well as he could, by intercession, or other causes by the way incident, rather than for any lack of fidelity on the Kings behalf: adding moreover, that if it would please him happily to proceed, as he had courageously begun, he should not stay for the Kings money: so sure he was of the Kings mind therein, that he would supply the lack of that payment upon his own credit, among his friends at *Venice*, and so he did. Whereupon the Soldiers being sufficiently satisfied with payment of their wages, proceeded forth with the Duke unto the Battel. In the which Battel the foresaid French King, the same time before the City of *Pavia*, was taken prisoner, as is before declared. Which being effusions known to the King of England, *Pacie* had both condign thanks for his faithful service, and also his money repayed again with the utmost, as he well deserved. But as the laud and the renowned praise of men for their worthy prowesses, commonly in this world never go unaccompanied with some privy canker of envy and disdain following after, so the singular industry of *Pacie*, as it won much commendation with many, so it could not avoid the secret sting of some Serpents. For the conceived hatred of this Cardinal so kindled against him, that he never ceased, till first he brought him out of the Kings favour, and at last also out of his perfect wits.

The occasion how he fell beside himself was this, for that the Cardinal after the death of Pope *Adrian* hoping no less but that he should have been advanced unto the Papacy, and yet missing thereof, he supposed with himself the fault chiefly to rest in *Pacies* negligence, by whose great wit and learning, and earnest means and lute, he thought easily he might have achieved and compassed the Triple Crown. Wherefore he seeing it otherwise come to pass, and inflamed against *Pacie* for the same, wrought such ways and means, that by the space almost of two years, *Pacie* continuing at *Venice*, had neither writing from the King, nor his Council, what he should do; nor yet any manner of allowance for his diet (although he wrote, and sent Letters for the same to England very often) for the Cardinal had altogether incensed the King against him. Whereupon the said *Pacie* took such an inward thought and conceit, that his wits began to fail him, he being notwithstanding in sure favour among the Senators of *Venice*, that neither for gold nor silver he could there have lacked. By some it was reported that the Venetian Legate here in England coming to the Cardinal, required if he would command any thing to the English Embassador at *Venice*? To whom he should answer again in high words, saying, *Pacens decepti Regem*. Which words coming to *Pacies* ears, so deeply pierced his stomach, that he fell quite besides himself. I heard it moreover of another thus testified, who had a Brother the same time dwelling with *Pacie*: that the Cardinal about the returning of *Pacie* from *Venice*, sent him a Letter so powdered (with what Spices I cannot tell) that at the reading thereof *Pacie* being then in the fields, fell suddenly in such a mighty running for the space of two miles, that his servants had much ado to take him, and bring him home.

This piteous case of *Pacie* was not a little lamented by the whole Senate, and chief Learned men in *Venice*, in so much that the King was not only certified thereof by *Thomas Lupset* (who then was chief man about *Pacie*, and his Secretary for that Embassage) but also the said Senate of *Venice* wrote, in such sharp and vehement wise unto their Embassador then being in England, that he

should signify unto the King touching *Pacies* case, that thereby the King knowing the truth, and the whole circumstance of the matter, was not a little sorrowful therefore. Whereupon *Pacie* was forthwith sent for home, and when he came to England, he was commanded by the King to be specially well tended and to lack no keeping. In so much that within a small process of time he was prettily well come again to his wits, and began to study the Hebrew Tongue with *Wakefield*, so that (the Cardinal then being absent) such ways were found by his friends, that he was brought to the King, lying then at *Richmond*, where he and the King secretly communed together by the space of two hours and more, not without great rejoicing to the King as it was perceived, to see him so well amended, and returned to himself again, giving likewise strict charge and commandment, that he should lack nothing. The Cardinal being then not present, when he heard of this, fearing lest he had disclosed somewhat to the King, which he would not have known, and doubting that the King should cast his favour again unto *Pacie*, began within a while after to quarrel, and pick matters, and to lay certain things to *Pacies* charge, whereas he rather should have cleared himself of those things which *Pacie* laid unto him before the King, which was contrary to all good form and order of justice. For where the King had willed the Cardinal to purge himself of those things which *Pacie* had rightly charged him withal, he sitting in judgment with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other States of the Realm, not as a Defendant, but as a Judge in his own cause, to bare out himself and weighed down *Pacie*, that *Pacie* was commanded to the Tower of London as prisoner: where he continued by the space of two years, or thereabout, and afterward by the Kings commandment was discharged. But he being there prisoner, was therewith so deadly wounded and stricken, that he fell worse from his wits than ever he was before, being in such a Phrensie or Lunacy, that to his dying day he never came perfectly to himself again. Notwithstanding this in him was no perpetual Phrensie, but came by fits; and when the fit was past, he could look on his Book, and reason and talk handsomely, but that now and then he shewed his disease. And thus much between the Cardinal and *Pacie*.

By the story of *Pacie*, and also by other passages above mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this Cardinal was to be made Pope. Touching which matter here by the way something to intreat, first it is to be understood, that so far as *Pacie* either would not or could not serve the Cardinals purpose herein, he thought to accomplish his desire by other means, and namely by *Stephen Gardener*, who was then shortly after sent Embassador to Rome by the King and the Cardinal, in the time of Pope *Clement* the Seventh; and that for two special causes, one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the Cardinal to be Pope. As touching the Divorcement we will speak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time as concerning the advancement of the Cardinal, great labour was made, as in Letters may appear, sent from the Cardinal to the said *Stephen Gardener*; in the which Letters he did sollicite the said *Gardener*, by all means to pursue the suit, willing him to stick for no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch; for more he said he would not give for the Triple Crown. Mark here (Christian Reader) what an holy Catholick Church this is, which rather may be called a Barge, or Mart of Merchants (*Ne quid dicam durius*) than any true form of a Church.

Many both of his, and also of the Kings Letters, I could here insert; but for growing of the Volume, I let them pass. One for examples sake, sent by the Cardinal to *Gardener*, another also from the King to the said *Gardener*, shall at this time suffice concerning this matter. And first the Copy of the Cardinals ambitious Letter here in form followeth.

The

Pacie reciev-
ed.

Pacie brought to
the Kings
presence.

Pacie com-
manded to
the Tower
by the Car-
dinal
Pacie dis-
charged out
of the
Tower.

*Stephen Gar-
dener* Am-
bassador at
Rome for
the King
and the
Cardinal.

The Duke
of Bourbon
disappoint-
ed of the
Kings mo-
ney.

*Richard Pa-
cie* being
the Duke of
Bourbon
with money.

*Richard
Pacie* was
the means
why the
French King
was taken.

The Cardi-
nal hated
Pacie.

The Cardi-
nal practis-
eth against
Pacie.

Pacie in
great credit
with the
Venetians.

The Cardi-
nal fully
believeth
Pacie.

Pacie has
frangment
of his wits.

The Copy of an ambitious Letter written by Tho. Wolfsey Cardinal of York, unto Stephen Gardener, one of King Henries Orators in the Court of Rome, for the procuring of the Papal dignity to the said Cardinal.

A Letter of the Cardinal to Stephen Gardener at Rome.

M After Stephen, albeit ye shall be sufficiently, with your Colleagues, by such Instructions as be given to Monsieur Vincent, informed of the Kings mind and mine, concerning my advancement unto the dignity Papal, not doubting but that for the singular devotion which you bear towards the King and his affairs, both general and particular, and perfect love which ye have towards me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitate to serve and conduce to that purpose: yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent expression of my mind in that behalf, to write unto you (as to the person whom I do most entirely trust, and by whom this thing shall be more pitifully set forth) these few words following of mine own hand, I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider as well the state wherein the Church and all Christendom doth stand now presently, as also the state of this Realm, and of the Kings secret matter: which if it should be brought to pass by any other means than by the authority of the Church, I account this Prince and Realm utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have such a one to be Pope, and common Father of all Princes, as may, can, and will give remedy to the premises. And although I account my self much unable, and that it shall be now incommensurable in this mine old age to be the said common Father, yet when all things be well pondered, & the qualities of all the Cardinals well considered, Adit verbum iactantie) there shall be none found that can and will set remedy in the foresaid things, but only the Cardinal of York, whose good will and zeal is not to you, of all men, unknown. And were it not for the reintegracion of the state of the Church and See Apostolicke to the pristine dignity, and for the conducting of peace amongst Christian Princes, and especially to relieve this Prince and Realm from the calamities that the same be now in, all the riches or honour of the world should not cause me. Ne dum aspirare, sed ne consentire, to accept the said dignity, although the same with all commodities were offered unto me.

Nevertheless, conforming my self to the necessity of the time, and the will and pleasure of these two Princes, I am content to approve all my wit and study, and to set forth all means and ways, Ut beneficantibus Christi-anitatibus, for the attaining of the said dignity. For the achieving and attaining whereof, forasmuch as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not only of these two Princes and their Realms, but of all Christendom, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the said end and purpose. Wherefore, Master Stephen, since you be so plainly advertised of my mind and intent, I shall pray you to extend Omnes nervos ingenii tui, ut ita res ad effectum produci possit, nullis parcendo sumptibus, sollicitationibus, five laboribus: ita ut hominum videris ingenia & affectiones, five ad privata, five ad publica, sic accomodes actiones tuas. Non desit tibi & Collegis tuis amplissima potestas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata seu relictis, & quicquid feceris, scito omnia apud hunc Regem & me esse grata & tuta. Nam omnia ut paucis absolvam in tuo ingenio & fide repositimus. Nihil superest aliud scribendum, nisi quod supplex orem, ut omnes actiones tuas secundet Deus opt. maximusque, & ex corde vale.

Ex aedibus meis Westmonast. vii. Febr.

Tuae salutis & amplitudinis cupidissimus,

T. Ebor.

Stephen Gardener the Cardinals trusty Ambassador.

After this Letter of the Cardinal, consequently here in-further another Letter of the King, to the foresaid Stephen Gardener, and other his Orators at Rome; containing such instructions and documents as they should practise

with the Cardinals of Rome, in canvassing for the said Thomas Wolfsey Cardinal of York to be elected Pope, if Pope Clement were dead: or if he were not dead, yet at least to instruct them what to do when he should die.

The contents of the Letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledge, nor greatly necessary for our story, yet for the ridiculous manner of the handling, and curious Secretariship thereof, full of glorious affectation, I thought it not here unmeet for the studies and appetites of some, to exemplify the same, or at least to make the Reader some pastime by the way, in beholding the glorious stile of this vain-glorious Cardinal, being late-like to his glorious life. The Copy of the Letter bearing the name of the King, but indeed favouring altogether of the Cardinals device and swelling vein, doth thus proceed in form and stile as followeth.

I Instructions sent by the Kings Highness, to his Trusty Counsellors and Servants, Mr. Stephen Gardener, Doctor of both Laws, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Gregory de Calais, Knights, and Mr. Peter Vane the Kings Secretary for the Italian Tongue, his Embassadors in the Court of Rome, for the Election of the Cardinal of York to the Papacy, if Pope Clement were dead.

First whereas a good season since the depeach of Master Stephen Gardener, an Ambassiate towards the Court of Rome, the Kings Highness by sundry ways hath been advertised of the death of our holy Father the Pope Clement of that name the Seventh, whose soul Jesus pardon, by mean whereof the charge heretofore committed by his Grace unto his Orators, to have been now executed with the said late Pope, cannot at his hands take effect, his Highness pondering and profoundly considering the present state of Christendom, miserably and pitifully afflicted with the Intefine wars, dissensions, and discords, reigning amongst the Princes of the same, and how the dignity of the See Apostolicke, by such trouble and persecution, as hath been inferred thereunto these years passed, is not a little diminished and impaired, like to come to a total ruin, if by the help and assistance of good and vertuous Princes the ambition of those which study the extermination thereof, be not in time repelled: considering furthermore, that as well to conduce the rest and tranquillity in Christendom, as to restore, repair, and reintegrate the state, authority, and reputation of the said See Apostolicke, nothing is more requisite and necessary, than that such a head and common Father be now, at this time of vacation of the dignity Papal, provided and elected to succeed in the same, as both may, can, and will purvey to the restauration of the said See, and hath, and may have the assistance of such vertuous and puissant Princes, as tender the defence, maintenance and increase of the dignity aforesaid, and that may meet with the inordinate ambition of the Emperor, who nothing more studieth, than for his own exaltation to suppress the Church and the See Apostolicke: remembering also the high importance of the Kings great and weighty cause of Matrimony, committed to the charge of the said Orators, and how manifold dangers, and irreparable damages depend upon the tract, delay, or disappointment thereof, which by no way or mean can be conducted to the Kings purpose and desire by the authority of the Church, but only by special, assured and perfect favour of the Head of the same Church; his Highness also being as loth as any living Prince or person may be, to recur unto other refuge, succour or remedy in the said cause, than to the authority of the See Apostolicke, if his Grace may there find the favour and benignity that to his merits towards the same be correspondent; of which favour his Highness should be clearly deprived and frustrate, in case the election of the future Pope should pass upon any person, of whom his Grace were not perfectly assured: his Highness for the respects and considerations before specified, perceiving his good Brother and perpetual Allie the French King, in the

Mark the stile, and you shall find that it is all one with the Cardinals former Letter, which he wrote with his own hand.

Instructions sent to the Kings great to his Legates at Rome.

The total ruin of the Apostolicke Papacy, God forbid it.

He meaneth the Matrimony between K.H. & Q. Katherine, his Brother Johns Wifes, whereof there was lawful issue.

KING said intention, to be unite, knit, and in all actions and doings of importance assuredly combined unto his Grace, proceeding together in one will, mind, purpose, and conformity, hath by good and mature deliberation, studied, devised, and excogitate with himself who were and might be the most able, meet, and convenient person, having the qualities before specified, to be advanced at this time, unto the said dignity Papal. And finally when his Grace hath well revolved with himself all the respects and considerations aforesaid, noting also all things meet to be regarded in every of the Cardinals of the Church of

See how this Prelate is all in his exaltation.

The Theological practice of the Cardinals.

Note this cause. The Cardinal is most meet to be Pope, because he can best bridge the Empire.

That is to say his own desire.

* If his sacred authority were clean void, the Faith and Religion of Christ should stand and flourish much better (*). By this weighty matter here is meant the cause of the Kings duty.

vancement of the said Lord Legate of *Tork* to that dignity, than they would that thing which the Kings Highness most highly, next God and his soul, with all earnestness and fervent mind doth, above all other things, covet and desire, and also no less than they would the speedy obtaining and perfection of all such things, touching the Kings said weighty matter committed to their charges: the making or marring whereof, the said late Pope being now deceased, consisteth only in the advancement of the said Lord Legate of *Tork* to the dignity Papal.

For (as the Kings said Embassadors may by their wisdoms well think and consider) the same must of necessity come, and fortune either to one that is an assured friend to his Grace and the *French King*, or to one that is a manifest enemy to them, favouring the Emperors part, or to one indifferent and mean between both. And if it should chance upon a manifest enemy, it is evident that the Kings desire at his hand were merely impossible to be had, and never were to be attained that way. If it should come to one being indifferent and mean between both, it is more than notorious that his Grace, at the least, should be contained with fair words and promises, and yet such respect should be had to the Emperor, that finally under hope of obtaining something, there should be no more, but tract, delay, and finally no manner fruit nor effect: whereof experience hath already been seen in one that had cause to be more friendly to the King, than indifferent or mean between both, and yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the Kings said Embassadors well known. So that of necessity this thing must be conducted to one that is an assured friend. Then noting substantially the things necessary to concur in such a friend both for the weal of Christendom, the relief of the Church, the firm adhering to the Kings Highness, and the *French King*, and other their Confederates, and the perfect conducting of the Kings great matter which suffereth no tract, delay, or negative; it shall be found, that there is none other for this purpose, but only the said Lord Legate of *Tork*.

The Kings said Embassadors shall therefore plant the foundation of all their study, labour, and sollicitation, only to that purpose. And for the better introduction of the ways and means, how this thing shall be solicited; they shall receive herewith a Schedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many, and what Cardinals of likelihood shall be present at the Election, and how many and which of the other shall be absent. Semblably, how many of them that be like to be present, may be thought to be friends to the Kings Highness, and the *French King*, whose names in the said Schedule be noted with *A.* and how many are thought to be Imperial, whose names be noted with *B.* In the same Schedule be also set out the number and names of those that be thought to be neutral or indifferent, marked with *N.* And furthermore, they be first mentioned therein, which be thought most like to aspire to that dignity.

Herein be many things well to be regarded. First, the number of the Cardinals that are like to be present, which (as is thought here) shall not exceed nine and thirty. Secondly, that to have Election to the Kings purpose, shall be requisite to have two parts of the three of the said number, which two parts must be twenty six. Then is it to be noted, that they which be thought to be friends to the Kings Highness and the *French King*, be in number twenty. So that if they may be made sure to the Kings devotion, there shall lack but six of the number, which shall suffice to make the Election: which number the Kings said Embassadors shall move, win, and attain, either of them that be thought to be indifferent, or some other.

In the conducting whereof two ways be specially to be remembered. One is if the Cardinals present, having God and the Holy Ghost before them shall be minded (as to their duty appertaineth) to have respect to the present calamity of the Church and all Christendom, intending the relief, succour and reformation of the same, and to preserve themselves, and the dignity of the See Apostolick, then looking profoundly upon the state of the things, they

A signifieth the Cardinals of the Kings, and the French Kings side. B signifieth the Cardinals of the Emperors side. But here is never a C to signify any Cardinals on Christ side.

As though the Pope Election had any thing to do with the Holy Ghost.

they cannot fail * easily of themselves to find and perceive, that to conduce their purpose there is only the said Lord Legate of *York*. And in this case it is verily to be thought, that very reason it self, and their own confidence shall lead them like virtuous Fathers, to have their principal respect hereunto; and (particular affections set apart) to accord and agree without difficulty to that which so manifestly is known to be the thing, above all other expedient. Nevertheless, because percase humane fragility suffereeth not all things to be pondered, trutinately, and weighed in just ballance, but that (as we be men) errors may run, unless then remedy be provided: it appertaineth in matter of so high importance, to the comfort and relief of all Christendom, to succour the infirmity that may chance, not for corruption, or to any perverse, unlawful, or evil intent, but rather to help to the backs and defaults, which by such fragility might else take place; and therefore expedient it shall be that the Kings said Orators, to so notable a purpose where they shall perceive the consideration and respect, whereunto reason leadeth, to be in any part to be aided or supplied, do the same with solicitations of promotions, spiritual offices, dignities, rewards of money, or other things, such as to them shall seem meet to the purpose, inculking into the minds of such persons as shall be requisite, first what things the said Lord Legate of *York* shall leave, if he should be advanced to the said dignity, which be such as the establishment of his state considered, be far more to his commodity (if he should regard his private weal) than to enter into this dangerous storm, and troublous tempest, for the relief of the Church and all Christendom; whereunto (his said private weal set apart) he is totally devoted and dedicate, to the exposition of his body, blood, and life, glad and ready with the sacrifice thereof to do service to God, his Church, his Faith and Religion: which said promotions, the Kings Highnesses finding cause, given unto him by the gratitude and conformity of his friends, will not fail to bestow to their benefit, besides large rewards, to have this so virtuous an act brought to perfection. For solicitation whereof, the Kings said Embassadors be furnished at this time with ample commission, as by the same they shall perceive: The effect whereof they shall execute without exception, as by their wisdoms shall be thought convenient: so always as it be done with such circumspection, as that there may be appearance of good fruit to ensue. And semably they be furnished with Letters, as well to the College of Cardinals in general, as to them all that be like to be present in particular: which they shall now deliver to the best furtherance and advancement of their purpose, not sparing to declare unto them the liberality of the said Lord Legate of *York*, the substance that he is of; the assured assistance that he shall have of these Princes and their Confederates, whereby he shall be able above any other that they can devise, to reward, promote, advance, and recompense his friends to the uttermost; assuring them that these two Princes will not fail also highly, and in the best sort to consider their graces, with any thing that they may excoitate to their profits and promotions, or any of their friends. So that by this mean, and with such good solicitations, grounded upon a lawful, honourable, and just cause (and not upon any corrupt or undue intent, to conduce things to sinister purpose) the Kings said Orators by their good policies shall attain the perfect and sure good will of a great many of them, and by that way shall with good dexterity combine and knit those, which will adhere hereunto, in a perfect faithfulness, and in an indissoluble knot, firmly to stick and hold together, without variation or declining from their purpose, for any persuasion, practice or mean, that can be made to the contrary. Which thing surely to be provided, and such a knot of twenty, eighteen, or at the least (if it may be) of sixteen Cardinals to be had, is in any wise expedient. For they persisting in their determination, shall not fail to impeach, that no adverse part can have a full number to make a due and lawful Election. And yet they being found in a constancy to this good purpose, shall by little and little allure and bring other unto them, so as the residue perceiving to great a towardsness, and fearing a sufficient number to accede without them, and thereby the Election to pass against

their wills; shall percase be the more prone and ready to come unto that party: whereunto nothing should of reason sooner move them, than the very respect to the infinite goodness, that thereby to themselves in particular, and the universal Church and Religion in general, is apparent to ensue.

Nevertheless, if leaving the direct way they will be abused with any other incantations, or for private ambition persist in contending for themselves, then is it evident, they search nothing more than the ruin of the See Apostolick. In which case other ways be to be devised, and their * undue demeanor to be remedied and resisted. For this cause, and to be sure in all events, the Kings said Orators shall by their wisdoms find the means to have some fast and sure persons in the Conclave, such as may not only practise and set forth things there to the purpose, but also give such knowledge outward, as the Kings said Orators may thereby the better know how to order their proceedings. And amongst other it is thought that *Monsieur de Vaulx*, one of the French Embassadors (whom the French King hath commanded expressly to further this matter by all the means to him possible) should be one to enter the said Conclave, not as an Embassador, but as the Minister of some Cardinal, friend of the French King. And semably Sir *Gregory de Cassalis*, who for his wisdom, conduct, language, acquaintance, and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalf.

And in this matter it is to be considered, that since this Election, in the person of the said Lord Legate of *York*, by one way or other suffereeth no negative, albeit the Kings Highnesses trusteth that the same shall have his course directly: yet if for lack of grace or intentment, there should be any despair thereof, other ways be, to be provided. And for that cause to shew the said Orators secretly, there is a protestation passed by the Cardinals being in *England* and in *France*, according to a Copy which the said Orators shall receive herewith, which is and shall be kept secret, unless then by the undue proceeding used in the Election, the same shall need to be published. So that the Kings said Orators, now advertised thereof, shall note for a special ground, that if it shall appear that the Election cannot be had in the person of the said Lord Legate of *York*; the band and number unite and knit together to the Kings devotion, in finding none other remedy, must be instructed beforehand in that case to persist in their determination, and when time shall be, by reason of such despair, to protest, grounding the same their protestation upon such respects, as cannot lack to be introduced for the avoiding of the extreme danger by the pertinacity and wilfulness of the adverse Cardinals, eminent to the ruin of the Church, and of all Christendom. Which protestation may before hand be couched and devised by the said Master *Stephen Gardener*, and by the policy of the said *Monsieur de Vaulx*, and Sir *Gregory*, be set forth in time convenient: and thereupon the Cardinals of the Kings, and the French Kings adherents to depart the Conclave; whereby repairing to some other sure place, they with the residue of the Cardinals absent, may proceed to such an Election as may be to Gods pleasure, the weal of his Church and Faith, and of all Christendom, any Election that thus by pertinacity may ensue at *Rome* notwithstanding.

And to the intent the Cardinals may be the better animated to finish the said Election to the Kings desire, the Kings said Orators shall, as they see good, offer them a prebend of two or three thousand men to be in the City of *Rome* for the time of the same Election: which if they will accept, the said Orators shall see furnished, taking money by exchange and otherwise, for their entertainment, as shall be requisite. Which money, or any other that they shall take for conducting this the Kings purpose, shall be truly repayed, with (*) *impense*, and all requisites that they shall assign. And semably, lest terrors or dread of the Imperials in *Naples* should induce the Cardinals to any error, the French King hath ordained, that *Seignior Rencio* shall lye in a prebend between the Army of *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*. Like as the Viscount of *Tuvene* is also commanded to lye on the other side, and semably the *Venetians*. So that by those means, not only they shall be out of all fear of the Imperials,

* He might as well have said easily as he had pleased him, but our great terms are too large for this high Prebend as were commonly you may see.

Yes, Sir, now ye speak to the purpose. Now we begin to feel you when ye bring your bribes and money.

Well bid and like a good Chapman.

Thou wast imagin here good Reader, to be no corruption; but honourable solicitation.

To accede, that is, to come.

KING H. 8.

Another stile, if the protest fail. That is, not due.

The case of the Cardinal must have no negative, so as he be in of his gain. Secret threatening to the Cardinals to cause them to consent with Cardinal *de Vaulx*.

Provido against this Cardinal, if they will not consent to the Cardinal of *York*.

Note these proceedings in choosing Popes.

(*) Search here the Di. Giovanni good Reader, for this eloquence suffeth my intelligence

but

KING but also in the more devotion of these two Princes : which shall much conser to the Kings purpose, and embolden the Cardinals favouring the desire of these two Princes, both to persist in their deliberation, and also in time of extreme despair to protest and depart, as is afore-
said.

And because nothing should withdraw the minds of the Cardinals from this purpose, who perchance might think that the said Lord Legat of *Tork* being elected, would not repair to the Court of *Rome*, but *demore in Avinion*, or some other place out of *Italy*, the Kings said Ambassadors shall remove all such suspitions, by two evident arguments and reasons. One is, That the said Cardinal of *Tork*, advanced to that dignity, must thereby leave all other his promotions, and consequently should be dispossessed of any habitation, place, or convent living, if remaining in another strange Countrey, he should defer to come unto *Rome*, where should be the place of his See and entire living. Wherefore if it were far from reason to think, that he, which hitherto for his estate had lived in such abundance, should be so pusillanim for his promotion, to bring himself into condign penury and poverty, or to live in place private, to the hindrance of his honour, profit, or reputation. Secondly, the thing principally moving him to be contented, at these Princes requests, to change his state present, is the fervent zeal he hath to expose his Study, Travel, Labour, Substance, Wit, Body, Blood, and Life, in the quarrel of Gods Church, Faith, and of *Christendom*, which is too high an exception, and a ground to be taken to remain and lye in a corner or private place ; but that rather than he would suffer so high an exception to be found in him, he would expose all that he might do : who having the assistance of these two Princes, should not fail (God willing) to pass directly to his See, with honour and comfort unto all *Italy*, and the discouragement of the party that would be adverse thereunto. And therefore the Cardinals should not need to fear any such thing, but might be well assured to have his presence there to their comfort, in all celerity and diligence possible.

Furthermore, to the intent the Kings said Ambassadors may have all the friends that may be to this purpose, expedient it shall be, that they, with the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrare*, and other whom they shall think good to win unto their party, use the ways that may best conduce thereunto. And amongst other, so much as they which depended upon the Cardinal de *Medices* shall doubt in this case to be reject, the Kings said Orators shall inculcate unto them the singular devotion and special favour that the said Lord Legat of *Tork* hath always born unto their family ; assuring them that he will take them in no further distance of entire love, than they were with Pope *Leo*, *Clement*, or any other. And semblably, they shall put the *Florentines* in comfort of the exclusion of the governance of the said Family de *Medices* in *Florence*, and of their enjoying of their liberty. Likewise putting the Cardinals in perfect hope of recovery of the Patrimonies of the Church ; to contain the *Venetians* in good trust of a reasonable way to be taken for *Servia* and *Revenna*, to their contentment ; and also to shew the Duke of *Ferrare*, how the said Lord Legat was the mean of the conjunction of him in league with the French King, with assured promise of his continuance in as much love and favour as he may bear unto him, in all his causes and affairs.

And thus, having those folks to their friends, whose Orators shall have the uttermost custody of the Conclave, and the Kings Ambassadors and the French Ambassadors being in the interior parts thereof, they, being so amply instructed and furnished, shall not fail (God willing) by one or other of the said two ways, and specially by the direct election at *Rome*, if it be possible, or at the least, by the way of the said protestation and departure of the Cardinals, to conduce the Kings purpose in the said election to the desired end. In the doing whereof, albeit there is no doubt but that the French Orators will joy with them sincerely, to the perfection of the premises in some eventum, it shall be well done, that the Kings said Orators have a substantial and politick regard to the proceedings of the same French Orators, lest that if perchance they should find any despair in the election to

pass in the person of the said Lord Legat of *Tork*, they making some other Cardinals to their side for the advancement of any of them to the said dignity, should be the more strange, alien, or peradventure refuse to come unto the said protestation and departure out of the Conclave : Which is the only remedy and refuge (the Cardinals persisting in their wilfulness) to interrupt, dis-appoint, infringe, and make void their election.

One other thing there is to be well noted by the said Ambassadors, and by them to be inculcate in the minds of the Cardinals ; that if any manner of difficulty shall be made by the Imperials to condescend unto this election upon the said Lord Legat of *Tork* ; and that they of the Emperors part would refuse all ways of good order and reason, proceeding to any election without the consent of the residue that would protest, they may be sure that unto their Suiiter and undue way they should have no Prince or Potentate adherent, but only the Emperor and his Brother, and that the other part should have the rest of all *Christendom*, that is to say, the Kings Highness, the French King, the King of *Hungary*, *Priony*, *Scotland*, and *Denmark*, with the *Venetians*, the Dukes of *Ferrare*, *Milenn*, the *Florentines*, and the rest of all *Italy* ; besides the Merchants of the *Almain* or *Hanz*, and other leagues being in the dominion of the said King of *Polony* : and over that, the King of *Portugal*, who is loth and sorry to see the Emperor to come to so great a height as he aspireth unto. So that, having these mightty and noble puissances to their assistances and the corroboration of their act, it is facile to think the other could be of no validity, nor have or take any manner of place ; which is no small grounds whereupon the said Cardinals may be the better animate to the Kings, and the French Kings devotion, and therefore it is better to be imprinted in their minds accordingly.

Finally, If the Kings said Orators, endeavouring themselves to the conducting of the said election in the person of the said Lord Legat of *Tork*, should at the last find, that there were none other difficulty, but only that the election in his person being totally desperate, the same were conduible to the Cardinal *Campeius* : then, rather than all should fail, if the other could by no means be brought to pass, the Kings pleasure is, that being assured it may, the other lacking, be conduible to the same Cardinal *Campeius*, they take such way as in that case the protestation be forbore : and for the last refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the least to pass in the person of the said Cardinal *Campeius* : whereof there is no appearance, considering that the respects, for the which the said Lord Legat of *Tork* should by the Kings, and the French Kings means be brought hereto, do for the greatest part fail and crase by the election of any other than himself, which is in this case to be remembered accordingly.

Thus be the Kings said Orators instructed, as far as mens reason can here devise, what is to be done for conducing the Kings purpose to effect, knowing well of what importance the thing is, and what consequences depend upon it, namely, for the perfection of the Kings high and mighty matter, which, otherwise than by election of the said Lord Legat of *Tork*, hath no manner of way to be conduced by authority of the See Apostolick : there resteth no more but that they, who well know the same great matter, do suffer no way nor repulse, but by the election of the person of the said Lord Legat, do employ the uttermost that in their hearts, powers, wits, bodies, and minds may be, to the perfection thereof, whereby they shall do the greatest service that can be for this time cogitate to do, unto their Prince, deserve immortal laud, thanks, and praise, and be sure to consecute thereby such reward, as shall be to their comforts, joyce, and honour ; besides manifold other notable goodnesse, whereof they shall be the procurers and solicitors, to their merit perpetual. All which they may be sure shall be considered accordingly.

Out of the Original, subscribed by King Henry the Eighth his own hand.

Epilogus

In these fo great labours, pursuits, and travels of the King and of the Cardinal, as in these their instructions above inserted may appear, thou hast for thine instructions

Demore
that is to
say tarry.
The sick
reasons.

Pusillanime.
Is pusill ani-
me : that is a
weak hearted-
ness.
The second
reason.

The Card-
inal dream-
eth that he is
Pope de-
ceit-
dy.

The Card-
inal catcheth
all his nets
to catch the
triple
Crown.

Two faces
in one Car-
dinal's hat.

How pol-
itick the
children of
this world
be in their
generation

is not heis
an holy elec-
tion, meet
for such an
holy that ?

Slides against
the King's
root.

By this point
election
of note the
common
Order of
Rome in
choosing
for the
Pope's electi-

(loving Reader) to note and learn, how man purpoeth one thing and how God disposeth another. For the Kings purpose was to have the Cardinal and Legat of *Tork* placed in the See *Papal*, thinking by that means, if this Cardinal had been Pope, the cause of his divorce more easily might be compassed, which otherwise he thought impossible to contrive. But God Omnipotent, which only is director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the King devised, but after his own wisdom; so that both the Divorcement was concluded, and yet neither Cardinal *Wolsey* made Pope, nor yet Pope *Clement* was dead. Yea, so he ruled the matter, that notwithstanding Pope *Clement* was alive, yet both the Divorce proceeded, and also the Popes authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this Realm of *England*, to the singular admiration of Gods wondrous works, and perpetual praise to his merciful goodness. Of which Divorcement, and suppressing of the Popes authority, we have likewise to make declaration. But first, as we have begun with the Cardinal of *Tork*, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) address our selves to other matters of more importance.

As the Ambassadors were thus traveling in *Rome* to promote the Cardinal to be Pope, although the Pope was not yet dead, in the mean time the Cardinal played the popish persecutor here at home. For first, he sitting in his Pontificalibus in the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*, under his Cloth of estate of rich cloth of Gold, caused *Frier Barnes*, an *Augustin* Frier, to beara *Fagot*, for certain points which he called Heretic. Also he caused the same time two Merchants of the *Striyard* likewise to beara *Fagots* for eating flesh on a *Friday*. At the which time, the Bishop of *Rockester* made a Sermon in reproof of *Martin Luther*, who had before written against the power of the Bishop of *Rome*. This Bishop in his Sermon spake so much of the honour of the Pope and his Cardinals, and of their dignity and preeminency, that he forgot to spake of the Gospel which he took in hand to declare; which was about the year of our Lord 1526.

After this, the said Cardinal likewise, Anno 1528, and in the month of *November*, sitting at *Westminster* as Legat, called before him the whole Clergy, and there promised that all abusions of the Church should be amended: but there nothing else was done, save only he caused to be abused, *Arthur Bilny*, *Geffrey Leme*, and *Garret*, for speaking against the Popes authority, and his pompous pride. Of whom more shall be said (the Lord assisting us) hereafter. And this was Anno 1528.

The year next following, which was Anno 1529, began the question of the Kings Marriage to be revived. Whereupon Cardinal *Campius* was sent again into *England* from *Rome*, for the hearing and debating of the matter. Who then with Cardinal *Wolsey*, consulting with the King, although at first he seemed with his fellow Cardinal to incline unto the Kings disposition, yet afterward perceiving the sequel of the Case, whether it tended, so far, as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the Court of *Rome*, and might shake perhaps the Chair of the Popes omnipotent authority, as well in other Cases like, if this Case were thoroughly decided by learning and truth of Gods word: He therefore slipping his neck out of the Collar, craftily thrust himself out of the Realm, before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtil fellow behind him, to weigh with the King the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the Court of *Rome*. The King thus seeing himself disappointed, foded with false promises, and craftily doubled withall by the Cardinals, and at last, after so many delays and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was fore agrieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal *Wolsey*, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to the Archbishoprick of *Tork*, the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, of *Dursey*, the Abby of *S. Albans*, besides the Chancellorship of *England*, and many other high rooms and preferments in the Realm; which caused him clearly to cast him out of his favour, so that after that time he never came more to the Kings presence. *Ex Haila*.

Then followed first a Council of the Nobles, called the first of *October*. During the which Council all the Lords and other the Kings Council, agreeing together, referred to *Windsor* to the King, and there informed the King, that all things which he had done almost, by his power Legatine, were in the Case of *Præmunire*, and provision: and that the Cardinal had forfeited all his Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels to the King: wherefore the King willing to order him, according to the order of his Laws, caused his Attorney, *Christopher Hales*, to sue out a writ of *Præmunire* against him, in the which he licensed him to make an Attorney.

And further the seventeenth day of *November*, he sent the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to his Palace of *Westminster*, to fetch away the Great Seal of *England*; which he was loth to deliver, if there had been any remedy: but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two Dukes, which delivered the same to Doctor *Taylor*, Master of the Rolls, to carry it to the King; which he did the next day.

Besides this, the King sent Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, Knight of the Garter, and Treasurer of his House, and Doctor *Stephen Gardener*, newly made Secretary, to see that no Goods should be embezzled out of his house: and further ordained, that the Cardinal should remove to *Asher* beside *Kingsme*, there to tarry the Kings pleasure, and to have all things delivered unto him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized to the Kings use. When the Seal was thus taken from the Cardinal, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with many Earls, Bishops, and Barons, came unto the *Star-Chamber* the nineteenth day of *October*: where the Duke of *Norfolk* declared, that the Kings Highness fur diverse and sundry offences had taken from him his Great Seal and deposed him of all Offices: and left men might complain for lack of justice, he had appointed him and the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the assent of the other Lords, to sit in the *Star-Chamber*, to hear and determine causes indifferently; and that of all things the Kings pleasure and commandment was, that they should keep their hands close from any rewards taking, or maintenance: and so that week they sat in the *Star-Chamber*, and determined causes.

A few days after, in the same month, the Cardinal removed out of his House called *Tork* place, with one *Croft*, saying, That he would he had never born more, meaning that by his *Croft* which he bear as Legat, which degree taking was his confusion, as you see openly: and so he took his Barge, and went to *Putney* by Water, and there took his Horse and rode to *Asher*, where he remained till *Lene* after.

During which time, he being called on for an answer in the Kings Bench to the *Præmunire*, for giving Benefices by prevention, in disturbance of mens inheritance, and divers other open causes in the *Præmunire*, according to the Kings Licence, constituted *John Scute* and *Edmond Tenney*, Apprentices of the Law, his Attorneys, which by his own Warrant signed with his own hand, confessed all things concerning the said fate, for they were too open to be cloaked or hidden; and so judgment was given, that he should forfeit all his Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels and should be out of the Kings protection; but for all that, the King sent him a sufficient protection, and of his gentleness left to him the Bishopricks of *Tork* and *Winchester*, and gave to him plate and stuff convenient for his degree; and the Bishoprick of *Dursey* he gave to Doctor *Tunstall* Bishop of *London*, and the Abby of *S. Albans* he gave to the Prior of *Norwich*: and to *London* he promoted *D. John Stokesley*, the Ambassador to the Universities, for the Marriage, as you heard before. For all this kindness shewed to the Cardinal, yet still he maligned against the King, as you shall hereafter perceive. But first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

The next year following, which was Anno 1530, A *Parliament* the month of *November* was summoned a general *Parliament*, to be holden at *Westminster*. In the which year, about the three and twentieth day of *October*, the King came to his Mannor of *Greenwich*, and there much consulted with his Council, for a meet

{KING} 1528, A Council of the Nobles called.

The Cardinal call in the *Præmunire*.

The Cardinal deposed of the Chancellorship.

Stephen Gardener, newly made Secretary.

The Cardinals goods seized to the King.

The Cardinals removal from *Tork* place.

Doctor Tunstall Bishop of *Dursey*, of *London*, and the Prior of *Norwich*.

Man purpose and God disposeth.

Frier Barnes with two Merchants of the *Striyard*, caused by the Cardinal to beara *Fagots*.

The occasion of the Cardinals fall.

The cause of the Kings Marriage with his Brother Arthurs Wife, was dangerous to the Pope for this: if it were unlawful, then the disposition of Pope *Jane* was void: If it were lawful, then the judgment of so many Universities were false. The King deluded by the two Cardinals.

KING man to be his Chancellor, so that in no wife he were a man of the spirituality: and so after long debate, the King relolved himself upon Sir Thomas More Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the Tongues, and also in the Common Law; whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations; by reason whereof he was a little too much given to mocking, more than became the person of Master More. And then on the Sunday, the four and twentieth day of the same month, the King made him his Chancellor, and delivered him the great Seal: which Lord Chancellor the next morrow after was led into the Chancery by the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and there sworn, and then the Mace was bore him.

Of this fall of the Cardinal, and of the placing of Sir Thomas More in the Chancellorship, Erasmus in an Epistle to John Vergera thus writeth: The Cardinal of York hath so offended the Kings mind, that he being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed not to Prison, but to a certain Lordship of his, with 30 servants or keepers to give attendance upon him. Many and sundry complaints are commenced against him, so that he is not like to escape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a Schoolmaster to be made a King. For so he Reigned more like a King than the King himself. He was dreaded of all men, he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little before he was apprehended, he called Richard Pace to be cast into the Tower. Also he threatened my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Salomon saith, *That before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated.* The Archbishop of Canterbury was called or retorted to be chosen Lord Chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that Realm; but he excused himself by his age, as being not able to wield such a function. Wherefore the said Office was bestowed upon Thomas More, no less to the rejoicing of many, than that the other was displaced from it. These news my Servant brought me out of England, &c. Ex Epist. Erasmus & Joann. Vergeram.

You heard before, how a Council of the Nobles was appointed by the King in the month of October, to assemble in the Star-Chamber about the Cardinals matter: and also how a Parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November, in the year following, Anno 1530. At the beginning of which Parliament, after that M. More the new Chancellor had finished his Oration, the Commons were commanded to chuse them a Speaker, who was Thomas Audley Esquire, and Attorney to the Duchy of Lancaster. Thus the Parliament being begun the sixth day of the foresaid month of November, at Westminster: where the King with all the Lords were set in the Parliament Chamber, the Commons, after they had presented their Speaker, assembled in the nether House, began to Commune of their griefs, wherewith the Spirituality had before time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the Law of the Realm, and specially were fore moved with these six great causes.

¶ Grievances against the Clergy of England.

1. The first, For the excessive fines which the Ordinaries took for Probates of Testaments, inasmuch that Sir Henry Guildford, Knight of the Garter, and Controller of the Kings House, declared in the open Parliament, of his fidelity, that he and other being Executors to Sir William Compton, Knight, paid for the Probate of his Will, to the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand Marks sterling. After this declaration were shewed so many extortions done by Ordinaries for Probates of Wills, that it were too much to rehearse.

2. The second cause was, the great polling and extortion exacted which the spiritual men used, in taking of Corps, Prelates, or Mortuaries: for the Children of the dead should all dye for hunger and go a begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the silly Cow which the dead man ought, if he had but only one, such was the charity of them.

3. The third cause was, that Priests being Surveyors, Stewards, and Officers to Bishops, Abbots, and other spiritual Heads, had and occupied Farms, Granges, and

Grating in every Country, so that the poor Husbandmen could have nothing but of them, and yet for that they should pay dearly.

4. The fourth cause was, that Abbots, Priors, and spiritual men kept Tan-houses, and bought and sold Wool, Cloth, and all manner of Merchandise, as other temporal Merchants did.

5. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the Court in Lords houses, and took all of their Parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lack of residence both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the Parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of Gods Word, to the great peril of their souls.

6. The sixth cause was, because one Priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve Benefices, and was resident on none, and many well learned Scholars in the University, which were able to preach and teach, had neither Benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wife be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made an Hereticke, or lose all that he had: for the Bishops were Chancellors, and had all the rule about the King, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now when God had illuminated the eyes of the King, and the time so fared, that men more boldly durst expresse with voice such grudges as they had long conceived in their hearts against the Clergy: the Burgeses of the Parliament appointed certain of the Common house, men learned in the Law, to draw one Bill of the Probates of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third for Non-residence, Pluralities, and taking Farms by spiritual men.

And first to the Bill of Mortuaries being drawn, and being also passed the Common house, and sent up to the Higher, the Spiritual Lords shewed a fair face, saying, that assuredly Priests and Curates took more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

After this, within two days, was sent up the second Bill, concerning Probates of Testaments: which Bill, because it touched their profit somewhat near, both the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all other Bishops in general began to frown and grunt: inasmuch as Doctor John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, standing up in the Parliament Chamber, openly protested, that such Bills were sent up from the Common house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the Church: which Church being down, the glory then of the whole Kingdom (said he) must needs fall; desiring therefore the Lords, for Gods sake, to take example by the Kingdom of Bohemia. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the Commons here, but Down with the Church? And all this (said he) seemeth to be only for lack of Faith. When these words were reported to the Commons of the lower House, what the Bishops said, in noting all their doings to be for lack of Faith, they took the matter grievously, so to be esteemed of the Bishop for no better than Heretics; understanding moreover, how that he by those slanderous words went about to perwade the Lords Temporal against them, and so to overthrow the two Bills by them passed before, as ye have heard.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said Commons; that Thomas Audley their Speaker, with thirty of the chief of that House, should be sent to the King: being then in his Palace at Westminster, before called York Place: where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the King and the Realm it was, to say that they which were elected for the wisest Men of all the Shires, Cities, and Boroughs within the Realm of England, should be declared in so noble and open preference to lack Faith, which was equivalent to say that they were Infidels, and no Christians, as ill as Turks or Saracens: so that what pain or study forever they took for the Commonwealth, or what acts or laws forever they made or established, should be taken as laws made by Painims and Heathen people and not worthy to be kept by Christian men: wherefore they most humbly

bly besought the Kings Highness to call the said Bishop before him, and to cause him to speak more discreetly of such a number as was in the the Common house.

The K. not contented with the Bp. of Rochester.

The Bishops excuse.

The King not being well contented with the saying of the Bishop, yet gently answered the Speaker, and sent them away. Who immediately sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other Bishops, and Rochester also, signifying unto them the grudge of the Commons. The Bishop of Rochester, excusing himself, answered, that he, in so saying, meant only the doings of the *Bohemians* to be for lack of Faith, and not the doing of them that were in the Common house. Which saying was confirmed by the Bishops there present, which had him in great reputation. And so by that only saying the King accepted his excuse, and therefore sent word to the Commons by Sir *William Fitzwilliams* Knight, Treasurer of his household. Which blind excuse pleased the Commons nothing at all.

Difference between the Lally and Fidelity about certain conditions.

Long use maketh not evil things lawful.

After this, divers Assemblies were kept between certain of the Lords, and certain of the Commons, for the Bills of the Probates of Testaments, and Mortuaries. The Temporality laid to the Spirituality their own Laws and Constitutions: And the Spirituality fore defended them by prescription and usage. To whom it was thus answered by a Gentleman of *Grays Inn*: The usage hath ever been of Thieves, to rob on *Shooters-hill*: *Ergo*, is it lawful? With this answer the spiritual men were so offended, because their doings were called Roberies: but the Temporal men stood full by their sayings, inasmuch that the said Gentlemen said to the Archbishop of Canterbury: that both the exaction of Probates of Testaments, and the taking of *Mortuaries*, as they were used, were open Robbery and Theft. After long disputation, the Temporal Lords began to lean to the Commons: but for all that the Bills remained unconcluded for a time.

It followeth shortly after in the Parliament, that a Bill was assented to by the Lords of the Higher house, and sent down to the Commons in the Lower house, and by them also with much labour agreed unto, of whom the most part were the Kings Servants. In the which Bill it was required and concluded, that the King should be released of all such Loan of money which he had borrowed: of his Subjects in the Fifteenth year of his Reign. The passing of which Bill went fore against the stomach of the poor Commons: For many relied upon it, counting and passing it over, one to another for good debt, as if it had been ready money in their purses. Wherefore the King, to gratify them again, granted to them a general pardon of all offences, only certain great offences and debts excepted. Also he aided them for the redress of their griefs against the Spirituality, and caused two new Bills to be made indifferently, both for the Probates of the Testaments, and Mortuaries: which Bills were so reasonable, that the Spiritual Lords assented to them all, though they were fore against their minds, and in especial the Probate of Testaments fore displeased the Bishops, and the Mortuaries fore displeased the Parsons and Vicars.

Redress of the griefs of the Commons.

After these Acts thus agreed, the Commons make another Act for pluralities of Benefices, nonresidence, buying and selling, and taking of Farms by Spiritual persons. Which Act so displeased the Spirituality, that the Priests raid on the Commons of the Lower house, and called them Heretics and Schismatics: for the which divers Priests were punished.

The third Bill of the Commons for pluralities, &c.

This Act was fore debated above in the Parliament Chamber, and the Lords Spirituality would in no wise consent. Wherefore the King perceiving the grudge of the Commons, caused eight Lord and eight of his Commons to meet in the *Star-Chamber* at an afternoon, and there was fore debating of the Cause, in so much that the Temporal Lords of the upper House which were there took part with the Commons against the Spiritual Lords, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the Bill, with a little qualifying: Which Bill the next day was wholly agreed to in the Lords house, to the great rejoicing of the Lay people, and to great displeasure of the Spiritual persons.

And thus much concerning these Bills against the Clergy by the way: Now to return to the Cardinal again. During the time of the said Parliament, there

was brought down to the Commons the Book of Articles which the Lords had put up to the King against the Cardinal. The chief Articles were these.

¶ Articles objected against Cardinal Wolsey.

1. First, That he without the Kings assent had procured himself to be a Legat, by reason whereof he took away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.
2. In all writings that he wrote to Rome, or to another Prince, he wrote *Ego & Rex meus*, I and my King, as who would say, that the King were his servant.
3. That he slandered the Church of England to the Court of Rome: For his suggestion to be Legat, was to reform the Church of England, which (as he wrote) was *Falsa in reprobum sensum*.
4. He without the Kings assent carried the Kings great Seal with him into *Flanders*, when he was sent Ambassador to the Emperor.
5. Without the Kings consent he sent Commiſſion to Sir *Gregory de Calfatis*, Knight, to conclude a league between the King and the Duke of *Ferrary*.
6. That he, having the *French Pox*, presumed to come and breath on the King.
7. That he caused the Cardinals Hat to be put on the Kings Coyne.
8. That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his Dignities, to the great impoverishment of the Realm. With many other things which are touched more at large in Chronicles.

These Articles, with many more, being read in the Common house, were confessed by the Cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was shewed another writing sealed with his Seal, by the which he gave to the King all his moveables and unmoveables.

You have heard hitherto declared, how the Cardinal was attained in the *Premunure*, and how he was put out of the Office of the Chancellor, and lay at *Ather*: which was in the year of our Lord, 1530. The next year after in the *Lent* season, the King, by the advice of his Council, licenced him to go into his Dioceses of *Tork*, and gave him commandment to keep him within his Dioceses, and not to return Southward, without the Kings special Licence in writing.

So he made great provision to go Northward, and apparelled his Servants newly, and bought many costly things for his household. But divers of his Servants at this time departed from him to the Kings service, and especially *Thomas Cromwel*, one of his chief Council, and chief doer for him in the suppression of Abbeys. After that all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey Northward, till he came to *Southwell*, which was in his Dioceses, and there he continued that year, ever grudging at his fall, as you shall hear hereafter: but the Lands which he had given to his College in *Oxford* and *Ipswich* were now come to the Kings hands, by his attainder in the *Premunure*: and yet the King of his gentleness, and for favour that he bore to good learning, erected again the College in *Oxford*, and where it was named the Cardinals College, he called it the Kings College, and indeed it with fair possessions, and ordained new Statutes and Ordinances: and because the College of *Ipswich* was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.

The Cardinals College now called Christs College in Oxford.

Notwithstanding that the Cardinal of *Tork* was thus attained in the *Premunure*, (as is above mentioned) yet the King being good unto him, had granted him the Bishopricks of *Tork* and *Winchester*, with great plenty of substance, and had Licenced him to lie in his Dioceses of *Tork*, where he so continued the space of a year. But after, in the year following, which was 1531, he being of his Dioceses, wrote to the Court of Rome, and to divers other Princes, Letters in reproach of the King, and

The Cardinal complained to the Pope of the King.

as much as in him lay, he stirred them to revenge his cause against the King and his Realm: inasmuch that divers opprobrious words against the King were spoken to Doctor Edward Keerne, the Kings Orator at Rome. And it was said to him, That for the Cardinals sake the King should have the worse speed in the suite of his Matrimony. The Cardinal also would speak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjustly and untruly ordered. Which fair speaking made many men believe that he said true. And to Gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him; and to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be entailed or enthroned at York with all the pompe that might be, and caused a Throne to be erected in the Cathedral Church, in such a height and fashion, as was never seen, and sent to all the Lords, Abbots, Priors, Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of his Diocesse, to be at his Manner of Caswood the sixth day of November, and so to bring him to York with all manner of pompe and solemnity.

The Cardinals proud Journey to ward York

The King, which knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this year dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length, till that he seeing his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would be so triumphantly installed, without making the King privy, yea, and in a manner in disdain of the King, thought it not meet nor convenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes and attempts. Wherefore he directed his Letters to the Earl of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to Arrest the Cardinal, and to deliver him to the Earl of Shrewsbury, great Steward of the Kings household. When the Earl had seen the Letters, he with a convenient number came to the Mannor of Caswood the fourth day of November; and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his Chamber, he said to him, My Lord, I pray you take patience, for here I Arrest you. Arrest me, said the Cardinal? Yea, said the Earl, I have a commandment so to do. You have no such power, said the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal, and a Legat De Latere, and a Peer of the College of Rome, and ought not to be Arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to that power: wherefore if you Arrest me I will withstand it. Well, said the Earl, here is the Kings Commission (which he shewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey. The Cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said: Well My Lord, I am content to obey: but although that I by negligence fell into the punishment of the Præmunire, and lost by the Law all my Lands and goods, yet my Person was in the Kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I now should be Arrested, and specially considering that I am a member of the See Apostolick on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I see the King lacketh good Council. Well, said the Earl, when I was sworn Warden of the Marches, you your self told me, I might with my Staff Arrest all men under the degree of a King; and now I am stronger, for I have a Commission so to do, which you have seen. The Cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy Chamber, and his goods seized, and his Officers discharged: And his Physician called Doctor Augustin was likewise Arrested, and brought to the Tower by Sir Walter Welch, one of the Kings Chamber. The sixth day of November he was conveyed from Caswood to Sheffield Castle, and there delivered to the Earl of Shrewsbury keeping till the Kings pleasure were known. Of this Attachement was much communing among the Common people; wherefore many were glad; for he was not in the favour of the Commonality.

The Cardinal Arrested.

The Cardinal brought up toward London.

When the Cardinal was thus Arrested, the King sent Sir William Kingston Knight, Captain of the Guard, and Constable of the Tower of London, with certain Yeomen of the Guard to Sheffield, to fetch the Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinal saw the Captain of the Guard he was fore astonished, and shortly became sick; for then he perceived some great trouble toward him, and for that cause men said, that he willingly took so much quantity of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. Also the matter that came from him was so black, that the staining thereof could not be gotten out of his Blankets by any means. But Sir

William Kingston comforted him, and by ealie journeyes he brought him to the Abbey of Lyncester the seven and twentieth day of November, where for very feebleness of nature, caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and in the same Abbey lieth buried.

It is testified by one, yet being alive, in whose arms the said Cardinal died, that his body being dead was black as pitch, also was so heavy, that six could scarce bear it. Furthermore, it did so stink above the ground, that they were constrained to hasten the Burial thereof in the night season, before it was day. At the which Burial, such a tempest with such a stinch there arose, that all the Torches went out, and so he was thrown into the Tomb, and there was laid.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one Cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same Order (whom we call spiritual men) was in those days, as well in all other places of Christendom, as especially here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the Clergy did not only far pass and exceed the common measure and order of Subjects, but also surmounted over Kings and Princes, and all other estates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his story, above described.

Amongst other acts of the foresaid Cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new College in Oxford, for the furniture whereof he had gathered together all the best learned he could hereof, amongst which number were these; Clark, Tindal, Sommers, Fitch, and Taverner, with other more: Which holding in assembly together in the College, were accounted to be Heretics (as they called them) and thereupon were cast into a Prison of the College, where Saffron lay, through the stink whereof the most part of them were infected, and the said Clark being a tender young man, and the most singular in learning amongst them all, died in the same Prison; and other in other places in the Town also, of the same infection, deceased.

And thus having detained the Reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious Cardinal, now we will reduce our story again to other more fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requirith, we will first begin with Master Humphry Mummuth, a virtuous and a good Alderman of London, who in the time of the said Cardinal was troubled, as in the story here followeth.

The trouble of Humphry Mummuth Alderman of London.

After Humphry Mummuth, was a right godly and sincere Alderman of London, who in the days of Cardinal Wolsey was troubled and put in the Tower, for the Gospel of Christ, and for maintaining them that favoured the same.

Stokesley, then Bishop of London, ministered Articles unto him, to the number of four and twenty: as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for having and reading heretical Books and Treatises; for giving exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and such other; for helping them over the Sea to Luther; for ministering privy help to translate, as well the Testament, as other Books into English; for eating flesh in Lent; for affirming Faith only to justify; for derogating from mens constitutions; for not praying to Saints, not allowing Pilgrimage, Auricular confession, the Popes Pardons; briefly, for being an advancer of all Martin Luthers opinions, &c.

He being of these Articles examined and cast into the Tower, at last was compelled to make his suit or purgation, writing to the foresaid Cardinal, then Lord Chancellor, and the whole Council, out of the Tower. In the contents whereof he answered to the criminal accusation of them which charged him with certain Books received from beyond the Sea; also for his acquaintance with Master Tindal. Whereupon he said, that he denied not, but that four years then past he had heard the said Tindal preach two or three Sermons at Saint Dunstons in the West, and afterward meeting with the said Tindal, had

The Cardinals proud Journey to ward York

The Cardinals proud Journey to ward York

The Cardinals proud Journey to ward York

The Cardinals proud Journey to ward York

The Cardinals proud Journey to ward York

The Cardinals proud Journey to ward York

certain communication with him concerning his living: who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the Bishop of London his service; for then he laboured to be his Chaplain. But being refused of the Bishop, he came again to the said Mummuth this examine, and besought him to help him. Who the same time took him into his house for half a year: where the said Tindal lived (as he said) like a good Priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but foddren meat by his good will, nor drink but small fingle bear. He was never seen in that house to wear Limen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he promised him ten pound (as he then said) for his Fathers and Mothers Souls, and all Christian Souls; which money afterward he sent him over to Hamborow according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers other moe likewise which were no Heretics; as to Doctor Royson, the Bishop of London's Chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds: to Doctor Wodshall, Provincial of the Frier Augustines, as much or moe, to Doctor Watson the Kings Chaplain, also to other Scholars, and divers Priests; besides other charges bestowed upon religious Houses, as upon the Nunnery of Dymey, above fifty pounds Sterling bestowed, &c.

And as touching his Books, as *Enchiridion*, the *Pater noster*, *De libertate Christiana*, an English Testament, of which, some William Tindal left with him, some he sent unto him, some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell; these Books, he said, did lye open in his house, the space of two years together, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover the same Books being desired of sundry persons, as of the Abbess of Denney a Frier of Greenwich, the Father Confessor of Sion, he let them have them, and yet never heard Frier, Priest, or Lay-man find any fault with the said Books. Likewise to Doctor Watson, to Doctor Stockhouse, Master Martin, Parson of Tavinghache, he committed the perusing of the Books of *Pater noster*, and *De libertate Christiana*, which found no great fault in them, but only in the Book *De libertate Christiana*, they said there were things somewhat hard, except the Reader were wise.

Thus he excusing himself and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the Tower, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yearly to ship over five hundred Cloths to strangers, and set many Clothiers awork in Suffolk, and in other places, of whom he bought all their Cloths, which were now almost all undone; by this reason at length he was set at liberty being forced to abjure, and after was made Knight by the King, and Sheriff of London.

Of this Humphrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Christian patience, in the Sermons of M. Latimer, which the said Latimer heard in Cambridge of Master George Staphord, Reader of the Divine Lecture in that University. Who expounding the place of Saint Paul to the Romans, that we shall overcome our enemy with well doing, and to heap hot Coles upon his head, &c. brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London a great rich Merchant, meaning this Humphrey Mummuth, which had a very poor neighbour: yet for all his poverty he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let

him come to his Table whensoever he would: It was even at that time when Doctor Collet was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the Kings heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture man, he began to smell the Gospel. The poor man was a Papist still.

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Gospel, sitting at his Table, where he reproved Popery and such kind of things; the poor man being there present, took a great displeasure against the rich man, inasmuch that he would come no more to his house; he would borrow no more money of him as he was wont to do before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the Bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him. If he met the rich man in the Street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoyd but come near him: yet for all this, the poor man (I say) had such a stomach against the rich man, that he was minded to go forward and not to speak with him. The rich man perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying; Neighbour, what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends. Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought in the poor mans heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore.

¶ The History of Thomas Hitten.

Persecutors.

Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.

Thomas Hitten, at Maidstone, Ann. 1530.

Will. Warham Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

TouChing the memorial of Thomas Hitten remaineth nothing in writing, but only his name, savethat William Tindal in his Apology against More, and also in another Book intituled, The practise of Prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him by way of digression. He was (saith he) a Preacher at Maidstone, whom the Bishop of Canterbury Willams Warham, and Fisher Bishop of Rochester, after they had long kept and tormented him in Prison with sundry torments, and that notwithstanding he continued constant; at last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free Grace and Salvation. In the year of our Lord God, 1530.

The Hitten Martyr.

Tindal refused of Bishop Sackpitt to be his Chaplain.

The temperate conversation of William Tindal.

A notable example of Christian patience in an Alderman. Mr. George Staphord, Reader in Cambridge.

{KING
Hts. 8.}

The Burning of Thomas Hitten.

{ANNO
1531}

Thomas Bilney Martyr.

Thomas Bilney Doctor of both Laws.

Master L. L. former Coadjutor in the verity of the bridge.

Persecutors. *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Thomas Bilney. Arthur, which Abjured at Norwich, Anno 1531.

Cardinal Wolsey. IN the Story above passed of Cardinal Wolsey, mention was made of certain whom the said Cardinal caused to Abjure: as Bilney, Jeffery Lome, Garret, Barnes, and such other, of whom we have now (the Lord directing us) specially to entreat. This Thomas Bilney was brought up in the University of Cambridge, even from a Child, profiting in all kind of Liberal Sciences, even unto the profession of both Laws. But at the last having gotten a better School-Master, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart by privy inspiration with the knowledge of better and and more wholsom things, he came at the last unto this point, That, forsaking the knowledge of Mans Laws, he converted his Study to those things which tended more unto godliness than gainfulness.

Nix, Bishop of Norwich. Finally, As himself was greatly inflamed with the love of True Religion and Godliness, even so again was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more, than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere Religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the Gospel, amongst which number was Thomas Arthur, and Master Hugh Latimer, which Latimer at that time was Coadjutor at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon Proclamation-days. At the last, Bilney forsaking the University went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with Arthur, which accom-

Persecutors. *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Frier Jeffery Tullies.
Frier Fugworth.
M. William Tektet, Gendeman.
William Nelson.
Thomas Williams.

panied him from the University. The Authority of Thomas Wolsey Cardinal of York, of whom ye have heard before, at that time was great in England, but his Pomp and Pride much greater, which did evidently declare unto all wise Men the manifest vanity, not only of his life, but also of all the Bishops and Clergy. Whereupon Bilney, with other good Men, marvelling at the incredible infolence of the Clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive Pomp of the Clergy, and also to pluck at the Authority of the Bishop of Rome.

Bilney's
against the
Pride of the
Popes and of
his Caste-
rals.

Then it was time for the Cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtilty of a Serpent; for he understood well enough upon how slender a foundation their ambitious Dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Luciferos and proud Kingdom could not long continue against the manifest Word of God; especially if the Light of the Gospel should once open the eyes of Men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of Kings and Princes. Only this he feared, the Voice of Christ in his Gospel, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrite and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily in time to withstand their beginnings. Whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into Prison, as before you have heard.

After this, the seven and twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1527, the said Cardinal accompanied with a great number of Bishops, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Henry of St. Asse, with many other both Divines and Lawyers, came into the Chapter-House of Westminster, where the said Master Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and the said Cardinal there inquired at Master Bi-

Cardinal
Bilney's
reply
to the
Cardinal's
question
concerning
the
Popes
authority
over
the
Kingdom
of
England.

1531

ney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the Opinions of *Luther* or any other condemned by the Church, contrary to the determination of the Church. Whereunto *Bilney* answered, That wittingly he had not preached or taught any of *Luther's* Opinions, or any other, contrary to the Catholick Church. Then the Cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an Oath before, That he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of *Luther's* Opinions, but should impugn the same every where? He answered, That he had made such an Oath, but not Lawfully. Which Interrogatories so ministred, and answers made, the Cardinal caused him to Swear, to answer plainly to the Articles and Errors preached and set forth by him; as well in the City and Dioceses of *London*, as in the Dioceses of *Norwich* and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

Thomas
Arthur
examined.

After he was thus Sworn and Examined, the said Cardinal proceeded to the Examination of Master *Thomas Arthur* there present, causing him to take the like Oath, that Master *Bilney* did. Which done, he asked of him whether he had not once told Sir *Thomas Moor*, Kt. That in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Christ? Which Interrogatory he denied. Then the Cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing. After noon, the same day, what time the Examination of the foresaid *Thomas Arthur* was ended, the Cardinal and Bishops by their Authority, *Ex Officio*, did call in for Witnesses, before Master *Bilney*, certain Men, namely, *John Huggen*, chief Provincial of the Friars preachers throughout all England, *Jeffrey Julles*, and *Richard Jugworib*, professors of Divinity of the same Order. Also *William Jekett*, Gentleman, *William Nelson*, and *Thomas Williams*, which were Sworn, that all favour, hate, love, or reward set apart, they should without concealing any falshood, or omitting any truth, speak their minds, upon the Articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the Dioceses of *London*, as the Dioceses of *Norwich*: and because he was otherwise occupied about the Affairs of the Realm, he committed the hearing of the matter to the Bishop of *London*, and two other Bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all Men, as well Spiritual as Temporal, as also against Schedules, Writings, and Books, set forth and Translated by *Martin Luther*, lately condemned by Pope *Leo* the Tenth, and by all manner of probable means to enquire, and root out their Errors and Opinions, and all such as were found culpable, to compel them to Abjuration according to the Law, or if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the Secular Power, and to give them full Power and Authority to determine upon them.

Bilney and
Arthur
brought be-
fore the said
Bishop of
London.

The Seven and twentieth of November, in the year aforesaid, the Bishop of *London*, with the Bishops of *Ely* and *Rochester*, came unto the Bishop of *Norwich's* House, whereas likewise, *Ex Officio*, they did Swear certain witnesses against Master *Thomas Arthur*, in like sort as they had done before against Master *Thomas Bilney*, and so proceeded to the Examination of Master *Arthur*, which being ended upon certain Interrogatories; the Bishop of *London* warned him by virtue of his Oath, That he should not reveal his Examinations, nor his Answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

Work they
never so
secretly, yet
Go no bring-
eth their
practices to
light at
length.

The second day of December, the Bishops Assembled again in the same place, and Swore more Witnesses against Master *Bilney*. That done they called for Master *Arthur*; unto whose charge they laid these Articles following.

Articles against Thomas Arthur.

Articles a-
gainst Tho-
mas Arthur.

1. *Inprimis*, That he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray specially for those that now be in Prison. Which Article he denied.
2. That he said, Though Men be refrained to preach now a days (which is against Gods Laws) yet I may preach: First, By the Authority of my Lord Cardinal; for I have his License. Secondly, By the Authority of the University. Thirdly, By the Pope. Fourthly, By the Authority of God, where he saith, *Evangelium in mundum*

prædicare Evangelium omni creaturæ. By which Authority every Man may preach, and there is neither Bishop nor Ordinary, nor yet the Pope, that may make any Law to let any Man to preach the Gospel. This Article he confessed that he spake.

KING
Hen. 8.
Authority
to preach.

3. When he spake of Laws, he brought a similitude of Crosses, set up against the Walls of *London*, that Men should not piss there. When there was but one Cross, or a few more, Men did reverence them, and pissed not there; but when there was in every corner a Cross set, then Men of necessity were compelled to piss upon the Crosses. So in like manner, when there was but a few Holy and Devout Laws in the Church, then Men were afraid to offend them. Afterward they made many Laws for their advantage; and such as were pecuniary those they do observe; and such as are not pecuniary, those they call *Pales*, and regard them not: and so now a days there are so many Laws, that whether a Man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the Law. He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.

The multi-
tude of
the Laws
make
Laws to be
contemned.

4. He said, Good people, if I should suffer Persecution for the preaching of the Gospel of God, yet there are Seven thousand more that would preach the Gospel of God as I do now. Therefore good people, good people, (which words he often rehearsed as it were lamenting) think not that if these Tyrants and Persecutors put a Man to death, the preaching of the Gospel therefore is to be forsaken. This Article he confessed, that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of Tyrants.

Pales in the
Purges De-
crees.

The preach-
ing of the
Gospel is to
be left for
no Perse-
cution.

5. That every Man, yea every Lay-man is a Priest. He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his Sermon, that every Christian-man is a Priest, offering up the Sacrifice of Prayer. And if they did murmur against the Order of Priesthood, they did murmur against themselves.

6. That Men should pray to no Saints in Heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other Mediator for them, but Christ Jesus our Redeemer only. This Article he denied.

7. He preached that they should worship no Images of Saints, which were nothing but Stocks and Stones. This he also denied.

Against
Images.

8. He did preach upon *Whit-sunday* last, within the University of *Cambridge*, such, or like words and sentences: That a Bachelor of Divinity admitted of the University, or any other person having or knowing the Gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and let for no Man, of what Estate or Degree soever he were: and if any Bishop did Accuse them for so doing, their Curies should turn to the harm of themselves. He confessed this.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, the said Master *Arthur* did revoke and condemn the said Articles against him ministred, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the Church.

Arthur
submitted
himself.

The third day of December, the Bishop of *London* with the other Bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that *Bilney* had denied utterly to return to the Church of *Rome*, the Bishop of *London* in discharge of his Conscience (as he said) left he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibit unto the Notaries, in the presence of the said Master *Bilney*, certain Letters, to wit, five Letters or Epistles, with one Schedule in one of the Epistles, containing his Articles and Answers folded therein, and another Epistle folded in manner of a Book, with six Leaves; which all and every one he commanded to be written out and Registered, and the Originals to be delivered to him again.

Five Letters
of Bilney
to the Bi-
shop of
London.

Ex Regis.
Londinensi.

This was done in the presence of *M. Bilney*, desiring a Copy of them, and he bound the Notaries with an Oath, for the safe keeping of the Copies, and true Registering of the same. Which Articles and Answers, with three of the same Epistles, with certain Depositions depoyed by the foresaid Witnesses, here follow truly drawn; partly out of his own hand-writing, and partly out of the Register.

KING
L. 1111.3.1

Interrogatories whereupon Master Thomas Arthur, and Master Bilney were accused and examined.

Interrogatories against Bilney and Arthur.

Constitutions.

The Church.

Images.

Whether Souls be already judged.

Breaking of Fasting days.

Christ not only to be prayed to.

Prayer in a learned Tongue.

Beads.

Organs.

1. Whether they did believe with their hearts, that the assertions of *Luther*, which are impugned by the Bishop of *Rochester* were justly and godly condemned; and that *Luther*, with his adherents, was a wicked and detestable Heretic.

2. Whether they did believe that the General Councils and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, once received, and not abrogate again, ought to be observed of all Men, even for Conscience sake, and not only for fear.

3. Whether they did believe that the Popes Laws were profitable and necessary to the preferment of godlines, not repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, neither by any means to be abrogate, but to be revered of all Men.

4. Whether they did believe that the Catholick Church may err in the Faith or no: and whether they think that Catholick Church to be a sensible Church, which may be demonstrate and pointed out as it were with a Finger; or that it is only a Spiritual Church, intelligible, and known only to God.

5. Whether they think that the Images of Saints are Christianly set in the Churches, and ought to be worshipped of all True Christians.

6. Whether that a Man may believe, without hurt to his Faith, or note of Heresie, the Souls of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of our Lady, either to be or not to be in Heaven; and that there is yet no Judgment given upon the Souls departed.

7. Whether that a Man may believe, without spot of Heresie, that our Lady remained not always a Virgin.

8. Whether Holy-days and Fasting-days, ordained and received by the Church, may be broken by any private Man, at his will and pleasure, without sin or obliquity.

9. Whether we are bound to be obedient unto Prelates, Bishops, and Kings, by Gods Commandment, as we are unto our Parents.

10. Whether they believe that the Church doth well and godly in praying to the Saints.

11. Whether they think that Christ only should be prayed unto, and that it is no Heresie, if any Man affirm that Saints should not be prayed unto.

12. Whether they do think all true Christians to be by like right Priests, and all those to have received the Keys of binding and loosing at the hands of Christ, which have obtained the Spirit of God, and only such, whether they be Lay-men or Priests.

13. Whether they believe with their hearts, that Faith may be without Works and Charity.

14. Whether they believe, that it is more agreeable to the Faith, that the people should pray in their own Tongue, than in a learned unknown Tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange Tongue or no.

15. Whether they would have the Masses and Gospels openly to be read in Churches in the vulgar Tongue rather than in the *Latin* Tongue.

16. Whether they commend that Children should only be taught the Lords Prayer, and not the Salutation of the Virgin, or Creed.

17. Whether they do think the wooden Beads, which the common people doth use, worthy to be denied or not.

18. Whether they do think the whole Scripture ought to be translated into *English*, or that it should be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read.

19. Whether they would have the Organs and all manner of Songs to be put out of the Church of God.

20. Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the Bishops to punish any Man with Bonds or Imprisonment, or that they have any Temporal Power and Authority.

21. Whether they think that Constitution to be godly, That no Man should preach in another Mans Diocess without Letters of Commendation and License obtained of the Bishop.

22. Whether they think the Vows of Religious Men, and private Religion, to be constitute and ordained by the Spirit of God, neither by any means to be repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life.

23. Whether they believe that we should pray for the dead, or believe that there is a Purgatory, or that we are bound, by necessity of Faith, to believe neither of them: but that it is free without sin, either to believe it, or not to believe it.

24. Whether they believe that moral Philosophy and natural, do prevail any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the expolition and defence of the Truth.

25. Whether they think that the Popes Indulgences and Pardons are rather to be rejected than received.

26. Whether it be contrary to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, that Christians should by any means contented in the Law, to seek any manner of Retitution.

27. Whether they believe all things pertaining to Salvation and Damnation to come of necessity, and nothing to be in our own wills.

28. Whether they believe God to be the Author of all evil, as well of the fault, as of the punishment.

29. Whether they think Males only to be profitable to him which faith it, and whether every Man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the Males without any hurt of Faith.

30. Whether they believe that there can be any moral virtues without the grace of Christian living; or that the virtues, which *Aristotle* hath set out, are rather tainted.

31. Whether they think it Heresie to teach the people, that it is free to give Riches unto Priests, or to any other poor Man.

32. Whether they do think it more Christian-like to take away the Images out of the Churches, or to permit them there to adore them and honour them.

33. Whether they think it the part of a Christian-man, that preachers should exhort Men to Pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of Relicks.

34. Whether that thou *Thomas Bilney*, being cited Relicks, upon Heresie to appear before my Lord Cardinal, and before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation upon those points that thou wast cited, hast preached openly in divers Churches of the City and Diocess of *London*, without sufficient License from the Bishop, or any other.

Concerning the Answers unto these Articles (gentle Reader) so much as in the most part of them, *Bilney* with *Arthur* seemed to consent and agree (although not fully and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying) yet because he did not expressly deny them, it shall not be needful here to recite them all, save only such wherein he seemed to dissent from them.

To the first and second Articles he answered affirmatively.

To the third he said, I believe that many of the Popes Laws are profitable and necessary, and do prevail unto godlines, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any means are to be abrogate, but of all Men to be observed and revered. But touching all those Laws I cannot determin: for, as for such as I have not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also; and as for those that I have read, I did never read them to the end and purpose to reprove them, but, according to my power, to learn and understand them. And as touching the multitude of Laws, *St. Augustine* in his time did much complain, and *Gerfon* also, who marvelled, that he could by any means live in safety amongst so many statutes of Constitutions, when as our fore-Fathers, being pure before their fall, could not observe one only precept.

To the fourth Article he said, That the Catholick Church can by no means err in Faith, for it is the whole Congregation of the Elect, and so known only unto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise no Man should be ascertained of another Mans Salvation, or of his own, but only through Faith and Hope. For it is written,

Purgatory

Philosophy

Males

Images

Answers

to the Interrogatories

Against the multitude of Laws

The True Church cannot err in Faith

Eccles. 5. No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love. It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things, that are to be believed and done: for I may truly say of the General Council being congregated in the Holy Ghost: Behold here the Catholick Church, denominating the whole by the most worthy part.

To the fifth Article he answered affirmatively in these words: *Cum sint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non Imaginem, Sec Prototypum.*

To the sixth Article he answered, That he did not believe that they are in Heaven, being so taught by the Scriptures, and Holy Fathers of the Church.

To the seventh Article he said, That it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eighth Article, Whether a Man may not observe the Feasts and Fasts of the Church prescribed; He thought that there is no Man but he ought to observe them.

To the ninth Article he said, That we are likewise bound as unto Parents.

To the fourteenth Article he answered thus: The fourteenth Chapter of St. Paul in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians* moveth me to believe, that it is best that the people should have the Lords Prayer, and the Apostles Creed in *English*, so that their Devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof, and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the Articles of their Faith: of the which, it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I have heard many say, That they never heard speak of the Resurrection of the Body, and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and ready unto goodness, and more fearful to do evil.

To the fifteenth Article he said, he would wish that the Gospels and Epistles should be read in *English*, For I would (saith Paul) rather have five words, &c. That the Church might be edified, &c. And Chrysostom exhorteth his hearers to look upon Books, that they might the better commit unto memory those things which they had heard. And St. Bede did translate St. John's Gospel into *English*.

Touching the eighteenth Article, for the translation of the Scripture into *English*, concerning the whole, he did partly doubt. Notwithstanding he wished that the Gospels and Epistles of the day might be read in *English*, that the people might be made the more apt to hear Sermons. But here some will say, there might also be danger for error. Whereunto he answered, But good and vigilant Pastors might easily help that matter, by adding the plain interpretation of the Fathers in the Margents in *English*, upon the dark and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. O how great profit of Souls should the vigilant Pastors get thereby, which contrariwise through their slothfulness bring great ruin and decay.

To the five and twentieth Article, as touching Pardons, he said, That as they be used, and have too long been, it were better that they should be refrained, than that they should be any longer used as they have been, to the injury of Christs Pardon.

Touching the six and twentieth Article, he said, That it is not against the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles to contend in the Law, so it be done with Charity, if St. Augustine, and the reverend Father Marcus Marulus did not err, which granted that liberty to the weak Christians: albeit the true Christians ought to give ear unto St. Paul's sayings, *Why do ye not rather suffer injury?* And to Christ himself, which saith, *He that would contend with thee in the Law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also.*

Touching the eight and twentieth, he answered, That God is the Author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as Basilus Magnus teacheth in his Sermon upon these words of the Prophet: *Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit dominus.* And St. Augustine in another Place (as I remember) prayeth, *That he be not led into that temptation, that he should believe God to be the Author of sin and wickedness.*

Here ensueth a brief Summary or Collection of certain Depositions, deposed by the several Witnesses afore-named, upon certain Interrogatories, Ministring unto them, for the enquiry of Master Bilney's Doctrine and Preaching.

First it was Deposed, That in his Sermon in Christs Church in *Ipswich*, he should preach and say, Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: What should we need then to seek to any Saint for remedy? Wherefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such Petitions, and blasphemeth our Saviour.

That Man is so imperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds.

Also, that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the Prophets: But John Baptist, being more than a Prophet, did not only prophetic, but with his Finger shewed him, saying, *Eccce agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi.* Then if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate, that taketh away the sins of the World, what injury is it to our Saviour Christ; that to be buried in St. Francis Cowle should remit four parts of Penance: what is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the World? This I will justify to be a great Blasphemy to the Blood of Christ.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on Pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past have been Antichrists; and now it hath pleased God somewhat to shew forth their falshood and errors.

Also, that the miracles done at *Walsingham*, at *Canterbury*, and there in *Ipswich*, were done by the Devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the Pope hath not the Keys that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was Deposed against him, That he was notoriously suspected as an Heretic, and twice pulled out of the Pulpit in the Diocess of *Norwich*.

Also it was Deposed against him, That he should in the Parish-Church of *Willeford* exhort the people to put away their gods of Silver and Gold, and leave their Offerings unto them; for that such things as they offered have been known oftentimes afterward to have been given to Whores of the Stews. Also that *Jews* and *Saracens* would have become Christian-men long ago, had it not been for the Idolatry of Christian-men, in offering of Candles, Wax, and Money to Stocks and Stones.

Over and besides these cavilling matters, articulated, and deposed against him, here follow certain other Articles whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his Sermon which he preached in the Parish-Church of St. Magnus, in *Whitson* week, in the year of our Lord, 1527.

¶ Certain other Articles produced against Master Thomas Bilney.

First he said, Pray you only to God, and not to Saints, rehearsing the *Letany*; and when he came to *Santa Maria, ora pro nobis*, he said, Stay there.

He said, that Christian-men ought to worship God only, and not Saints.

He said, that Christian people should set up no Lights before the Images of Saints: for Saints in Heaven need no Light, and the Images have no eyes to see.

He said, as *Exekias* destroyed the Brazen Serpent that *Moses* made by the commandment of God; even so should Kings and Princes now adays destroy and burn the Images of Saints set up in Churches.

These five hundred years there hath been no good Pope, nor in all the times past we can find but fifty; for they have neither preached, nor lived well, or conformably to their Dignity. Wherefore till now they have born the Keys of Symony. Against whom, good people, we must preach and teach unto you. For we cannot come to them; it

RING
His 8.

Depositions
against Ma-
ster Bilney.

Heretic in
the Pope's
Church to
confess
only to be
our medi-
ator.

St. Francis
Cowle re-
mitsch
four parts
of Penance:
What re-
mains then
for
Christ to
remit?

Against
Pilgrimage.

Against
blind mi-
racles.

The idola-
try of the
Papists has
led to the
Jews and
Turks, why
they are not
converted.

Scripture
to be in
English.
1 Cor. 14.

St John's
Gospel
translated
into *English*
by Bede.

The Pope's
Pardons in-
jurious to
Christs
Pardon.

Here Chri-
stians may
go to the
Law.

1 Cor. 6.

Amos 3.

But fifty
good Popes
since Christ.

{KING} it is great pity: they have sore slandered the Blood of Christ.

The people have used foolishly of late Pilgrimages, which for them had been better they had been at home.

Many have made certain Vows, which be not possible for them to fulfil, and those nothing meritorious.

The Preachers before this have been Antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ to shew their false Errors, and to teach another way and manner of the Holy Gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your Souls.

The
Vice-
philie of
Bilney.

I trust that there shall and will come other besides me, which shall shew and preach to you, the same Faith and manner of living that I do shew and preach to you, which is the very True Gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the Holy Fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their Errors, wherein you have been long seduced: for before this there have been many that have slandered you, and the Gospel of our Saviour Christ, of whom spake our Saviour, *Matth. 18. Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis qui in me credit, &c.*

These and many other such like Depositions were Deposed against him by the Deponents and Witnesses before Sworn, which wholly to recite would be too long and tedious: therefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we will return again to the order of his Examination, we think it good here to infer a certain Dialogue containing a communication between a Frier named *John Bruiserd*, and *Master Thomas Bilney*, which we have thought meet for this place, because it was done in *Ipswich*, and also about the time of these Examinations: the Copy whereof we have written with the Friars own hand in *Latin*, the Copy whereof in *English* here inserteth.

A Dialogue

A Dialogue between Frier John Bruiserd and Master Thomas Bilney, in Ipswich, concerning worshipping of Images.

Bruiserd.

A Dialogue
between
Bilney and
Frier Bruiserd.

Although you have blasphemed most perversely the immaculate Flock of Christ with certain blasphemies of yours, yet being moved partly with our gentle Petitions, partly pitying your case and towards disposition, I am come hither to talk with you secretly, before the rumour be disclosed, upon the consideration of the threefold Errors which I see in you.

First, For that when you began to shoot the Dart of your pernicious Error, more vehemently than you ought, against the Breast of the ignorant multitude, you seem to pour upon the Ground the precious Blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Whereas you said that none of the Saints do make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have perilously blasphemed the efficacy of the whole Church, consecrated with the precious Blood of Christ. Which thing you are not able to deny, especially seeing the same so incessantly doth knock at the Gates of Heaven, through the continual intercession of the Saints, according as in the sevenfold *Letany* manifestly appeareth to be seen.

A great
blasphemy
among the
Friars to set
up Christ
only to be
our Mediator.

One Mediator
and no more.

Bilney. I marvel at you, and doubtless cannot marvel enough, but that the strong and vain custom of superstitious Men, thinking themselves not to be heard but in much babbling, doth put an end to my admiration. For our Heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, *There is one Mediator of God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus*. If then there be but one Mediator of God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed Lady? Where is then St. Peter and other Saints?

Bruiserd. I suppose that no Man is ignorant, but that the Divines of the Primitive Church have all affirmed to be one Mediator between God and Men. Neither could any at any time pray or pray to the Saints, when as yet they living in the calamities of this body, and wrestling with the contrary winds of this World, were not yet come to the Port of rest wherunto they were travelling. *Paul*

(I grant) did rightly affirm to be but one Mediator of God and Men, what time as yet there was no Saint Canonized or put into the *Kalendar*. But now seeing the Church doth know, and doth certainly believe, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other Saints are placed in the bosom of *Abraham*, (he therefore like a good Mother hath taught, and that most diligently, us her Children, to praise the Omnipotent Jesus in his Saints; and also to offer up by the same Saints our Petitions unto God. Thereof it is that the *Psalmist* saith; *Praise ye the Lord in his Saints*. Rightly also do we say and affirm, That Saints may pray for us. One Man may pray for another; *Ergo*, much more may Saints that do enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, *God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayer always for you, &c.*

The Pope's
Kalendar
maketh mis-
take no thing
were in the
Primitive
Church.

Note this
Argument
We must
praise God
in his Saints
Evan. 1.

Bilney. I marvel doubtless, that you a Man learned are not yet delivered out of the confuse Dungeon of Heresie through the help of the Holy Gospel: especially seeing that in the same Gospel it is written, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you ask the Father in my Name, he will give it unto you.*

John 14.

He saith not, whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other Saints, but in my Name. Let us ask therefore help in the Name of him, which is able to obtain for us of his Father whatsoever we ask, left peradventure hereafter in the end of the World, at the last judgment, we shall hear, *Hitherto in my Name ye have asked nothing.*

Isaiah 43.

Bruiserd. Where ye marvel (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I being a learned Man (as you say) am not delivered yet from the confuse Dungeon of Heresie through the help of the Gospel: much more do you, that are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish admiration. Neither can I chafe but laugh at you as one being rapt to the third Heaven of such high mysteries, and yet see not those things which be done here in the lower parts of terrene Philosophy: for what a ridiculous thing is it for a Man to look so long upon the Sun, that he can see nothing else but the Sun, nor cannot tell whether to turn him? Moreover, what Student is there in all *Cambridge*, be he never so young, that knoweth not, that the argument of Authority, brought out negatively, hath no force?

Argumentum
negativum
non habet
virtutem.

Bilney. So as the Pharisees took Christ, you take my words, much otherwise than I meant.

Bruiserd. Your words, which wander far from the scope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.

Bilney. Such as invoke the help either of Christ, or of any other Saint, for any corporal infirmity, to be delivered from the same, may be well remembered to delicate Patients, who being under the hand of Physicians, and having Medicines ministered against their Diseases, not abiding the pain thereof, rap all afunder: wherefore I say, no Man ought to implore the help of God, or of any Saint for corporal infirmity.

Praying for
taking of
Temperance
infirmities.

Bruiserd. O most pernicious and perilous Heresie of all that ever I have heard! Thus you flying the smoke, fall into the Fire, and, avoiding the danger of *Scylla*, you run upon *Charibdis*. O heart of Man wrapped in palpable darkness. I with, *Master Bilney*, that you would but once search and set out the first Origin of these *Rogation* days: For so we read in the Church-Story, that they were first Ordained by Pope *Gregory*, with Fasting, Prayers, and Holy Processions; against the Pestilence, by the infection of the air then reigning among the people.

A tale mean-
eth abso-
lutely with-
out con-
dition.

Scylla and
Charibdis
are two
dangerous
Rocks in the
Sea.

By this
Church-
Story he
meaneth
little.

At what time the people then going in the Procession, a certain Image like to our Blessed Lady, painted with the hands of St. *Luke the Evangelist*, did go before them, about the which Image, in the honour of the Virgin, Angels did sing this Anthem: *Regina Celi letare, &c.* O Queen of Heaven be glad. To the which Anthem, the Pope also adjoined this, *Ora pro nobis Dominum, &c.* Pray to the Lord for us. Wherefore, seeing the Angels did worship the Image of the glorious Virgin *Mary*, in the honour of her; and seeing moreover the Holy Father Pope *Gregory*, with all the Clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship the Saints, and also to give

Legend of
the Pope's
Letany at
Rome.

Legend of
the Pope's
Letany at
Rome.

Legend of
the Pope's
Letany at
Rome.

Legend of
the Pope's
Letany at
Rome.

Legend of
the Pope's
Letany at
Rome.

Legend of
the Pope's
Letany at
Rome.

Scripture
well ap-
plied.

Whether
the Pope be
Antichrist.

2 The. 2.
1 Cor. 3.
The place
of St Paul
and
exposed
concerning
Antichrist
sitting in
the Temple
of God, &c.
Signs and
Miracles
wrought by
Illusions.
Apoc. 20

* We read
of a like
saying of
another Fe-
ar-Augustin
of Anisimop,
refuted by
Bragman in
his Epistles,
who openly
in the pul-
pit at An-
isimop preach-
ing to the
people,
willed
that Law-
rence were
there, that he
might bite
out his
Throat
we do his
Texts.
So doing he
would in-
duce doubt
with the
fame bloody
Teeth to
refute
the Alter,
and receive
the body
of Christ.
Br-fa. epist.
lib. 16. Ad
de traci-
tione.

honour in a manner to their Images: further also, to pray to Almighty God and all Saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the same, so that they may say like for us, which is said in the Gospel, *Send them away, because they cry after us.* And although there be infinite places inexpressible to be alleged out of the Holy Scripture, wherewith we might easily refut this your Error: yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we will proceed now to your second peti- tious Error, wherein you, like an ingrate Child, go about to tear out the Bowels of your Mother. For in that you say and affirm blasphemously, The Bishop of Rome to be the very Antichrist, and that his priviledges have no force against the Gates of Hell: in so saying, what do you but like a most unkind and unnatural Child, spoil your loving Mother of all her Treasures, and wound her being spoiled, and being wounded pluck out her Bowels most miserably upon the Earth? But forasmuch as there is nothing so absurd, or so Heretical, but shall be received of some itching Ears: I would therefore now hear you declare, how he sitteth in the Temple of God, as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God, or how he sheweth himself as Lord in power and signs, and wonders deceitful.

Bilney. Although incredulity doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to understand these things, yet I will go about something to help your incredulity herein, through the help of the Lord: beseeching you, that setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do ye know the Table of the Ten Com- mandments?

Brusford. According as the Catholick Doctors do ex- pound them, I know them meanly: But how you do ex- pound them, I cannot tell.

Bilney. And do you know also the Constitutions of Men, which are devised only by the Dreams of Men: wherunto Men are so fruitly bound, that under pain of death they are compelled to observe them?

Brusford. I know certain Sanctions of the holy Fa- thers, but such as you speak of to be devised by Mens dreams, I know none.

Bilney. Now then let us set and compare these two to- gether, and so shall you easily understand the Bishop of Rome, whom they call the Pope, to fit in the Temple of God, as God, and to be extolled above all that is Named God. It is written, *The Temple of the Lord is holy, which is you.* Therefore the Conscience of Man is the Temple of the Holy Ghost: in which Temple, I will prove the Pope to fit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God. For who condemneth the Decalogue, or the Table of the Commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him, neither is that punishment to death, but contrariwise, he that shall condemn or violate the Constitutions, which you call the Sanctions of Men, is counted by all Mens judgment guilty of death. What is this, but the high Bishop of Rome to sit and reign in the Temple of God; that is, in Mans Conscience, as God?

Brusford. Although this exposition seemeth unworthy for Christian Ears, yet I would hear you further how he sheweth himself in signs and wonders deceitful.

Bilney. These wonders (which they call Miracles) be wrought daily in the Church, not by the Power of God, as many think, but by the illusion of Satan rather, who (as the Scripture witnesseth) hath been loose now abroad Five hundred years, according as it is written in the Book of the Apocalypse, *After a thousand years Satan shall be set loose, &c.* Neither are they to be called Miracles of true Christian-men, but illusions rather, whereby to delude Mens minds, to make them put their Faith in our Lady, and in other Saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever.

Brusford. * But that I believe and know that God and all his Saints will take everlasting revenge upon thee, for I would surely with these Nails of mine be thy death, for this horrible and enorm injury against the precious Blood of Christ. God faith, *I will not be the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live.* And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay privy snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espy them. Which if it were true, we might well say with *Hugh de Saint Victore* in this manner: If it be an Error, it is of thee (O God)

that we are deceived; for these be confirmed with such signs and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee. But I am assured it is untrue and heretical: and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concern- ing the merits of Saints. For once I remember, in a cer- tain Sermon of yours you said, That no Saint, though his suffering were never so great, and his life most pure, deserved any thing for us with God, either by his death or life. Which is contrary to St. Augustine.

Bilney. Christ faith one thing, St. Augustine another: Whether of these two shall we believe? For Christ wil- ling to deliver us out of this dark Dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of Ten Virgins, of which five were Fools, and five were Wise. By the five foolish Virgins, wanting the Oil of good works, he meant us all sinners. By the five Virgins he meant the company of all Holy Saints. Now let us hear what the five wise Vir- gins answered to the five foolish, craving Oil of them; *No (say they) lest peradventure we have not sufficient for us, and for you. Get you rather to them that sell, and buy of them to serve your turn.*

Wherefore if they had not Oil sufficient for themselves and also for the other, where then be the merits of Saints wherewith they can deserve both for themselves and for us? certes I cannot see.

Brusford. You wrest the Scriptures from the right un- derstanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarce able to hold mine Eyes from tears, hearing with mine Ears these words of you. Fare ye well.

¶ The submission of Master Thomas Bilney.

THE fourth day of December, the Bishop of London, with the other Bishops his assistants, assembled a- gain in the Chapter-house of Westminster: whither also Master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admo- nished to abjure and recant. Who answered, That he would stand to his Conscience. Then the Bishop of Lon- don, with the other Bishops, Ex Officio, did publish the Depositions of the Witnesses, with his Articles and An- swers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the Bishop exhorted him again to deliberate with him- self, whether he would return to the Church, and renounce his Opinions, or no, and bade him to depart into a void place, and thence deliberate with himself. Which done, the Bishop asked him again if he would return? Who answered, *Erat justitia & judicium in nomine Domini.* And being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other Answer, but, *Erat justitia, &c.* And, *Hec est dies quem fecit Dominus, exultemus & letemur in eo.* Then the Bishop after deliberation, put- ting off his Cap, said, *In nomine Patris & Filii & Spi- ritus Sancti, Amen. Excusat Deus & dissipantur ini- mici ejus:* and making a Cross on his Forehead and his Brest, by the counsel of the other Bishops, he gave sentence against M. Bilney, being there present, in this manner:

I, by the consent and counsel of my Brethren here pre- sent, do pronounce thee Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers Articles, to be convict of Heretic; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to- morrow.

The fifth day of December the Bishops assembled there again: before whom Bilney was brought: whom the Bishop asked if he would yet return to the Unity of the Church, and revoke his Heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered, That he would not be a slander to the Gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the Church; and that, if the multitude of Witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty Men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought in a- gainst him: which Witnesses the Bishop said came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the Law. Then Bilney alleging the Story of *Susan and Daniel*, the Bishop of London still exhorted him to return to the Unity of the Church, and to abjure his Heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his Friends, till one of the Clock at the af- ternoon of the same day.

1 KING 1
1 Lita. 8. 1
God lead-
eth not into
Error, but
hath left
his Scrip-
tures to lead us into
Truth.

Mat. 23.
Saints have
not merite
sufficient
for them-
selves, much
less to spare
to others.

Bilney con-
tended a-
gainst the
Bishop of
London.

Bilney de-
clared to
mean.
Psalm 118.
In nomine
Domini in-
cunctis me-
ribus meis
salvatus.

Bilney con-
tended a-
gainst the
Bishop.
Bilney re-
sisted &
gave to re-
cant.

Like Bishops
like Laws.

KING At Afternoon the Bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the Church, and acknowledge his Heresies. *Bilney* answered, That he trusted he was not separate from the Church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses. Which was refused. Then the Bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the Catholick Church. Whereunto he answered, That if they could teach and prove sufficiently, that he was convicted, he would yield and submit himself, and desired again to have time and space to bring in again his refused witnesses, and other answer he would give none.

Then the Bishop put Master *Bilney* aside, and took Counsel with his Fellows; and afterward called in Master *Bilney*, and asked him again whether he would abjure. But he would make no other answer than before. Then the Bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was against the Law: and inquiring again whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No; and desired to have time to consult with his Friends, in whom his trust was. And being once again asked whether he would return, and infinitely desired thereunto, or else the Sentence must be read, he required the Bishop to give him licence to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the Heresies where-with he was defamed, or no. The Bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate with Master *Dan-caster*. But *Bilney* required space till the next morrow, to consult with Master *Farmer* and Master *Dan-caster*. But the Bishop would not grant him his request, for fear lest he should appeal. But at the last the Bishop inclining unto him, granted him two nights respite to deliberate: that is to say, till Saturday at Nine of the clock afternoon, and then to give a plain determinate answer, what he would do in the premises.

The Seventh day of December, in the year and place aforesaid, the Bishop of London with the other Bishops being assembled, *Bilney* also personally appeared. Whom the Bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the Unity of the Church, and revoke the Errors and Heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was persuaded by Master *Dan-caster* and other his Friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration: which the Bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in these premises, he answered, That he would abjure and submit himself, and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed, and delivered it to the Bishop: which then did absolve him, and for his penance enjoined him. That he should abide in prison appointed by the Cardinal, till he were by him released; and moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, bare-headed, with a Fagot on his shoulder, and should stand before the Preacher at Pauls Crois all the Sermon time.

Ex Regist. London.

Here forthwith as mention is made before of five Letters or Epistles, which this good Man wrote to *Cuthbert Tonstall* Bishop of London, and the said Bishop delivered unto the Registrars, we thought good to insert certain thereof, such as could come to our hands. The Copy of which Letters, as they were written by him in Latin, because they are in the former Edition to be seen, and read in the same Latin, wherein he wrote them, it shall suffice in this Book to expresse the same only in English. Concerning the first Epistle, which containeth the whole Story of his Conversion, and somewhat more effectual in the Latin, than in the English, we have exhibited it in the second Edition, and therefore here have only made mention of the same briefly. The Copy whereof beginneth thus.

Reverendo in Christo Patri D. Cuth. Tonstallo,
Londini Episcopo, T. Bilneus Salvem in
Christo, cum omni subiectione tanto Presuli
debitam.

Hac nomine, Pater in Christo observande, longe beatorem me pater, quod ad tue Paternitatis excommunicationem vocari me coegit. Ea enim eruditione et vita integritate (quod omnes fatentur) ut ipseme non possis (alioquin advenarum in te dorum estimator non admodum magnificus) quoties tibi succurris, quantis tibi gratis feceris Deus in illius laudes non erumpere, ac tecum in corde tacitus exclamare, fecit mihi magna qui potens est, & sanctum nomen ejus. In talem nunc me iudicem incidiisse gratulor, ac Deo, qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro viris habeo. Et quamquam (testis est mihi Deus) nullus in omnibus meis concionibus erroris mihi confusus sum, ne dum heresios aut falsitatis (quod calumniatur quidam, quæstus sui, quam animarum lucri avidiores) tamen supra modum lætor, divina (haud dubie) benignitate proviſum esse, ut ob veritatis testimonium ad Tonstalli tribunal fisterer: quia, si quis alius, optime novit, nunquam defuturus James ac Jambres, qui veritati resistunt: nunquam defuturus Elimates, qui conentur subvertere vias domini rectas: denique nunquam defuturus Demetrius, Pythionissus, Balaamos, Nicolaitas, Cairios, Iſmaeles, qui omnes, cum quæ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi, avidissime sententur & querant, qui fieri potest ut Christum sincere ac simpliciter annuntium perferant? Nam si populus semel in Christum pro se passum solide ac pure considerare acceperit, ruerit mox in vere fideliū pectoribus, quæcumque balteus pro Christo amplexi sunt. Tunc intelligent non hic aut illic Christum esse, sed regnum Dei in semetipsis esse. Tunc intelligent patrem neque in montibus Samaria, neque Hierosolymis adorandum esse, sed in omni loco, in spiritu & veritate. Quod si sit, actum de lucris suis putabunt Executores agri, quorum interest impleri illud Executielis, 34. Disperse sunt oves mee, eo quod non esset pastor & factæ sunt in devoracionem omnium bestiarum agri, & disperse sunt. Erraverunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, & in universo colle excessu, & super omnem faciem terre dispersi sunt greges mei, & non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo, si quis requirere velit, ac in causas Christi, unitatem dico fidei, errabundus reducere, mox insurgunt nomina Pastores, sed reverat upi, qui non aliud de græge, quam lac lanam, pellem, querunt: animas cum suis, tum gregis permittentes diabolo. Insurgunt inquam, ac Demetrii instar exclamant: Hic hereticus ubique suadet averſitque multam urbem, dicens, quod non sunt dii qui manibus sunt.

Hi sunt, hi (pater colende) sunt, qui, sub prætextu persequendi hereticos, ventris sui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Christi. Qui quidvis potius ferre possunt, quam puram Christi pro peccatis nostris crucifixi annunciationem. Hi sunt, quibus Christus eternam minatur damnationem, cum ait, Væ vobis Scribæ & Pharisei, Hypocritæ, qui clauditis regnum colorum ante homines: vos enim non intratis, nec introeuntes finitis intrare. Hi sunt, qui, cum ipsi aliunde ascenderunt, alio intrare non sinunt. Quod pater, quia si quis per me, inquit Christus, introierit, salvabitur, & ingreditur, & egredietur, & pascua inveniet: & hi non inveniant pascua (nunquam enim docent) & alios post se trahunt, ut non per Christum, qui solus est ostium per quod ad patrem pervenitur, sed aliunde per opuscula, quæ oculis, tactu nunquam Christo, suadent, proponunt & injungunt, ad sumum potius quæſum, quam animarum saluam spectantes: hoc deteriores, quam illi qui super Christum fundamentum adificanti lignum, fenum, stipulam. Ipsi sciuntur se Christum scire, sed factis negant. Denique hi sunt medici illi, in quos mulier illa, annis duodecim sanguinis profusio vexata, omnia sua consumperat, nec adjuvanti quicquam enſerent, sed deterius se habebat, donec vix tandem ad Christum venerat, quæ simulatque ſimbriam vestimenti ejus in fide tetigerat,

sic sanabatur, ut statim in corpore id ipsum sentiret. O mutationem dexteræ excessi? quam ego miser peccator non semel sensi: qui tamen antea quam ad Christum venire potui, sic omnia mea in sumptum in ignaro medico, indocto confessionum auditore, ut parum mihi virium (alioqui natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit. parum pecunie. ingenium item parum. Indicebant enim mihi jejunia, vigilias, indulgentiarum ac missarum emptiones, in quibus omnibus (ut nunc intelligo) sua potius querebant, quam salutem animæ meæ languenti.

Sed tandem de Jesu audiebam, nimirum tum, cum novum Testamentum primum ab Erasmo ederetur. Quod cum ab eo Latinus redditum accepi, Latinitate potius quam verbo Dei (quod tunc quidam esset prorsus nesciebam) alebatur, emebam, providentia (sine dubio) Divina, ut nunc interpretor. Incidi prima (ut memini) lectione in hanc (o mihi suavisimam Pauli sententiam) 1 ad

1 Tim. 2. Tim. 1. Certus sermo, & dignus, quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quod Christus Jesus venit in mundum ut peccatores salvos faceret, quarum primus sum ego. Hec una sententia, Deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente, sic exilioravit pedes meos, prius peccatorum conscientia saucium ac pene desperandum, ut mox visus sum mihi, nescio quantum intus tranquillitatem sentire, adeo quod exultaverunt ossa humili-

facto: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatus, omnia jejunia, omnes vigilias, omnes missarum indulgentiarum redemptiones quæ sine fiducia in Jesum (qui solus salvum facit populum suum a peccatis suis) fierent? didici, inquam, hæc omnia nihil aliud fuisse, quam (quod ait Augustinus) celerem cursum extra viam: quam perixomata illa scilicet, quibus Adam, & Eva reverenda olim sua frustra tegere conati sunt: Nunquam prius tranquillitatis quam promissioni Dei de Serpente capite, per mulieris semen Christum, ceterendo credidissent: Nec ego prius a peccatorum aculeis ac moribus sanari potui, quam a Deo doctus essem illum lectionem, de qua loquitur Christus, Johan. 3. Sicut Agnes exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis: ut omnis qui credit in illum non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam.

Hanc tandem sublimem lectionem, quam nullas docere potest nisi Deus qui hanc Petro revelavit, ubi pro modulo gratia Dei mihi data gustare capi, rogavi Dominum ut auget mihi fidem, ac tandem nihil magis optavi, quam ut, sic reddita mihi latius salutis (sui spiritus me suo utique confirmaret, ut virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto, docerem iniquas vias ejus, quæ sunt misericordia & veritas, ut impij ad ipsam, per me olim impium, converterentur. Quod dum pro virili conor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blasphematur in me (hæc est unica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Christus, quam pro virili doceo, factum nobis a Deo Patre sapientiam, justitiam, sanctificationem, redemptionem denique & satisfactionem. Qui factus est pro nobis peccatum, id est, hostia pro peccato, ut nos efficiemur justitia Dei per illum. 2 Cor. 5. Qui factus est 2 Cor. 5. pro nobis maledictum, ut nos a maledicto legis redimeret. Et Galat. 2. qui non venit ad vocandum justos, sed peccatores ad penitentiam: justos in quam quis se sanos putant et falsos putant: (Omnes enim peccaverunt, & egent gloria Dei, quæ gratis remittit credentibus peccata per redemptionem quæ est in Rom. 3. Christo Jesu: Rom. 3. quia omne genus humanum sauciatum gravissima fuerat in eo, qui enter Hierusalem & Hierico incidit, in latrones. Ideo pro virili doceo, ut omnes primum peccata sua agnoscant ac damnet, deinde esuriant Rom. 3. ac sitiant justitiam illam, de qua Paulus loquitur, Rom. 3. Justitia Dei per fidem Jesu Christi: in omnes & super omnes qui credunt in eum. Non est enim discriminatio: omnes enim peccaverunt & egent gloria Dei: justificantur autem gratis per gratiam ipsius, per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu. Quam qui esuriunt ac sitiant, haud dubie sic aliquando salvabuntur, quod neque esurient neque sitient in æternum.

Sed quoniam hanc esuriem ac sitim extinguere solet humane justitia saturitas, quam parat possimum opusculorum nostrorum electiorum fiducia, qualia sunt peregrinationes, veniarum redemptiones, cererorum oblationes, electa, a nobis jejunia, & interdum superstitiones, denique qualescunque (ut vocant) voluntariæ devotiones, contra quæ loqui-

tur Scriptura Dei, Deut. 4. 12. Non facies quod tibi rectum videtur, sed quod ego præcipio tibi, hæc tantum facito, nec addens nec minuens: ideo inquam hujusmodi opusculorum mentionem nonnumquam facio; non ea (Dei testor) unquam damnam, sed eorum abusus reprebendens, legitimumque usum parulis manifestum faciens, hortans, ne sic his adhaereant, ut his saturati (quod plerique faciunt) Christum fastidiant. In quo feliciter valeat Paternitas tua. Et hæc omnium summa. Si indixeris mihi ut singula dilatem, non recusabo, modo tempus mihi concefferis. Nam statim hoc facere non est harum, quoad corpus, virium: paratus semper, sic ubi lapsus fuero, meliora doceri.

Totus tuus,

T. Bilneus.

The same in English.

¶ To the Reverend Father in Christ, Cuthbert Bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wishes health in Christ, with all submission due unto such a Prelate.

IN this behalf (Most reverend Father in Christ) I think my self most happy, that it is my chance to be called to examination before your Reverence, for that you are of such wisdom and learning, of such integrity of life (which all men do confesse to be in you) that even your self cannot chuse (if you do not too lightly esteem Gods gifts in you) as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightways secretly in your heart, to his high praise say, *He that is mighty hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name.* I rejoyce, that I have now happened upon such a Judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, which ruleth all things.

And albeit (God is my witness) I know not my self guilty of any error in my Sermons, neither of any Heretic or Sedition, which divers do slander me of, seeking rather their own lute and advantage, than the health of souls: Norwithstanding I do exceedingly rejoyce, that it is foreseen by Gods divine Providence, that I should be brought before the Tribunal Seat of Tonstall, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting *Jannes and Jambres*, which will resist the truth; that there shall never be lacking some *Elymas*, which will go about to subvert the straight ways of the Lord; and finally, that some *Demetrius*, *Pithomus*, *Balaams*, *Nicolaïtes*, *Cains*, and *Ismaels*, will be always at hand, which will greedily hunt and seek after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then be, that they can suffer Christ to be truly and sincerely preached? For if the people begin once wholly in every place to put their confidence in Christ, which was for them Crucified, then straightways that which they have hitherto embraced in stead of Christ, shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithful. Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the Kingdom of God to be in themselves. Then shall they plainly see, That the Father is not to be worshipped, neither in the Mount of Samaria, neither at Hierusalem, but in all places, in spirit and truth. Which thing if it come once to pass, the beasts of the field will think all their gain and labor lost. In whom the saying of *Ezechiel* is fulfilled: *My Sheep are dispersed because they had no Shepherd, and are devoured of the beag of the field, and strayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandered in every mountain, and upon every high bill, and is dispersed thorowout all the earth, and there is no man which hath sought to gather them together: no, there was no man which once sought after them: But if any Man would seek to reduce those which were gone astray into the Fold of Christ, that is, the unity of Faith, by and by there rise up certain against him, which are named Pastors, but indeed are Wolves, which seek no other thing of their Flock, but the Milk, Wool, and Fell, leaving both their own souls, and the souls of their Flock, unto the Devil.*

Thefe

5 KING These Men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, This Heretick diswadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying: *That they are not Gods which are made with hands.* These are they, these I say (Most reverend Father) are they, which under the pretence of persecuting Hereticks, follow their own licentious life; enemies unto the Croſs of Chriſt; which can ſuffer and bear any thing rather than the ſincere Preaching of Chriſt Crucified for our ſins. These are they unto whom Chriſt threatneth eternal Damnation, where he ſaith, *Who be unto you Scribes, Pharisees, and Hypocrites, which shut up the Kingdom of Heaven before Men, and you your selves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in.* These are they which have come in another way to the charge of ſouls, as it appeareth; For if any Man (ſaith Chriſt) *come in by me, he shall be ſaved, and shall come in, and go out, and find Paſture.* These Men do not find Paſture, for they never teach, and draw others after them, that they ſhould not enter by Chriſt, which alone is the door whereby we muſt come unto the Father; but ſet before the people an other way, perſwading them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes ſpeaking nothing at all of Chriſt, thereby ſeeking rather their own gain and lucre, than the ſalvation of ſouls. In this point being worſe than they which upon Chriſt (being the foundation) do build Wood, Hay and Straw. These Men confeſs that they know Chriſt, but by their deeds they deny him.

Faſt Priests and Pre- These are theſe Phyſicians upon whom that Woman which was Twelve years vexed with the bloody flux, had conſumed all that the had, and felt no help, but was ſill worſe and worſe, until ſuch time as at the laſt the came unto Chriſt; and after the had once touched the hem of his Veſture, through Faith, the was ſo healed, that by and by the felt the ſame in her body. O mighty Power of the moſt Highſt; which I alſo miſerable ſinner have often taſted and felt. Which before that I could come unto Chriſt, had even likewiſe ſpent all that I had upon thoſe ignorant Phyſicians, that is to ſay, unlearned hearers of confeſſion, ſo that there was but ſmall force of ſtrength left in me, (which of nature was but weak) ſmall ſtore of Money, and very little wit or underſtanding; for they appointed the ſaſtings, watching, buying of Pardons, and Maſſes; in all which things (as I now underſtand) they fought rather their own gain, than the ſalvation of my ſick and languishing ſoul.

The ſeeth execution of Mr. Bilney by reading the New Teſtament out by Erasmus. But as the laſt I heard ſpeak of Jeſus, even then when the *New Teſtament* was firſt let forth by Erasmus. Which when I underſtood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latin than for the Word of God, (for at that time I knew not what it meant) I bought it even by the Providence of God, as I do now well underſtand and perceive: And at the firſt reading (as I well remember) I chanced upon this ſentence of Saint Paul (O moſt ſweet and comfortable ſentence to my ſoul) in his firſt Epistle to Timothy, and firſt Chapter; *It is a true ſaying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Chriſt Jeſus came into the world to ſave ſinners, of whom I am the chief and principal.* This ſentence, through Gods inſtruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did ſo exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my ſins, and being almoſt in deſpair, that immediately I felt a marvelous comfort and quietneſs, inſomuch that my *bruised Bones leapt for joy.*

Pſal. 50. After this, the Scripture began to be more pleaſant unto me than the honey or the honey Comb. Wherein I learned, that all my travel, all my ſaſting and watching, all the redemption of Maſſes and Pardons, being done without truth in Chriſt, which only ſaveth his people from their ſins; theſe, I ſay, I learned to be nothing else but even (as Saint Augustine ſaith) a halſy and ſwift running out of the right way, or elſe much like to the Veſture made of Fig-leaves, wherewithal Adam and Eve went about in vain to cover their privities; and could never before obtain quietneſs and reſt, until they believed in the promiſe of God, that Chriſt, the Seed of the Woman, ſhould tread upon the Serpents head. Neither could I believe or caſed of the ſharp ſtings and bitings of my ſins, before I was taught of God that Leſſon which Chriſt ſpeaketh of in the third Chapter of John: *Even*

as Moſes exalted the Serpent in the Deſert, ſo ſhall the Son of Man be exalted, that all which believe on him, ſhould not periſh, but have life everlaſting.

As ſoon as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to taſte and favor of this heavenly Leſſon, which no Man can teach but only God, which revealed the ſame unto Peter; I desired the Lord to increaſe my Faith: and at laſt I deſired nothing more, than that I, being ſo comforted by him, might be ſtrengthened by his holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, which ſometime was alſo wicked. Which thing, whileſt that with all my Power I did endeavour before my Lord Cardinal and your Fatherhood, Chriſt was blaſphemed in me (and this is my only comfort in theſe my afflictions) whom with my whole power I do teach and ſet forth, being made for us by God his Father, our wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption, and finally our ſatisfaction. Who was made ſin for us (that is to ſay, a ſacrifice for ſin) that we through him ſhould be made the righteouſneſs of God. Who became accuſed for us, to redeem us from the Curſe of the Law. Who alſo came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance. The righteous (I ſay) which falſly judge and think themſelves ſo to be, (for all Men have ſinned, and lack the glory of God, whereby he freely forgiveſh ſins unto all believers, through the redemption which is in Chriſt Jeſus) becauſe that all mankind was grievouſly wounded in him which fell amoſt Thieves between Hieruſalem and Jericho.

And therefore with all my whole power I teach, that all Men ſhould firſt acknowledge their ſins, and condemn them, afterward hunger and thirſt for that righteouſneſs whereof Saint Paul ſpeaketh, *The righteouſneſs of God, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, is upon all them which believe in him; for there is no difference, all have ſinned, and lack the glory of God, and are juſtified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jeſus Chriſt.* The which whoſoever doth hunger or thirſt for, without doubt they ſhall at the length ſo be ſatiſfied, that they ſhall not hunger and thirſt for ever.

But ſoſomuch as this hunger and thirſt was wont to be quenched with the ſubſtance of mans righteouſneſs, which is wrought through the Faith of our own elect and choſen Works, as Pilgrimages, buying of Pardons, offering of Candles, elect and choſen Faſts, and oftentimes ſuperſtitious, and finally all kind of voluntary devotions (as they call them) againſt the which Gods Word ſpeaketh plainly in the fourth of Deuteronomie, and in the Deut. 4th twelfth, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt not do that which ſeemeth good unto thy ſelf, but that which I command thee for to do, that do thou, neither adding to, neither diminiſhing any thing from it.* Therefore (I ſay) oftentimes have I ſpoken of theſe Works; not condemning them (as God I take to my witneſs) but reproving their abuſe, making the lawful uſe of them manifeſt even unto Children, exhorting all Men not ſo to cleave unto them, that they being ſatiſfied therewith, ſhould loath or wax weary of Chriſt, as many do. In whom I bid your Fatherhood moſt proſperouſly well to fare.

And this is the whole ſum. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not reſuſe to do it, ſo that you will grant me time. For to do it out of hand I am not able for the weakneſs of my body; being ready always, if I have erred in anything, to be better inſtructed.

Another Letter or Epistle of Maſter Bilney; to Cuthbert Tonſtal, Biſhop of London.

Albeit I do not remember, Reverend Father in Chriſt, whether I have either ſpoken or written, that the Goſpel hath not been ſincerely Preached now of long time, which your Lordſhip ſeemeth to have gathered either by ſome Monks and ſuſtainer hearers of my Sermons, who (like Malchus having their right ear cut off) only bring their left ear to Sermons; or elſe by ſome Words or Writings of mine, which have raſhly paſſed me, rather than upon any intent; yet ſoſomuch as in this behalf

The verſes of the Lord be mercy and truth.

1 Cor. 1.

2 Cor. 5.

Gal. 2.

Mat. 9.

Rom. 3.

The ſum of Mr. Bilney teaching.

A difference between Man righteouſneſs, and the righteouſneſs of God. Voluntary devotions ſpoken againſt. in the Deut. 4th 12.

Another Letter of Mr. Bilney. Malchus hearing of Sermons.

Notes and
differences
between the
true and
false
Church.

E. say 38. &c.

Luke 11.

1 Thes. 2

Notes and
arguments
proving
that it is
not the true
Word of
God, which
hath been
preached in
the Pope's
Church.

Amos 8.

These Letters
may well
and erro-
neously be
the note of
D. Sanders
Book, un-
derstood.
The rock of
the Church
fol. 74. &
mis 5.

Apoc. 3.

behalf your reverence doth command me, and that of a good mind I trust (for how can I think in *Tonstall* any craft or doubleness to dwell) I will briefly decline unto you what I have learned of God, through Christ, in the Scriptures, and how that the Doctors, even of great name and renown, have not taught the same of hite in their Sermons; referring, or rather submitting all things unto your fatherly judgment, which is more quick and sharp than that it can by any means be blinded, and so sincere, that it will not in any point seek slander or discord; therefore I do confess that I have often been afraid, that Christ hath not been purely preached now a long time. For who hath been now a long season offended through him? Who hath now these many years suffered any persecution for the Gospels sake? Where is the Sword which he came to send upon the Earth? And finally, where are the rest of the sincere and uncorrupt Fruits of the Gospel? Which, because we have not a long time seen, is it not to be feared, that the Tree which bringeth forth those fruits hath now a long time been wanting in our Region or Country? Much less is it to be believed, that it hath been nourished amongst us. Have we not seen all things quiet and peaceable a long time? But what faith the Church? My grief most bitter is turned to peace.

But the malignant Church faith, Peace peace and *Jer. 68.* there is no peace, but only that whereof it is written, *When Luke 11.* the mighty armed man keepeth his gates, he possesseth all things in quiet. But when he seeth that he shall be vanquished of a stronger than he himself is, he spoileth and destroyeth all things. What now a days beginneth again to be attempted, I dare not say. God grant us grace that we do not refuse and reject (if it be Christ) him that cometh unto us, lest that we do feel that terrible judgment against us: because (saith he) they have not received the love of truth, that they might be saved: therefore God will send upon them the blindness of error, that they shall give credit unto lies. O terrible sentence (which God knoweth whether a great number have not already incurred) that all they might be judged which have not given credit unto the truth, but consented unto iniquity. The time shall come (saith he) when that they will not suffer the true doctrine to be preached. And what shall we then say of that learning, which hath now so long time reigned and triumphed, so that no man hath once opened his mouth against it? Shall we think it sound Doctrine? Truly Iniquity did never more abound, nor Charity was never so could. And what should we say to be the cause thereof? hath the cause been for lack of preaching against the vices of Men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and great Clerks sufficiently can witness to the contrary. And yet all these notwithstanding, we see the life and manners of Men do greatly degenerate from true Christianity, and seem to cry out indeed, that it is fulfilled in us, which

God in times past threatened by his Prophet *Amos*, saying, Behold the day shall come (saith the Lord) that I will send hunger upon the earth, not hunger of bread, neither thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God, and the people shall be moved from sea to sea, and from the West unto the East, and shall run about seeking for the Word of God, but shall not find it. In those days the fair Virgins and young Men shall perish for thirst, &c. But now to pass over many things, whereby I am moved to fear the Word of God hath not been purely preached; this is not the least argument, that they which come, and are sent, and endeavour themselves to preach Christ truly, are evil spoken of for his name, which is the rock of offence, and stumbling block unto them which stumble upon his word, and do not believe on him, on whom they are builded.

But you will ask, who are those Men, and what is their Doctrine? Truly I say, whosoever entred in by the door Christ into the Sheepfold, which thing all such shall do as seek nothing else but the glory of God, and salvation of souls. Of all such it may be truly said, that whom the Lord sendeth, he speaketh the Word of God. And why so? Because he representeth the Angel of the Church of *Philadelphia* unto whom Saint *John* writeth saying,

This, saith he, which is holy and true, which hath the keys of David, which openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth. Behold, saith he, speaking

in the name of Christ, (which is the Door and Door-keeper) I have left before thee an open Door, that is to say, of the Scriptures opening thy senses, that thou shouldst understand the Scriptures, and that because thou hast entred in by me which am the Door: For whosoever entred in by me, which am the Door, shall be saved, he shall go in and come out and find pasture, for the Door-keeper openeth the door unto him, and the sheep hear his voice: But contrariwise, they which have not entred in by the Door, but have climbed in some other way, by ambition, avarice, or desire of rule, they shall even in a moment go down into Hell, except they repent. And of them is the saying of *Jeremy* verified, All beauty is gone away from the Daughter of Sion, because her Princes are become like Rams, not finding pasture. And why so? Because like Thieves and Robbers they have climbed up another way, not being called in for such.

And what marvel is it, if they do not preach, when as they are not sent, but run for hire, seeking their own glory, and not the glory of God, and salvation of souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the Church, that they are not sent inwardly of God. For without this inward calling it helpeth nothing before God, to be a hundred times elected and consecrated by a thousand Bulls, either by Pope, King, or Emperor. God beholdeth the heart, whole judgments are according to truth, howsoever we deceive the judgment of Men for a time: which also at the last shall see their abomination. This, I say, is the original of all mischief in the Church, that we thrust in our selves into the charge of souls, whose salvation and the glory of God (which is to enter in by the Door) we do not thirst nor seek for, but altogether our own lucre and profit.

Hereupon it cometh, that we know not how to preach Christ purely: For how should they preach Christ (saith the Apostle) except they be sent? for otherwise many Thieves and Robbers do preach him, but with their Lips only, for their heart is far from him. Neither yet do we suffer those which do know how to preach, but persecute them, and go about to oppress the Scriptures now springing, under the pretence of godliness, fearing, as I suppose, lest the Romans should come and take our place. Ah! thou wicked enemy Herod, why art thou afraid that Christ should come: He taketh not away mortal and earthly Kingdoms, which giveeth heavenly Kingdoms O blindness! O our great blindness! ye, more than that of Egypt. Of the which if there be any that would admonish the people, by and by saith *Pharaoh*, *Moses* and *Aaron*, why do ye cause the people to cease from their labours? And truly called their labours. Get you to your burthens. Lay more work upon them, and cause them to do it, that they bearken not unto lies. Thus the people was dispersed throughout all the Land of Egypt, to gather up Chaff, I say to gather up Chaff. Who shall grant unto us, that God shall say, I have looked down and beheld the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and have heard their sighs, and am come down to deliver them? But whether hath this zeal carried me? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not say: it appertaineth to you, reverend Father, to judge thereupon.

Now you do look that I should shew unto you at large (as you write) how that they ought sincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of your flock. Here I confess, I was afraid that you had spoken in some derision, until that I well perceived that you had written it with your own hand. Then again I began to doubt, for what intent *Tonstall* should require that of *Bilney*: an old Souldier, of a young beginner: the chief Pastor of *London*, of a poor silly Sheep. But for what intent forever you did it, I trust it was of a good mind. And albeit that I am weak of body, yet through the grace of Christ given unto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do far pass my power. Under the which burthen if I be oppressed, yet I will not deceive you, for that I have promised nothing but a prompt and ready will to do that which you have commanded.

As touching that pertaineth to the preaching of the Gospel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might speak freely that which I have learned in the holy Scriptures for the consolation

KING
H. 8.

John 8.

Who en-
tereth in by
the door and
who not.

Lam. 1.

Outward
edifying by
Kings and
Princes in
Christ's sal-
utary al-
terity a-
vailing no-
thing with-
out the in-
ward call-
ing of God.

The root
of all mischief
in the
Church.
The Treas-
ure.

Lay this
Letter as
against Do-
ctor Sanders
Book afore-
said.

Exod. 5.
The per-
secutors of
our time
compared
to Pharaoh.

of my conscience : which if you will do, I trust you shall not repent you. All things shall be submitted unto your judgment : who (except I be utterly deceived) will not break the reed that is bruised and put out the flax that is smoking ; but rather if I shall be found in any error (as indeed I am a man) you, as spiritual, shall restore me through the spirit of gentleness, considering your self, lest that you also be tempted : For every Bishop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, not violently to assault those which are ignorant, and do err, for he himself is compassed in with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, should learn to have compassion upon other miserable people.

I desire you that you will remember me to morrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the Tribunal fear of my Lord Cardinal ; before whom I had rather stand than before any of his Deputies.

Yours Tho. Bilney.

A Letter of Master Bilney, fruitful and necessary for all Ministers to read.

MOST reverend Father, salutations in Christ. You have required me to write to you at large, wherein Men have not preached as they ought, and how they should have preached better. This is a burthen too heavy for my strength, under the which I faint, it belongeth to you, which have laid this burthen upon my shoulders, to ease me thereof. As touching the first part, they have not preached as they ought, which, leaving the Word of God, have taught their own Traditions ; of the which sort there are not a few, as it is very evident, in that they do report those, which preach the Word of God finely, to teach new Doctrine. This is also no small Testimony thereof, that in all England you shall scarce find one or two, that are mighty in the Scriptures ; and what marvel is it if all godly things do seem new unto them unto whom the Gospel is new and strange, being null in Mens traditions now a long time ? Would to God these things were not true which I utter unto you ; but alas they are too true.

They have also preached evil, which either have wrested the Scriptures themselves, or have rashly gathered them out of old rotten Papers, being wrested by others : and how should it be but that they should wrest them, or else how should they judge them, being fully interpreted by others when as they have not once read over the Bible orderly ? Of this sort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great Rabbins or Masters shall hardly excuse themselves ; whom the people have hitherto revered in stead of Gods. And these are they which now serve their bellies, seeking their own glory, and not the true glory of God, which might be set forth even by Balaams Ass : much less then ought we to condemn such abjects which preach the Word of God.

We have (saith Saint Paul) this treasure in brittle Vessels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us. God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise ; and the weak things God hath chosen to confound the mighty, and vile things of the world, and despised hath he chosen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his sight. But now all men in a manner will be wise, and therefore they are ashamed of the simple Gospel, they are ashamed truly to say with Paul, and to perform it indeed.

I Brethren when I came unto you did not come with excellency of words, or of wisdom, preaching the Testimony of Christ ; for I esteemed not my self to know any thing among you, but only Jesus Christ, and him crucified. O the voice of a true Evangelist ! But now we are ashamed of this foolish preaching, by the which it hath pleased God to save all those which believe in him : and being puffed up with our own fleshy mind, we chuse rather proudly to walk in those things which we have not seen, preaching Fables and Lies, and not the Law of God, which is manifestly converting souls.

But how should they teach the Law of God, which they have not once read in the Book, much less learned, at the

mouth of God ? But in a Pastor and a Bishop this is required, Thou son of man (saith God) lay up in thy heart all my words which I do speak unto thee. And shortly after he saith : Thou son of man, I have ordained and given thee a watch-man unto the house of Israel : I have given thee, saith he, not coming in by ambition, nor thrusting in thy self, nor climbing in another way, but I gave thee when thou lookedst not for it, that thou shouldst attend thereupon, and give warning from the top of the Watch-tower, if any enemies should approach. I have given thee unto the house of Israel, and not the house of Israel unto thee, that thou shouldst acknowledge thy self to be the servant of the Sheep, and not their Lord ; for I have not given the Sheep for the Shepherd, but the Shepherd for the Sheep. He that sitteth down is greater than he that doth minister and serve unto him. Which thing was well known of him which truly said, We are your servants for Christs cause.

But for what purpose have I given thee unto the house of Israel ? That thou shouldst only minister the Sacraments, consecrate Wood, Stones, and Church-yards ? (This I take God to witness, with great sighs and groans I write unto you, pouring out before you the grief of my heart.) No truly. What then ? First followeth the Office of the Bishop, Thou shalt bear the word out of my mouth. This is but a short Lesson, but such as all the World cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

And what else meaneth this, Out of my mouth thou shalt bear the word, but that thou shalt be taught of God. Therefore as many as are not taught of God, although they be never so well exercised in the Scriptures by Mans help, yet are they not Watch-men given by God, and much less they which do not understand and know the Scriptures. And therefore such as these be, left they should keep silence, and say nothing, are always harping upon the traditions and doings of Men, that is, lies : for he that speaketh of himself speaketh lies. Of this it is written, They would be Doctors of the Law, not understanding what they speak, neither of whom they speak. Such of necessity they must all be, who speak that with their mouth, which they do not believe, because they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are persuaded in their hearts that it is true : and therefore they boast themselves to be Shepherds. But contrariwise, touching the true and learned Pastors, given by God, it may be truly said, We speak that which we know, and that which we have seen (even with the infallible eyes of our faith) we do witness : and these are neither deceived, neither do deceive. Moreover, the deceivers proceed to worse and worse, erring themselves, and bringing others also to error, and because they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear him. They are of the world (saith Saint John) and therefore they speak those things which are of the world, and the world loveth ear unto them.

Behold Reverend Father, this is the Touchstone of our daily preaching. Hadst not the world given ear unto them now a long time with great pleasure and delight ? But the flesh could never suffer the preaching of the Cross, nor yet the wisdom of the flesh, which is enemy unto God, neither is subject unto his Law nor cannot be. And why then are they accused to be Hereticks and Schismatics, which will not seek to please Men, but only to their edifying ? being mindful of that place of Scripture, God hath dispersed the bones of them which please men, saying unto them, Speak unto us pleasant things. But now letting these matters pass, we will come unto the second point, wherein you ask how a man should preach better ? Forsooth, if we had heard him of whom the Father spake, saying, This is my dearly beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, hear him. Who also, speaking of himself, said unto him that was with him, that Christ should suffer and rise again the third day from death, and that in his name repentance and remission of sins should be preached unto all people. What other thing is that, than the same which the other Evangelists do write ? Go ye in the whole world and preach the Gospel unto every creature : he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, what can be more pleasant, sweet, or acceptable unto afflicted consciences being almost in despair, than these most joyfull tidings ?

God giveth pastors to his flock, and not his flock to pastors. The congregation lieth down ; The pastors be not first-born. Pastors serve unto the Congregation for Christs cause, and not matters.

The true Office of a pastor well described out of Esaias.

1 Tim. 4.

1 Job. 1.

The poverty of true pastors.

1 Job. 4.

A true note of the sincere Doctrine.

Esay 50.

An instruction to preachers to preach rightly.

Mat. 28.

Another Letter of Mr. Bilney to the Bishop of London. Preachers of the Pope Church leaving the word of God, preach their own Traditions. Priests of the Pope Church few learned in the Scriptures.

Preachers in the Pope Church have spoiled the Scriptures.

Balaams Ass is not to be despised for that he hath spoken the words of God, much less other abjects.

1 Cor. 1.

1 Cor. 2.

Psalm 19. Ignorance of the Law of God in Prelates noted.

But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the Preachers of England, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I have heard of late Preach (I speak even of the most famous) they have preached such Repentance, that if I had heard such Preachers of Repentance in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of one of those famous men (not uttering his Name) after he had sharply inveighed against Vice (wherein he pleased every godly man, inasmuch as it could not be sufficiently cried out upon) he concluded, Behold, said he, thou hast been rotten in thine own lusts, by the space of these sixty years, even as a Beast in his own dung, and wilt thou presume in one year to go forward toward Heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wast backward from Heaven toward Hell in sixty years? Is not this think you a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of Repentance in the Name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ with Antichrist's Doctrine? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vain for thee? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour, thou must make satisfaction for thy self, or else thou shalt perish eternally. Then doth Saint John lye, which saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the World. And in another place, His blood hath cleansed us from all our sins. And again, He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole World. Besides an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Peter, saying, There shall be false Teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, which hath redeemed them? And what followeth upon such Doctrine of Devils speaking lyes through Hypocrite? A Conscience undoing and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of Saint Paul, After that they be come to this point, that they sorrow no more, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with greedy desire. For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else they do not believe him to be so cruel as they do preach and declare him to be. The want of Paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto you self. Whereunto if you would admit, I trust you shall not repent you thereof; and unto me (Christ I take to my witness) it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your Flock, heartily well to fare.

The preaching after the Pope's Church is all to beat down, and not to lift up.

By this one you may see what all else rest are. Mark the manner of the common preaching of the Pope.

I Job. I.

The effect and end of the Pope's Doctrine.

Your Prisoner and humble Beadman, unto God for you, Tho. Bilney.

Bilney call down with Repentance.

Ex Latim. Ser. 7.

Thus have you the Letters, the Abjuration, and Articles of Thomas Bilney. After which Abjuration made, about the year of our Lord, 1529, the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair; as by the words of Master Latimer is credibly testified; whose words, for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh Sermon preached before King Edward, which be these, I knew a man my self, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed Martyr of God, who what time he had born his fagot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself (beholding thus Image of death) that his Friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no Comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a Sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical See of Rome. See Latim. Sermon 7.

Again, the said Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his Sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following, That same Master Bilney, which was burnt here in England for Gods Word sake, was induced and persuaded by his Friends to bear a fagot at the time when the Cardinal was alive, and bear the swinge. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge

again, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other Communication of Gods Word; for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his Condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him) but all things whatsoever any man could alledge to his comfort seemed to him to make against him. Yet for all that afterward he came again; God induced him with such strength and perfectness of Faith, that he not only confessed his Faith in the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his Body to be burned for that same Gospel sake which we now preach in England, &c. See file Ser. 8, fol. 132.

Furthermore, in the first Sermon of the said Mr. Latimer before the Dutches of Suffolk, fol. 5, he yet speaking more of Bilney, inenteth as followeth, Here I have (said he) occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for Gods Word sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the Word of God: For I was as obstinate a Papist as any was in England; inasmuch that when I should be made Bachelor of Divinity, my whole Oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his Opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for Gods sake to bear his Confession. I did so: and (to say the truth) by his Confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God, and forsoke the School-Doctors and such fooleries, &c. And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the life of Master Latimer.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his Abjuration, the space almost of two years; that is, from the year 1529, to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by Gods Grace and good Council, came at length to some quiet conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that Truth which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity-Hall, at Ten of the Clock at night, of certain of his Friends, and said, That he would go to Hierusalem, al-luding belike to the words and example of Christ in the Gospel, going up to Hierusalem, what time he was appointed to suffer his Passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the Testimony of Christs Gospel, told his Friends that he would go up to Hierusalem, and so would see them no more: and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached first privily in Houtholds, to confirm the Brethren and Sisters, and also to confirm the Ancestors whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the Fields, confessing his Faith, and preaching publicly the Doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly Friends in causes of Religion. And so, setting forward in his Journey toward the Celestial Hierusalem, he departed from thence to the Ancestors in Norwich, and there gave her a new Testament of Tindals Translation, and the obedience of a Christian man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to Prison, there to remain till the blind Bishop Nix sent up for a Writ to burn him.

In the mean season, the Friars and religious men, with Four Orders of Friars, the Friars of the Order of St. Francis, the Friars of the Order of St. Dominick, the Friars of the Order of St. Augustine, and the Friars of the Order of St. Bernard, the residue of their Doctors Civil and Canon referred to him, busily labouring to persuade him, not to die in those Opinions, saying, He should be damned Body and Soul if he so continued. Among whom, first were sent to him of the Bishop, Doctor Call, Minister (as they call him) or Provincial of the Gray-Friers: and Doctor Stokes an Augustine-Friar, who lay with him in prison in Disputation, till the Writ came that he should be burned. Doctor Call by the Word of God, through the means of Bilneys Doctrine and good Life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the Gospel side. Bilney, Doctor Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) reform, and

HING 1
Lam. 8. 5

Latimer called and converted by Bilney.

Bilney returned again from his abjuration.

Non facies que erat contra illam reformationem. Bilney poth saltem.

Four Orders of Friars, a-gainst Bilney, Doctor Call and Doctor Stokes sent to to dispute with Bilney.

Doctor Call called by Bilney.

KING and open the eyes of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindness of his youth. Another great Doer against him was one *Frier Bird* with one eye, Provincial of the *White-Friers*. This *Bird* was a *Suffragan* in *Coventry*, and after *Bishop of Chester*, and was he that brought Apples to *Bowmer* mentioned in the story of *Haukes*. Another was a *Black-Frier*, called *Hodgekins*, who after being under the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, married, and afterward in *Queen Maries* time put away his Wife. These four Orders of *Friers* were sent (as is said) to bait *Bilney*: who notwithstanding, as he had planted himself upon the firm Rock of Gods Word, was at a point, and so continued unto the end.

But here now cometh in *Sir Thomas More* trumping in our way, with his painted Card, and would needs take up this *Thomas Bilney* from us, and make him a Convert after his Seck. Thus these coated-Cards, though they could not by plain Scriptures convince him being alive: yet now after his death, by false play they will make him theirs whether he will or no. This *Sir Thomas More*, in his railing Preface before his Book against *Tindal*, doth challenge *Bilney* to his Cathelick Church, and faith, That not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his Heresies before holden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as *Mill-polls*, set out of *Eutopia*, from whence, thou must know Reader, can come no Fictions, but all fine Poetry.

First he faith, That certain *Norwich-men* writing to *London*, and denying that *Bilney* did recant; afterward being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he at his Examination read a Bill, but what it was they could not tell; for they stood not so near to hear him. And albeit they stood not so near, yet some of them perceived certain things there spoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to those things spoken, certain additions of their own, to excuse him from recantation.

First, To answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with *Master More*, let us see with what conveyance he proceeded in his Narration. At his first Examination (faith he) he waxed stiff in his Opinions, but yet God was so good a Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to the true Catholick Faith, &c. And when might this goodly Conversion begin? Many days (quoth he) before his burning. Here is no certain day assigned, but many days laid large, that he might have the larger room to walk invisible. Well then, but how many days these could be I would fain learn of *Master More*, when he was not many days in their hands, no longer than they could lend up to *London* for a Writ to burn him. Believe then shortly after his apprehension, at the first coming of the *Friers* unto him by and by he revolved. A strange matter, that he which two years before had lain in such a burning hell of despair for his first Abjuration, and could find no other comfort but only in returning to the same Doctrine again which before he had denied, utterly resigning himself over to death, and taking his leave of his Friends, and setting his face with Christ purposely to go to *Hierusalem*, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* for that Doctrine fake, should now so soon, even at the first brunt, give over to the contrary Doctrine again. It is not like. God was so good a Lord unto him, faith *Master More*. That God was a good Lord unto him, very true it is. But that God did so turn him indeed, to be a Member of that *Romish-Church*, that hath not *Master More* yet sufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonstration in matters of story, it is not sufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that must be proved by good evidence and special demonstration of Witnesses, that we may certainly know it so to be.

It followeth moreover in *Master More*. And there lacked not some (faith he) that were sorry for it. No doubt, but if our *Bilney* had so relented, some would have been sorry therefor. But what one man in all this sum, in all *Norwich*, was sorry; that *Master More* must specify unto us before we believe him: so well are we acquainted with his Poetical Fictions. But how else

should this Narration of *Master More* seem to run without probability, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreover, and faith, And some wrote out of *Norwich* to *London*, that he had not revoked his Heresies at all, but still did abide in them. This foundeth rather to come more near to a truth. And here is a knack of *Simons Art*, to enterlard a Tale of untruth with some parcel of truth now and then among, that some things being found true may win credit to the rest which is utterly false. And why then be not the Letters of these *Norwich-men* believed, for the not recanting of *Bilney*? Because, faith he, afterward they being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that *Bilney* revoked. By whom was it proved? By those, faith he, which at his execution stood by, and heard him read his Revocation himself, &c. What men were these? or what were their name? or what was any one mans name in all the City of *Norwich*, that heard *Bilney* recant? There *Master More* will give us leave to seek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why could not the other part hear *Bilney* read his Revocation as well as these? Because, faith *More*, he read so softly, that they could not hear him.

Well all this admitted, that *Bilney* read his Revocation so softly, that some could hear, some could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cause why *Bilney* read his Revocation so softly? which much needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were absent in reading that Revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted against his own mind and conscience. If it were by imbecillity of voice and utterance, then how followeth it *Master More*, in this your Narration, where you say, That the said persons, which could not hear him read the Bill, yet notwithstanding could hear him rehearse certain other things spoken by him the same time at the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well, that he revoked his Errors, &c. Ah *Master More*, for all your powder of experience, do ye think to cast such a mist before mens eyes, that we cannot see how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own Narration? unless peradventure you will excuse your self, per *licentiam Poeticam*, after the Privilege of Poets and Painters: for you know the old liberty of these two,

Pictoribus atque Poetis,

Qualibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.

Now if this vein of yours, which so extremely railleth and fareth against the poor Martyrs and Servants of Christ, be so copious, that you dare take in hand any false matter to prove, and to make men believe that *Bilney* died a *Papist*, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required some more artificial Conveyance: *Mendacem enim (ut scis) memorem esse oportet*: that men, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handler, which (to say the truth) neither hangeth with it self, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because *Master More* is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult upon him, lest I may seem to incur the same vice of his in *morando mortuus*. Yet forso much as his Books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his Book-Disciples, this would I know, how hangeth this gear together: *Bilney* was heard, and yet not heard, he spake softly, and yet not softly? Some said he did recant, some said he did not recant? Over and besides, how will this be answered; that forso much as the said *Bilney* (as he faith) revoked many days before his burning, and the same was known to him at *London*, then how chanced the same could not be as well known to them of *Norwich*? who (as his own story affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution, then seeing a certain Bill in his hand, which some said was a Bill of his Revocation, some other heard it not. All this would be made plain, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himself peradventure to be false at least, he knew would be doubted, suspected and contrariet of a great multitude.

Read of *St. men* to the second Book of *Prophet*: who craftily misre-true things with fable, to betray the City of *Troy*.

Th. More here painted with *Astutes*.

Mark how these things have toge-ther.

The second
reason of
Mr. More.

I pass now to his second reason, where he reporteth, That the said Bilney, forthwith upon his judgement and degradation, knelt down in the presence of all the people, and asked of the Chancellor absolution from the sentence of Excommunication, holding him well content with his death, which he confessed himself to have deserved, &c.

Answer.

As touching the Patient receiving of his death, I do well assent, although I do not think, that he had deserved any such for his Doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the presence of the people, upon his judgement and degradation, as I do not deny that he might do so; so I suppose again the cause of his kneeling not to be unto the Chancellor to ask absolution from his Excommunication. And if he were assailed from his Excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more than before, when he came to Master Latimer in his study, humbly to be confessed and assailed from his sins, as the blindness of that time then led him. But whether he knelt down and was assailed or no, neither was there to see him, nor yet Master More himself: and therefore with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the same, unless he brought better demonstration for his assention than he doth, having no more for himself, but only his own, & *divine*. And yet nevertheless, admit he did so, being a man of a timorous Conscience, of an humble Spirit, and not fully resolved touching that matter of the Church, yet it followeth not thereby (as is said) that he revoked his other Articles and Doctrine by him before professed.

* That is, he
so faith.

The third
reason of
Mr. More.

The like answer may also be shaped to his third reason, where he saith, That certain days after his judgement, he made great labour that he might receive the blessed Body of Christ in form of Bread, which the Chancellor, after a great sticking a while, at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereto, &c. Whereunto I answer as before, that it is not impossible, but that Bilney might both hear Mass, and desire to receive the Sacrament. For in that matter it may be that he was not resolved otherwise, than common custom then led both him any many other. Neither do I find in all the Articles objected against Bilney, that ever he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the Mass or the Sacrament: which maketh me think, that he was yet ignorant, and also devout as other then were.

Answer.

The fourth
reason of
Mr. More.

And fourthly, be it admitted, as Master More saith, That in receiving of the Sacrament, he holding up his hands should say the Collect, Domine Jesu Christe: and coming to these words, Ecce tunc pacem & concordiam, he knocked upon his breast, divers times repeating the same words, &c. all this being granted to Master More, yet it argueth no necessary alteration of his former Doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I listed here to stand dallying with Master More in the state inficial, and deny that he affirmeth, how will he make good that which he saith? He saith, That Bilney, kneeling before the Chancellor, desired absolution: Then, coming to Mass full devoutly, required to receive the Body of Christ in form of Bread, repeating divers times the words of the Collect, Domine Jesu Christe, &c. By what argument proveth be all this to be so?

An argu-
ment of
Master More's
sheweth.

Master More in his Preface before the Book against Tindal so saith: Ergo it is certain. If Master More had never made Fictions in his Writings beside, or had never broken the head of verity in so many places of his Books as I could shew him, then might this argument go for somewhat. But here I ask, Was this Master More present at the Judgment of Bilney? No. Or else, what Regulars had he for his direction? None. Or else, By what Witnesses will he avouch this to be certain? Go and seek these Witnesses (good Reader) where thou canst find them: for Master More nameth none. Only because Master More so saith, That is sufficient. Well, give this to Thomas More (although he hath cracked his credit so often, and may almost be bankrupt) yet let his word go for payment at this time, and let us imagine all to be Oracles that he saith: Yet nevertheless here must needs remain a knople: for what will Master More, or (because he is gone) what will his Disciples say to this, that if Bilney was before assailed upon his Judgment (as they pretend) how was he then afterward degraded?

Mr. More
Credit
cracks.

What assailing is this, to be first forgiven, and then to be punished after? Again, if he were (as they surmise) converted so fully to the Catholique Faith, and also assailed, why then did the Chancellor stick so greatly for a while, to hould him with the Body of Christ in form of Bread? I am sure that if Christ had been here Himself in form of his own Flesh, he would nothing have stuck to receive him, being so converted at the first.

To be short, if Bilney was so graciously reduced to the holy Mother the Catholick Church, repenting his Errors, and detesting his Heresies, and now being in no Purgatory, but being a very Saint in Heaven, as ye say he is: why then did you burn him whom ye knew your selves should be a Saint? Thus if ye burn both Gods Enemies, and Gods Saints too, what cruel men are you? But here you will alledge perhaps your Law of Relapse, by the which the first fall is pardonable, but the second fall into Heresie is in no case pardonable: for so standeth your Law, I grant. But how this Law standeth with the true Church of Christ, and with his Word, now let us reason. For this being a Law not of politique or civil Government (where such Laws be expedient for publique necessity) but only being a Law meer Ecclesiastical, what a cruel Mother Church is this, which will not and cannot forgive her Children, rising and repending the second fault or error committed, but needs must burn their Bodies, that their Souls may be saved from the painful passion of Purgatory, whom nevertheless they know forthwith shall be blessed in Heaven? If God do save them, why do ye burn them? If God do pardon them, why do you condemn them? And if this be the Law of your Church according to your Doctrine, to burn them at the second time, though they be amended how then doth this from the Church agree with the Word of Christ, and nature of his true Spoule, which only seeketh repentance and amendment of Sinners? which once being had, she gladly openeth her bosom, and motherly receiveth them whensoever they return.

Wherefore, if Bilney did return to your Church (as ye say he did) then was your Church a cruel Mother, and unnatural, which would not open her bosom unto him, but thrust him into the fire when he had repented. Furthermore, how will you defend this Law by the Word of God, who in expresse words teaching all Bishops and Pastors, by the example of Christ the great Bishop of our Souls (being compassed about with temptations, that he might have the more compassion of them which be in him) exhorted all other Spiritual Persons by the like example, saying, (Hebrews the fifth) For every Bishop Heb. 5. which is taken from among men is ordained for men, in things pertaining to God, to offer Gifts and Sacrifice for Sins, that He may be merciful to the Ignorant, and to such as err, forasmuch as he himself is compassed about with infirmity, &c. Besides which Scripture, and also, that some Doctors of the Common Law, if they be well scanned, will not deny, but that they which be fallen in Relapse, whether it be *vera*, or *falsa*, yet if they earnestly return from their errors before the Sentence be given, they may be sent to perpetual prison to some Monastery, &c. Wherefore, if Bilney did so earnestly retract and detest his former Opinions, so many days (as More) saith) before his suffering, then needed not he to suffer that death as he did, but might have been sent to perpetual prison.

Thus, although I need not to stand longer upon this matter, being so plain, and having said enough; yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been said) this I say again: first if Thomas Bilney was assailed from Excommunication, and after that heard his Mass devoutly, and at the end of the Mass was confessed, and consequently after Confession was houlded, and lastly asked mercy for contemning of the Church, as Master More doth bear us in hand (to see now how this Tale hangeth together) why then did the Chancellor stick so greatly to give him the Sacrament of the Altar, whom he himself had assailed, and received to the Sacrament of Penance before; which is plain against the Canon-Law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if he were now received to the Mother Church by the Sacraments of Penance and of the Altar; why then was he afterward degraded, and cut from the Church, sith the Canon permit-

{ KING
Hrs. 8 }

The Law of
Relapse.
Extraneous
do have
after us.

More
words in
his Preface.

The Pope
Law dis-
agreeing
from the
condition
of the true
Church of
Christ.

Bilney need-
ed not to be
burned by the
force of the
Canon-Law
his treason
justified
Bilney's Com-
mune.

Mr. More
Tale full of
absurdities.

KING **Ans.** I permitte no degradation, but to them only which be incorrigible? Furthermore the said Bilney, if he being converted to many days before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholique Faith, was now no Heretick, how then did the Sentence pronounce him for an Heretick? Or finally, how could they, or why would they burn him being a Catholique, especially fith the Cancn-Law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual prison in forme Monastery as is afore touched, if they had pleased?

A Summary answer to Mr. More, as to his absence, to Mass Cope. Wherefore in three words to answer to Mr. More: First, all this Tale of his may be doubted, because of the matter not hanging together. Secondly, it may also well be denied, for the insufficiency of probation and testimony.

Thirdly, If all this were granted, yet neither hath Mr. More any great advantage against Mr. Bilney, to prove him to have recanted: nor yet Mr. Cope against me, which by the authority of Mr. More seeketh to bear me down, and disprove my former story.

More consequence denied. For be it granted that Bilney at his death did hold with the Mass, with Confeffion, and with the authority of the Romish-Church, being an humble spirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. Forasmuch as he never held not taught any thing before against the premisses, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold. For the better demonstration whereof I will recite out of the Registers some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected against him by one Rich. Nele Priest: who, amongst other Witnesses, deposed against him for preaching in the Town of Wilkeson, these words following:

Bilney against offering to Images. Put away your golden gods, your silver gods, your stony gods, and leave your Offerings, and lift up your Hearts to the Sacrament of the Altar. Also the said Mr. Bilney said in his Sermon, I know certain things have been offered in such places, which have been afterward given to Whores of the Stews; and I call them Whores of the Stews that be naughty of their living, &c. Ex Regill.

Item, By another Witness named William Cade it was deposed against him, that he thus preached, That Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had not Idolatry of Christian men been, by offering of Candles, Wax or Money to the Stocks and Stones of Images, set and standing in the Churches, &c.

Bilney against Pilgrimage. Item, By the said Deponent against Bilney, That the Priests take away the Offerings, and hang them about their Whores Necks: and after that they take them again from the Whores if they please them, not and hang them upon the Images: And is not this a great Relique, when it is hangd there again?

Item, By the said Deponent it was testified against Bilney, That going on Pilgrimage is naughty, and that no man should use it, for it were better not, and rather to tarry at home, and give somewhat in Alms, and offer your Hearts, Wills, and Minde, to the Sacrament, and leave your Idolatry to Saints.

Item, By William Nelms of Wilkeson, that Bilney should preach, That they gild their gods, and bear them about, and men say they do speak, and if they do speak, it is the Devil that speaketh in them, and not God, &c.

Item, By Thomas Daly of Wilkeson, that Bilney thus preached, You come hither on Pilgrimage to Stocks and Stones. You do naught, keep you at home, and Worship the Sacrament at home, &c.

Item, By Frier Jo. Hogskin, that Bilney thus preached at Ipswich, The coming of our Saviour Christ was long desired, and by divers and many Prophets prophesied, That he should come. But John the Baptist, more then a Prophet, did not only Prophesie, but with his finger shewed, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the World. Then if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate and shew, which taketh away the sins of the World, what injury is this Bull of the Bishop of Rome to our Saviour Jesus Christ? That to be buried in the Cowl of Saint Francis should or may remit four parts of the Penance? What is left to our Saviour Jesus Christ, which taketh away the sins of the World: This will I justify to be a great blasphemy against the blood of Christ, &c.

Bilney against false Messias. Item, By another Frier Fuller, that Bilney thus preached, I trust there shall and will come other beside me, the which shall shew and preach to you the same Faith and manner of living that I do, which is the very true Gospel of our Saviour, whereby you shall be brought from your Errors, wherein you have been so long seduced: for before this, there have been many that have slandered you and the Gospel of our Saviour Christ. Of whom speaketh our Saviour Christ, Mat. 18. Qui scandalizaverint unum de pusillis istis qui crediderint, &c.

And moreover to these the testimony of Richard Seyman, that Bilney in Ipswich should preach these words, Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then should we need to seek for remedy to any Saint inferior to Christ? Wherefore to make such petition to any, but to our Saviour Christ, trusting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the Blood of Christ, and deformeth our Saviour: like as if a man should take and strike off the head, and set it under the foot, and to set the foot above.

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to intimate again out of the Registers, touching the Opinions of Thomas Bilney. Whereby may appear the whole sum of his Preaching and Doctrine to proceed chiefly against Idolatry, Invocation of Saints, vain worship of Images, false trust to mens merits, and such other gross Points of Religion, as seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the Mass, and Sacrament of the Altar, as he never varied neither more nor less from himself, so likewise he never differed therein from the most gross Catholics. And as concerning his opinion of the Church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appear by his own hand in Latin, which I have to shew, as followeth: Credo pleraque leges Pontificias utiles esse, necessarias, & ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec sacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi, & quas legi, nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut diversimodum intelligere, ac pro virili facere, & docere. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo tempore S. Augustinus, & item Gaxlonus, qui miratur quomodo non post lapsum inter tot laqueos Constitutionum tui esse possimes, quoniam primi Parentes adhibe puri, & ante lapsum, unicuique preceptum non observarint, &c.

Moreover, concerning the authority of the Keys thus he writeth, answering to his twelfth Article, Soli Sacerdotes, ordinati rite per Pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant & solvunt (* & clave non errante) quod & facere eos non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum tollit ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur, &c.

By these words of Bilney written by him in Latin, although it may be thought how ignorant and gross he was after the rudeness of those days, yet by the same notwithstanding it may appear how falsely he is noted and slandered by Master More, and Cope my Friend, to have recanted the Articles, which he did never hold or maintain otherwise in all his life. And therefore (as I said) though it be granted to Master More, or in his absence to my Friend Cope, that Bilney was assailed, was confessed, and houseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not, that he recanted.

Now that I have sufficiently (I trust) put off the reasons of Master More and of others, whereby they pretend falsely to face us out, that Bilney the second time again recanted at his death: it remaineth on the other part, that I likewise do infer my Probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that Bilney did not the second time recant, as he is untruly slandered. And first I will begin even with the words and testimonies of Master Mores own mouth, who being Lord Chancellor, when Message was sent to him for a Writ of Discharge to burn Bilney, spake in this wise to the Messengers that came, Go your ways, saith he, and burn him first, and then afterward come to me for a Bill of my hand. Which words may give us evidence enough, that Bilney was not thought then to have recanted, for then the Lord Chancellor would not have been so greedy and hasty,

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Contrary reasons to prove that Bilney did not again recant.

More own words against Bilney.

hasty, no doubt, to have him dispatched. And how standeth this with Master *Mores* words now, which beareth us in hand that he recanted many days before his burning?

Proved by
Bishop
More words
that Bilney
did not re-
cant at his
burning.

The like evidence we may also take by the Verdict of the Bishop himself that burned him, whose words were these. After he had burned him, and then heard tell of Doctor *Shaxton*; *Christ's Mother*, said he, (that was his Oath) *I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain go, &c.* As who would say, I had thought before that I had punished *Cain*, and let *Abel* go: but now I fear I have burnt *Abel*, and let *Cain* escape. Whereby it is plain to understand what was the Bishops judgment of *Bilney*, before his burning; that is, that he was a *Cain*, and the other an *Abel*. But after the burning of *Bilney*, the Bishop hearing now of *Shaxton*, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himself, swearing now the contrary; that is, left he had burned *Abel*, and let *Cain* go.

Furthermore, where the Bishop feared, in burning *Bilney*, that he had burned *Abel*; what doth this fear of the Bishop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? For who feareth that whereof he is sure? Wherefore the the case is plain, that *Bilney* at his burning did not recant, as *More* reporteth. For then the Bishop knowing *Bilney* to die a Catholick Convert, and a true Member of the Church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have constantly affirmed *Bilney* to have died a true *Abel* indeed. And to conclude this matter, if *Bilney* died an *Abel*, then the Bishop by his own confession must needs prove himself to be a *Cain*, which slew him. What more clearer probation could we bring, if there were a thousand? Or what need we any other, having this alone?

Cain burn-
eth Abel.

Testimony
proving that
Master Bil-
ney did not
recant at
his death.

Witness for
Bilney.

Now for testimony and witness of this matter to be produced, for so much as Master *More* alledgeth none to prove that *Bilney* at his death did recant; I will assay what testimonies I have on the contrary side, to avouch and prove that *Bilney* did not recant.

And forasmuch as *Bilney* was a Cambridge man, and the first Framer of that University in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at *Norwich*, being not very far distant from *Cambridge*; there is no doubt, but amongst so many Friends as he had in that University, some went thither to hear and see him. Of whom one was *Thomas Allen*, Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, who, returning the same time from *Bilney's* burning, declared to Doctor *Turner* Dean of *Wells*, being yet alive, (a man whose authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be diminished) that the said *Bilney* took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation for the Doctrine which he before had professed.

Doct. Tur-
ner Dean of
Wells.

Another
witness for
Bilney.

In the City of *Norwich*, *Nefton* and many other be now departed, which were then present at the burning of *Bilney*: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witnesses if need were I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require: in the mean time, at the writing hereof there was one *Thomas Russel*, at a right honest Occupier, and a Citizen of *Norwich*, who likewise being there present on horseback at the execution of his godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word, nor yet heard of his Recantation.

Another
witness for
Bilney.

I could also add hereunto the testimony of another, being Brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, named *Malter Baker*, a man yet alive, who being the same time present at the Examination of *Bilney*, both heard him and saw him, when as a certain Friar called him *Heretic*. Whereunto *Bilney* replying again, made answer, *If I be an Heretic (said he) then are you an Antichrist, who of late have burned a certain Gentlewoman with you, in Saint Francis Cowle, assuring her to have Salvation thereby*. Which fact, although the Friar the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but *Bilney* spake these words: whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any Recantation; according as by the said Gentleman it is also testified, that after that he never heard of any Recantation that *Bilney* either meant or made.

One Martyr
witness for
Bilney.
Another
Martyr.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might sooner lack room in my Book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand Jury. But what need I to spend time about Witnesses, when one Master *Latimer*

may stand for a thousand, one Martyr to bear witness to another? And though my friend *Cope*, pressing me with the authority of Master *More*, saith, *That he will believe him before me*; yet I trust he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a Seigneur, Father *Latimer*, being both in *Bilney's* time, and also by *Bilney* converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at *Cambridge*, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter than Master *More*.

1 KING 7
t. Hist. 2. 5

Touching the testimonial of which *Latimer* I have noted before, how he in three sundry places of his Sermons hath testified of good *Bilney*, of that blessed *Bilney* of Saint *Bilney*, how he died patiently, against the tyrannical See of Rome, &c. And in another Sermon also, how the said *Bilney* suffered his body to be burned for the Gospel sake, &c. Item, in another place, How the said *Bilney* suffered death for Gods Word sake. Vide *Vide supra*.

The testi-
mony of
Mr. Latimer
concerning
Mr. Bilney.

I may be thought perhaps of some to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter. But the cause that moved, and half constrained me thereunto, was Sir *Thomas More*, sometimes Lord Chancellor of *England*, and now a great Archpillar of all our English Papists, a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits; also for his learning above the common sort of his estate, esteemed no less industrious in his Studies, than well exercised in his Pen. Who if he had kept himself in his own shop, and applied the faculty, being a Lay-man, whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himself to prove Masteries in such matters wherein he had little skill, less experience, and which pertained not to his Profession, he had deserved not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But forasmuch as he, not contented with his own Vocation, hath with *Oxen* reached out his unmet hand to meddle with Gods Ark-matters, wherein he had little cunning, and while he thinketh to help Religion, destroyeth Religion, and is an utter Enemy to Christ, and to his Spiritual Doctrine, and his poor afflicted Church: To the intent therefore that he, being taken for a special Ring-leader and a chief stay in the Popes Church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present History of *Bilney's* Recantation: I have diligently searched out and procured the true Certificate of M. *Bilney's* burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by some-lays and hear-lays (as Master *More* useth) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded by one, who as in a place and degree he surmounteth the estate of Master *More* (though he were Lord Chancellor) so being also both a spiritual person, and there present the same time, coming for the same purpose the day before to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, *dominus est iustus* of his Martyrdom, whose credit I am sure will counterpoise with the credit of Master *More*. The Order of which Martyrdom was this as followeth.

Doct. Per-
ker Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
a present
witness at
the burning
of Mr. Bilney.

Thomas Bilney, after his Examination and Condemnation before Doctor *Pelles*, Doctor of Law, and Chancellor, first was degraded by *Suffragan Underwood*, according to the custom of their Popish manner, by the assistance of all the Friars and Doctors of the same Suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the Lay-power, and to the two Sheriffs of the City, of whom *Thomas Nefton* was one. This *Thomas Nefton* was *Bilney's* special good Friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the Chancellor and Friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his Conscience himself to be present at his death; so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more whollomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

Thomas
Nefton Sher-
iff of Nor-
wich.

KING
HEN. 8. 1.

M^r. Thomas Bilney, proving the fire with his finger. The Burning of the Godly and constant martyr
M^r. Thomas Bilney.



5 Annot.
2. 1551. 3
The good
courage of
Bilney be-
fore the
death.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being Saint Magnus-day, and Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his Friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst whom, one of the said Friends finding him eating of an Ale-brew with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said, *That he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself.* Whereunto he answered, O, said he, *I follow the example of the Husbandmen of the Country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to build it up, and so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with Gods Creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see.* Then sitting with his said Friends in godly talk to their Edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of Gods Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the Candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides) and feeling the heat thereof, O (said he) *I feel by experience, and have known it long by Philosophy, that fire by Gods Ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am persuaded by Gods holy Word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, howsoever that the stubble of this my Body shall be wasted by it, yet my Soul and Spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable.* And here he much entreated of this place of Scripture, *Noli timere, quia redemi te, & vocavi te nomine tuo, meus es tu. Cum transferis per aquas, secum ero, & flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaveris in igne, non combureris, & flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus sanctus Israel, salvator tuus.* That is, *Fear not, For I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy Name, thou art mine own. When thou goest thorow the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of Israel.* Which he did most comfortably entreat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his Friends there present. Of whom some took such sweet fruit therein, that they cautioned the whole said Sentence to be

fair written in Tables, and some in their Books. The comfort whereof (in divers of them) was never taken from them to their dying-day.

The Saturday next following, when the Officers of execution (as the manner is) with their Gloves and Halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the City Gate, called Bishops Gate, in a low Valley, commonly called *The Lollards pit*, under Saint Leonards hill, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the peoples quiet, sitting to see the execution) at the coming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison-door one of his Friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in Gods behalf to be constant, and to take his death as a patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, *Ye see when the Mariner is entred his Ship to sail on the troublous Sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same, but yet in hope, that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: So am I now toward this sailing, and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof by the Grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect.*

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much Alms by the way by the hands of one of his Friends, and accompanied with one Doctor Warner, Doctor of Divinity, and Parson of Winterton, whom he did chioose as his old Acquaintance, to be with him for his ghottly comfort; he came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a lay-mans Gown with his sleeves hanging down; and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation (a little single body in person, but always of a good upright countenance) and drew near to the Stake prepared, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said:

Good people, I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again, and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life, as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast Faith the Articles of my Creed: and then began to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God, and at the

Constant
Bilney ex-
horted to
constancy.

Thomas Bil-
ney going to
his death.

The words
of Thomas
Bilney at
the Stake.

Article

Article of Christs Incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word *Crucified*, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence, and then proceeding in the Articles, and coming to these words, *I believe the Catholick Church*, there he paused, and spake these words, *Good people I must here confesse to have offended the Church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor Cure belonging to Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, where I was Fellow, earnestly intreated thereunto by the Curate and other good people of the Parish, shewing, that they had no Sermon there of long time before: and so in my Conscience moved, I did make a poor Collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the Church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the general day, Charity that moved me to this act shall bear me out at the Judgment-Seat of God; and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.*

This once done, he put off his Gown, and went to the Stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the Stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to Heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers with the 143 Psalm, beginning, *Domine, exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obsecrationem meam, &c.* That is, *Hear my prayer, O Lord, consider my desire: And enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy fight shall no man living be justified:* And so finishing that Psalm he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the Officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, *Yea*. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the Stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, *O Master Doctor, Pasce gregem tuum, Pasce gregem tuum, ut cum venerit Dominus, inveniat te sic facientem.* That is, *Feed your Flock, feed your Flock, that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing: and farewell good Master Doctor, and pray for me; and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping.* And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the Stake, certain Priests, Doctors, and Priors of their Houses being there present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his Examination and Degradation, &c.) came to him and said, *O Master Bilney, the people be persuaded that we be the Causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable Alms from us all, except you declare your Charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter.* Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people and said, *I pray you good people be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the Authors of my death; it was not they: and so he ended.*

Then the Officers put reed and fagots about his body, and set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visage of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes *Jesus*, sometimes *Credo*. Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the Wind, which was that day and two or three days before notable great, in which it was said, That the fields were marvelously plagued by the loss of Corn: and so for a little pause he stood without flame, the flame departing and recouring thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume, and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the Officers with his Halbert smote out the staple in the Stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

Thus have ye (good Readers) the true History, and Martyrdom of this good man; that is, of blessed Saint Bilney (as Master Latimer doth call him) without any recantation, testified and ratified by the authority above said, by the which authority and party being there present and yet alive, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that Bilney not only did never recant, but also that he never had any such Bill, or Script, or Scrol in his hand to read, either softly or aptly, as Master More, *Per licentiam Poeticam*, would bear us down. Wherefore even as you see Master More deal in this, so you may trust him in the residue of his other Tales, if ye will.

Master Stafford of Cambridge.

AS the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk where he was burned; so his diligent travel, in teaching and exhorting other, and example of life correspondent to his Doctrine, let no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that University, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of whom, and partly also of another called Master Stafford, the Word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish. In the company of whom was Master Latimer, Doctor Barnes, Doctor Thibell of Pembroke-Hall, Master Foke of Bennet-College, and Master Soule of the same College, Doctor Warner above-mentioned, with divers other more.

This Master Stafford was then the publick Reader of the Divinity Lecture in that University. Who, as he was an earnest Professor of Christs Gospel, so was he as diligent a Follower of that which he professed, as by this example here following may appear.

For as the Plague was then fore in Cambridge, and amongst other a certain Priest called Sir Henry Conjuror lay sore sick of the said Plague, Master Stafford hearing in falling a thereof, and seeing the horrible danger that his Soul was in, was so moved in Conscience to help the dangerous case of the Priest, that he neglecting his own bodily death, to recover the other from eternal damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and so laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring Books burned before his face. Which being done, Mr. Stafford went home, and immediately sickened, and shortly after most Christianly deceased. *Ex fidelis testimonio D. Ridley, & Edmund. Episc. Lond.*

Concerning which Master Stafford this moreover is to be noted, how that Master Latimer, being yet a fervent and a zealous Papist, standing in the Schools when Master Stafford read, had the Scholars not to hear him: and also preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him; and yet the said Latimer confessed himself, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed.

And thus much by the way of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney in the Fellowship of holy and blessed Martyrs.

The story of Mr. Simon Fish.

BEFORE the time of Master Bilney, and fall of the Cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with the Book called *The Supplication of Beggars*, declaring how and by what means it came to the Kings hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation of many things, especially of the Clergy. But the missing of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entered here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this:

After that the light of the Gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread his beams here also in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many: so that coloured Hypocrite, and false Doctrine, and painted Holiness began to be espied more and more by the reading of Gods Word. The Authority of the Bishop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals was not so high, but such as had fresh wits, spangled with Gods Grace, began to spy Christ from Antichrist; that is, true Sincerity from counterfeit Religion. In the number

Thomas Bilney put to death for preaching, being thereunto desired

Master More proved a liar by witness present at Bilneys death.

Thomas Bilney praying at the stake.

Psalm 143.

Doctor Warner taking his farewell of Thomas Bilney.

The words of Thomas Bilney to Doctor Warner.

The Priests desire Bilney to speak for them.

The patient death and martyrdom of Mr. Stafford.

St. Bilney.

M. More false report refuted.

Mr. Bilney the chief Converter or Apostle of Cambridge.

The notable trial of Master Stafford in falling a prey to the horrible Plague.

Mr. Latimer asked Mr. Stafford forgiveness.

Mr. Simon Fish, Fifth Author of the Book called The Supplication of Beggars.

of whom was the said Mr. *Simon Fish*, a Gentleman of *Gray's Inn*. It happened the first year that this Gentleman came to *London* to dwell, which was about the year of our Lord 1525, that there was a certain Play or Interlude made by one Mr. *Roe* of the same *Inn*, Gentleman, in which Play partly was matter against the Cardinal *Wolsey*. And where none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said Cardinal, this fore said Mr. *Fish* took upon him to do it. Whereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the Cardinals part, inasmuch as he being purified by the said Cardinal, the same night that this Tragedy was played, was compelled of force to void his own house, and so fled over the Sea to *Italy*. Upon occasion whereof, the next year following this Book was made (being about the year 1527) and so not long after, in the year (as I suppose) 1528, was sent over to the Lady *Ann Bullen*, who then lay at a place not far from the Court. Which Book her Brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it to her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the King, which thing she did.

This was (as I gather) about the year of our Lord 1528. The King after he had received the Book, demanded of her who made it. Whereunto she answered and said, *A certain Subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the Realm for fear of the Cardinal*. After the King had kept the Book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the Kings servants to the Wife of the said *Simon Fish*, that she might boldly fend for her Husband without all peril or danger. Whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the King for the safe return of her Husband. Who, understanding whole Wife she was, shewed a marvellous gentle and chearful countenance towards her, asking where her Husband was. She answered, *If it like your Grace not far off. Then, faith he, Fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without peril, and no man shall do him harm*. Saying moreover, *that he had much wrong that he was from her so long*, who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In the which mean time the Cardinal was deposed, as is aforesaid, and Mr. *More* set in his place of the Chancellorship.

Thus *Fish's* Wife, being emboldened by the Kings words, went immediately to her Husband, being lately come over, and lying privily within a Mile of the Court, and brought him to the King; which appeareth to be about the year of our Lord 1530. When the King saw him, and understood he was the Author of the Book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. Who after long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him, and bad him take home his Wife, for she had taken great pains for him. Who answered the King again and said, he durst not so do, for fear of Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellor, and *Stokesley* then Bishop of *London*. This seemeth to be about the year of our Lord 1530.

The King, taking the Signet off his Finger, willed him to have him recommended to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy to work him any harm. Master *Fish*, receiving the Kings Signet, went and declared his Message to the Lord Chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his Wife; for she a little before had by chance displeased the Friers, for not suffering them to lay their Gospels in *Laine* in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say it in *English*. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor, though he had discharged the Man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the Wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young Daughter, which then lay sick of the Plague, had been like to come to much trouble. Of the which Plague her Husband, the said Master *Fish*, decaying within half a year, the afterward married to one Master *James Bainham*, Sir *Alexander Bainham's* son, a worshipful Knight of *Gloucestershire*. The which fore said Mr. *James Bainham*, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the procees of this story shall appear.

And thus much concerning *Simon Fish*, the Author of the Book of Beggars, who also translated a Book called *The summe of the Scripture*, out of the *Dutch*.

Now cometh another note of one *Edmund Modder*, the Kings Footman, touching the same matter.

This Master *Modder* being with the King in talk of Religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the Seas, said, *If it might please his Grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his Grace, he should see such a Book as was marvel to hear of*. The King demanded what they were. He said, two of our Merchants, *George Elyot*, and *George Robinson*. The King pointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy Closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to shew him. One of them said, *That there was a Book come to their hands, which they had there to shew his Grace*. Vhen he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. *Yea*, said *George Elyot*, *if it please your Grace to bear it*. I thought so, said the King, for I need were, thou canst say it without book.

The whole Book being read out, the King made a long pause, and then said, *If a man should pull down an old stone Wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head*. And then he took the Book and put it into his Desk, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the Book, &c. The Copy of the fore said Book, intituled of the Beggars here enlieth.

A certain Libel, or Book, intituled, The Supplication of Beggars, thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster, on Candlemas day, before King Henry the Eighth, for him to read and peruse, made and compiled by Master Fish.

To the King our Sovereign Lord,

M^{ost} lamentably complaineth their woful misery, unto your Highness, your poor daily Beadmen, the wretched hideous Monitors, on whom scarcely for hor- rour any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of Lepers, and other fore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame and sick, that live only by Alms, how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the Alms of all the well disposed people of this your Realm is not half enough for to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor Beadmen, by the reason that there is, in the times of your Noble Predecessors passed, craftily crept into this your Realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong puissant and counterfeit holy and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, which since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and williness of Satan, are now increased under your fight, not only into a great number, but also into a Kingdom.

These are not the Herds, but the ravenous Wolves going in Herds clothing, devouring the Flock, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Priests, Monks, Canons, Friers, Pardoners and Sumners. And who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands, more than the third part of all your Realm? The goodliest Lordships, Manors, Lands and Territories are theirs, besides this, they have the tenth part of all the Corn, Meadow, Pasture, Grass, Wood, Colts, Calves, Lambs, Pigs, Geese and Chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servants Wages, the tenth part of Wool, Milk, Honey, Wax, Cheese and Butter; yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor Wives must be countable to them for every tenth Egg, or else the getteth not her rights at *Easter*, and shall be taken as an Heretic. Hereto have they their four offering days. What money pull they in by Probates of Testaments, privy Tithes, and by mens offerings to their Pilgrimages, and at their first Masses? Every Man and Child that is buried must pay somewhat for Masses and Diriges, to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and Executors of Heretic. What money get they by Mortuaries, by hearing of Confessions (and yet they keep shroud no counsel) by hallowing of Churches,

The summe of the Scripture, translated by A. T. Modder.

The Book of Beggars, written by A. T. Modder.

The Kings and the Beggars.

A Libel called The Supplication of Beggars.

Stone, called the Supplication of Beggars.

More than the third part of the Realm in the spirit of a man.

Churches, Altars, Superaltars, Chappels and Bells, by curbing of men, and absolving them again for money? What a multitude of money gather the Pardoners in a year? How much money get the Summers by extortion in a year, by assailing the people to the Commissaries Court, and afterward releasing the apparents for money? Finally, the infinite number of begging Friers, what get they in a year?

(c) *Prædicatorum* the common count of the Parishes of England, among men, and in Maps of the old time so went. And about the said Parishes do not amount now to the first rate of 52000, yet nevertheless the number (no doubt) is great, and therefore the Quarantine of the Friers cannot be little, but vixit to a great prey through the Realm. Wherupon the copy of this most reason (foundeth to good purpose. For although he hit not precisely on the full summe, yet it cannot be denied, but the Friers had very much, and much more than they did eat. Again, neither can it be denied, but the more they had, the less redounded to the impotent needy beggars indeed. And what reason is it, that such valiant biggits, which may work, and yet will make be idle, should reap any price of the Crop, which have no burden of the harvest, but willfully do sit idle, and serve to no use necessary in the commonwealth?

(b) *Admit* the Summa totalis came not to so much, yet it came to more than the Friers deserved, which could well work, and would not, and would needs beg, and need not; wherefore read before the story of Arctimachus.

or else they will procure him that will not give it to them to be taken as an Heretic. What Tyrant ever oppressed the people, like this cruel and vengeable generation? What Subjects shall be able to help their Prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good Christian people can be able to succour us poor Lepers, blind, fore and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the Taxes, Fifteens and Subsidies that your Grace most tenderly, of great compassion hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatened ruine of their Commonwealth, have been so foolishly, yea painfully levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny, that might have been levied, hath been gathered before yearly by this ravenous insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britains, should ever have been able to have brought their Armies from so far hither into your Land to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of idle Gluttons to find at home. The Noble King Arthur had never been able to have carried his Army to the foot of the Mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the Emperor, if such yearly Exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the Siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of Cormorants to find. The ancient Romans had never been able to have put all the whole World under their obedience, if their people had been thus yearly oppressed. The Turk now in your time should never have been able to get so much ground of *Christendom*, if he had in his Empire such a sort of Locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these summs to the foresaid third part of the possessions of the Realm, that ye may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the Realm or not; so shall ye find that it draweth far above.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, unto the number of the Lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently thifted, or not, that they should have half. Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundredth perfon. Compare them to Men, Women and Children, so are they not the four hundredth perfon in number. One part there-

fore, into four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burthen is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not the four hundredth perfon of their number? What Tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any Commonwealth so fore oppressed since the World first began?

And what doth all this greedy sort of stuidy, idle, holy Thieves, with these yearly Exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your Grace. Nothing but translate all Rule, Power, Lordship, Authority, Obedience and Dignity, from your Grace unto them. Nothing but that all your Subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your Grace, and be under them, as they did unto your Noble predecessor King *John*, which because that he would have punished certain Traitors that had conspired, with the French King, to have deposed him from his Crown and Dignity (among the which a Clerk called *Stephen*, whom afterward against the Kings will, the Pope made Bishop of *Canterbury*, was one) interdicted his Land. For the which matter your most Noble Realm wrongfully (alas for shame) hath stood Tributary not unto any kind of temporal Prince, but unto a cruel devilish blood-sucker, drunken in the blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Christ ever since.

Here were an holy sort of Prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous King, all his Realm and Succession, for doing right. Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict a whole Realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural Liege Lord and King, for none other cause, but for his righteousness. Here were a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suckers, that could set the French King upon such a righteous Prince, to cause him to lose his Crown and Dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed King, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the loss of his Crown and Dignity, against all right and conscience, submitted himself unto them.

O case most horrible, that ever so Noble a King, Realm and Succession, should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suckers. Where was his Sword, Power, Crown and Dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this matter? Where was their obedience become that should have been subject under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that for maintenance of the Commonwealth should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suckers, to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy translated from this good King unto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every mans Wife, every mans Daughter, and every mans Maid, that Cuckoldry and Bawdry should reign over all, among your Subjects, that no man should know his own Child, that their Bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten Children clean besides their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from Marriage do let the generation of the people, whereby by all the Realm at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and inhabitable.

These be they that have made an hundred thousand idle Whores in your Realm, which would have gotten their living honestly, in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches infected them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole Generation of Mankind in your Realm, that catch the Pox of one Woman, and bear them unto another, that be born, with one Woman, and bear it to another, that catch the Leprosy of one Woman, and bear it unto another. Yea some one of them shall boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with his Husbands Goods, make the Women to run away from their Husbands, yea, a run away themselves both with Wife and Goods, bringing both Man, Wife and Children, to Idleness, Theft and Beggary. Yea, who is able

1 KING
128.2

The rule of
Alms im-
posed by
the Pope
Clergy.

St. John sub-
mitted him-
self unto
the Pope,
read before.

If this be
not true is
the whole, I
would the
preach
part were
not such.

100000 idle
Whores
made in En-
gland by the
Pope's
Clergy.

An unequal
division that
the Friers
should have
half with
the multi-
tude; they
being not
the four
hundredth
perfon of
the number.

KING able to number the great and broad bottomles Ocean Sea, full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful Generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished?

Where is your Sword, Power, Crown and Dignity become, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the Felonies, Rapes, Murders and Treasons committed by this sinful Generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempt from your Grace unto them? Yes truly,

(a) The Realm of England is diminished and decayed by the number of 200000 persons at least, or else replenished with so many whores and whoremasters, by restraining of Marriage from Priests, Monks, Friars, Nuns, Colleges, Hospitals, Bachelors, and such like Orders, within the Realm of England. The interests of which number might be recovered, and the Realm more populated, and also Gods Commandments better kept, if these Vows of Boudage were broken, and Matrimony permitted free to all men.

a Priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve-pence a day to be Bawd to a Priest, a Monk, or a Friar? What a sort are there of them that marry Priests foreveign Ladies, but to cloak the Priests incontinency, and that they may have a Living of the Priests themselves for their labour? How many thousand doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have let themselves to work, had not been this excessive treasure of the Spirituality? What honest man dare take any man or woman unto his service, that hath been at such a School with a spiritual man?

O the grievous Shipwrack of the Commonwealth, which in ancient time, before the coming of these ravenous Wolves, were so prosperous, that then there were but few Thieves; yea Theft at that time was so rare, that Cesar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon Felony, as your Grace may well perceive in his Institutes. There was also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked; for there was at that time none of these ravenous Wolves to ask it from them; as it appeareth in the *Acts of the Apostles*. Is it any marvel though there be now so many Beggars, Thieves and idle people? Nay truly. What remedy? Make Laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not fronger in your own Parliament-house than your self? What a number of Bishops, Abbots and Priors are Lords of your Parliament? Are not all the Learned Men of your Realm in fee with them, to speak in your Parliament-house for them, against your Crown, Dignity and Commonwealth of your Realm, a few of your own learned Council only excepted? What Law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved very sore) that for the Murder of his Ancestor, Ravishment of his Wife, of his Daughter, Robbery, Trespass, Maim, Debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he do, then is he by and by, by their wiliness, accused of Heresie; yea, they will so handle him ere he pass, that except he will bear a Fagot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicate, and then be all his actions dashed.

So captive are your Laws unto them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any Action in any of your Courts. If any man in your Sessions dare be so hardy to indict a Priest of any such crime, he hath ere the year go out, such a yoke of Heresie laid in his Neck, that it maketh him with he had not done it. Your Grace may see what a work there is in London; how the Bishop rageth for indicting of certain Curates of Extortion and Incontinency, the last year in the Wardmore Quest. Had not Richard Hunn commenced an Action of *Premunure* against a Priest, he had been yet alive, and not Hereticke at all, but an honest man. Did not divers of your Noble Progenitors, seeing their Crown and Dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous Generation,

make divers Statutes for the Reformation thereof, among which the Statute of Mortmain was one, to the intent that after that time they should have no more given unto them? But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more Lands since, than any Duke in England hath, the Statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not for all that translated into their hands, from your Grace, half your Kingdom throughly, the only name remaining to you for your Ancestors sake? So you have the name, and they the profit. Yea, I fear, if I should weigh all things to the utmost, they would also take the name to them, and of one Kingdom make twain; the Spiritual Kingdom, as they call it, (for they will be named first) and your Temporal Kingdom. And which of these two Kingdoms, suppose you, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly the Kingdom of the Bloud-suckers, for to them is given daily out of your Kingdom; and that that is once given them, never cometh from them again. Such Laws have they, that none of them may either give or sell any thing. What Law can be made so strong against them, that they either with money, or else with other policy, will not break or set at naught? What Kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the substance of your Realm, your Sword, Power, Crown, Dignity and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the unfainable Whirlpool of these greedy Gulls, to be swallowed and devoured!

Neither have they any other colour to gather the yearly Exactions into their hands. But that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our souls out of the pains of Purgatory; without whose prayers, they say, or at least without the Popes pardon, we could never be delivered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reason that we give them all these things, although it were an hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have unto the truth and unto the Commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter; which is, that there is no Purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the Spirituality, only to translate all Kingdoms from other Princes unto them, and that there is not one word spoken of it in all holy Scripture. They say also, that if there were a Purgatory, and also if that the Pope with his pardons may for money deliver one soul thence, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and so destroy Purgatory, and then he is a cruel Tyrant, without all charity, if he keep them there in Prison and in pain till men will give him (b) money.

Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the Spirituality, That if they will pray for no man but for them that give them money, they are Tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably for lack of their prayers. This sort of folks they call Hereticks, these they burn, these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear Fagots; but whether they be Hereticks or no, well I wot, that this Purgatory, and the Popes Pardons are all the cause of the translation of your Kingdom so fast into their hands. Wherefore it is manifest it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal Kingdom, he himself paid tribute to *Cesars*; he took nothing from him, but taught that the high Powers should be always obeyed; yea himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers unto death. This is the great skab why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your Mother Tongue, lest men should spy that they by their cloaked hypocrite do translate thus fast your Kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the Popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in him.

The Statute of Mortmain.

Half the profit of the Realm in the Clergy hands.

The most good the Popes Clergy doth in England, is to pray men souls out of Purgatory.

The most good the Popes Clergy doth in England, is to pray men souls out of Purgatory.

(b) If the Pope may deliver souls out of Purgatory for money, he may then as well deliver them without money, if he please him.

Again, if he deliver one, he can deliver a thousand, if he can deliver a thousand, he can deliver all, and so make a Giant-delivery, and a clean dispatch of all Purgatory. If he would, and if he would not, what is his may, then is there no charity in him.

Christ himself should be always obeyed; yea himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers unto death.

The cause touched why the Popes Clergy will not let the new Testament go abroad in the Mother tongue.

Christ himself should be always obeyed; yea himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers unto death.

Here may your Grace well perceive, that except you suffer their hypocritie to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety, not to give them. For this I am sure, your Grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my Father; why may I not as well give them as much as my Father did? And of this mind, I am sure are all the Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen in England; yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your Statute of *Mortmain* was never made with any good confidence, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of Purgatory by giving to the Spirituality, as their Predecessors did in times past.

Wherefore if ye will eschew the ruine of your Crown and Dignity, let their hypocritie be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never so strong; for to make a Law to punish any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not Doctor *Allen* most presumptuously now in your time, against his Allegiance, all that ever he could, to pull from you the knowledge of such Pleas as belong unto your High Courts, unto another Court, in derogation of your Crown and Dignity?

Did not also Doctor *Horsley* and his Complices, most heinously (as all the World knoweth) murder in Prison that honest Merchant *Richard Hun*, for that he sued your Writ of *Proemure* against a Priest that wrongfully held him in Plea in a Spiritual Court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high Courts? And what punishment was there done that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred Pounds (as it is said) to the building of your Chamber; and when that payment was once passed, the Captains of his Kingdom, because he fought so manfully against your Crown and Dignity, have heaped to him Benefice upon Benefice, so that he is rewarded

Ten times as much. The other (as it is said) paid six hundred pound for him and his Complices; which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your Crown and Dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious Pardon, promoted by the Captains of the Kingdom, with Benefice

upon Benefice, to the value of 4 times as much. Who can take example of punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their Kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

And this is by reason that the chief instrument of your Law, yea the chief of your Council, and he which hath your Sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, which hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own Kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal Kingdoms and Commonwealths of the World should therefore utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest that we declaring such an horrible carnation of evil against the Ministers of Iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved Minister of righteousness, which is to be hid till he may be learned by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself.

But what remedy to relieve us your poor, sick, lame, and fore Beadmen? To make many Hospitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay truly. The more the worse: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the Priests Beards. Divers of your noble Predecessors, Kings of this Realm, have given Lands to Monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, whereof for the ancient of the time they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them, to have a certain of Masses said daily for them, whereof they

say never one. If the Abbot of *Westminster* should sing every day as many Masses for his Founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand Monks were too few. Wherefore if your Grace will build a sure Hospital that never shall fail, to relieve us all your poor Beadmen, then take from them all these things. Set these sturdy Lobbies abroad in the World to get them Wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the Commandment of God, *Genesis* the first, to give other idle people, by their example occasion to go to labour.

These holy idle Thieves to the Carts, to be whipped naked about every Market Town, till they fall to labour, that they by their importunate begging, take not away the Alms that the good Christian people would give unto us, fore, impotent, miserable people, your Beadmen. Then shall as well the number of our fore-said monstrous sort, as of the Bawds, Whores, Thieves, and idle people decrease. Then shall these great yearly Exactions cease. Then shall not your Sword, Power, Crown, Dignity, and Obedience of your People be translated from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idle people be set to work. Then shall Matrimony be much better kept. Then shall the Generation of your people be increased. Then shall your Commons increase in riches. Then shall the Gospel be preached. Then shall none beg our Alms from us. Then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us; which shall be the best Hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.

Against this Book of the *Beggars*, above prefixed, being written in the time of the Cardinal, another contrary Book or Supplication was devised and written shortly upon the same, by one Sir *Thomas More* Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, under the Name and Title of, *The poor silly souls perishing out of Purgatory*. In the which Book, after that the said Master *More*, Writer thereof, had first divided the whole World into four parts, that is, into Heaven, Hell, Middle-Earth, and Purgatory; then he maketh the dead mens souls, by a Rhetorical *Prosopopeia*, to speak out of Purgatory pin-fold, sometimes lamentably complaining, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at the Author of the *Beggars* Book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him Fool, Witless, Frantick, an Ass, a Goote, a mad Dog, an Heretick, and all that naught is. And no marvel, if these silly souls of Purgatory seem to furnish and tell; for heat (ye know) is telly, and soon inflameth choler. But yet these Purgatory souls must take good heed how they call a man Fool and Heretick so often; for if the sentence of the Gospel do pronounce them guilty of Hell Fire, which say, *Fool, Fool*, it may be doubted, lest those poor silly melancholy souls of Purgatory, calling this man Fool so oft as they have done, do bring themselves thereby out of Purgatory fire to the fire of Hell, by that just sentence of the Gospel, so that neither the five wounds of Saint *Francis*, nor all the merits of Saint *Dominick*, nor yet of all the Priests, can release them poor wretches. But yet forasmuch as I do not, nor cannot think that those departed souls either would so far overthrow themselves if they were in Purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of Purgatory at all (unless it be in Master *More's* *Utopia*) as Master *More's* Poetical Vein doth imagine, I cease therefore to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on Master *More*, the Author and Contriver of this Poetical Book, for not keeping *Decorum personae*, as a perfect Poet should have done. They that give precepts of Art do note this in all Poetical Fictions, as a special observation, to foresee and express what is convenient for every person, according to his degree and condition to speak and utter. Wherefore if it be true that Master *More* saith in the sequel of his Book, that grace and charity increaseth in them that lie in the pains of Purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that such souls lying so long in Purgatory, should so soon forget their charity, and fall a railing in their Supplication so humbly, both against this man

KING.
HEN. 8.

What
wealth and
goodness
cometh to
the Realm
by putting
out Monks,
Priests and
Chanticles.

The sup-
plication of
Purgatory,
made by Sir
Thomas More,
against the
Book of
Beggars.

Matth. 5.

Utopia, that
is to say
Nonsense,
no place.
A Poet,
saith Horace,
reddere pen-
sione, scilicet
conveniens
enique.

Mr. More
here played
the coxcomb,
noting the
Author of
this Suppli-
cation to
desire leave
to rail on
the whole
Clergy, as
though the
hypocritie
of the Fri-
ars could
not other-
wise be dis-
closed with-
out railing
on the whole
Clergy.

Of Dr. Allen
the Cardi-
nal's Chan-
cellor, read
before.

Of this Dr.
Horsley, the
Bishop of
London's
Chancellor,
read before.

* Ten times, that is, ten times as
much as he had in Benefice before, and
not as he paid to the King. And al-
though these Mortmainers of Hun were
not recompensed with ten times, or
with four times as much, (which
More denieth) yet can he never be
able to deny the substance of the story,
that is, that Hun by theft was brought
to his death; and that they, being put
to their Pleas, were afterward suffi-
ciently recompensed with Benefice upon
Benefice.

Inconve-
nient for a
spiritual
man to be
Lord Chan-
cellor.

More ex-
poundeth
this to mean
the Sacra-
ment of the
Altar.

Priests turn
the Hospi-
tals to their
own profit.

KING with such opprobrious and unfitting terms, and also against *John Badby, Richard Horndon, John Gosfe, Lord Cokham*, and other Martyrs of the Lord burned for his Word; also against *Luther, William Tindal, Richard Hun*, and other more, falsely belying the Doctrine by them taught and defended; which is not like that such charitable souls of Purgatory would ever do, neither were it convenient for them in that case; which indeed, though their Doctrine were false, should redound to the more increase of their pain. Again, where the Bishop of *Rochester* defineth the Angels to be Ministers to Purgatory souls, some will think peradventure Master *More* to have misfed some part of his Decorum, in making the evil Spirit of the Author, and the Devil to be messenger, between middle-Earth and Purgatory, in bringing tidings to the prisoned souls, both of the Book, and of the name of the marker.

Mr. More's Anticks. Now, as touching the manner how this Devil came into Purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnashing his teeth, in looth it makes me to laugh, to see the merry Anticks of Master *More*. Belike then this was some merry Devil, or else had eaten with his teeth some *Nasfureum* before; which coming into Purgatory, to shew the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. But this was (saith he) an envious and an envious laughing, joyed with grinning and gnashing of teeth. And immediately upon the same, was contrived this scoffing and railing Supplication of the pewling souls of Purgatory, as he himself doth term them. So then, here was envying, envying, laughing, grinning, gnashing of teeth, pewling, scoffing, railing and begging, and all together to make a very black *Sanctus* in Purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, that there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth in Hell, where the souls and bodies of men shall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil Angel of this man, that made the Book of *Beggars*, being a spiritual and no corporal substance, had teeth to gnash, and a mouth to grin? But where then stood Master *More*, I marvel all this mean while, to see the Devil laugh with his mouth so wide, that the souls of Purgatory might see all his teeth? Belike, this was in *Utopia*, where Master *More's* Purgatory is founded; but because Mr. *More* is hence departed, I leave him with his merry Anticks.

A black Sanctus in Purgatory.

The answer of J. Frith against Mr. More's Purgatory. And as touching, his Books of Purgatory, which he hath left behind, because *John Frith* hath learnedly and effectuously overthrown the same, I will therefore refer the Reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the History.

Provision by the Bishops against Seditious books.

After, that the Clergy of *England*, and especially the Cardinal, understood these Books of the *Beggars Supplication* aforesaid, to be strawn abroad in the Streets of *London*, and also before the King, the said Cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they should not come into the Kings hands, but also when he understood, that the King had received one or two of them, he came unto the Kings Majesty, saying, if it shall please your Grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad Books containing manifest Errors and Heresies; desiring his Grace to beware of them. Whereupon the King, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the Books, and delivered it unto the Cardinal. Then the Cardinal, together with his Bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and thereupon determined to give out a Commission to forbid the reading of all *English* Books, and namely, this Book of *Beggars*, and the New Testament of *Tindal's* Translation, which was done out of hand by *Cuthbert Tonsil* Bishop of *London*, who sent out his Prohibition unto his Archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that Book and divers other more; the tenor of which Prohibition here followeth.

A Prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonsil, Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his Diocese, for the calling in of the New Testaments translated into English, with divers other Books; the Catalogue whereof hereafter insueth.

CUTHBERT by the permission of God, Bishop of *London*, unto our wellbeloved in Christ, the Archdeacon of *London*, or to his Official, Health, Grace and Benediction. By the duty of our Pastoral office, we are bound diligently with all our power to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away all those things, which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our Subjects, and specially the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of *Luther's* Sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth, and the Catholick Faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into *English* Tongue, intermeddling therewith many Heretical Articles, and erroneous Opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to prophanate the Majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy Word of God, and the true sense of the same, of the which Translation there are many Books printed, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the *English* Tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all the Dioceses of *London* in great number; which truly, without it be foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us, with most deadly poison and Heresie, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of Gods Divine Majesty: Wherefore, we *Cuthbert*, the Bishop aforesaid, grievously forswearing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, which seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you joyntly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience strictly injoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your Archdeaconsries, that within thirty days space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of Excommunication, and incurring the suspension of Heresie, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our Vicar general, all and singular such Books as contain the Translation of the New Testament in the *English* Tongue; and that you do certify us, of our said Commissary, within two Months after the day of the date of these Presents, duly, personally, or by your Letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

Given under our Seal, the three

and twentieth of *October*, in

the fifth year of our Consecra-

tion, Anno 1526.

The like Commission in like manner and form was sent to the other three Archdeacons of *Middlesex, Essex* and *Colechester*, for the execution of the same matter, under the Bishops Seal.

☞ The Names of the Books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.

Books condemned and forbidden.

THE Supplication of Beggars.
The Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther.
The New Testament of Tindal.
The wicked Mammon.
The obedience of a Christian Man.
An Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans.
A Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son.
Oeconomica Christiana.
Unio dissidentium.
Pie Precationes.
Captivitas Babylonica.
Joannes Hus in Otiam.
Zuinglius in Cataplastis.
De pueris instituendis.
Brentius de administranda Republica.
Luther. ad Galatas.
De libertate Christiana.
Luther's Exposition upon the Pater Noster.

☞ Besides these Books here before mentioned, within a short time after there were a great number more of other Books in like manner prohibited by the Kings Proclamations; but yet by the Bishops procurement, Anno 1529. The Catalogue whereof, with the Names and the Authors, are here to be seen.

☞ Libri Sectæ sive Factionis Lutherianæ importati ad Civitatem London. per fautores ejusdem Sectæ, quorum nomina & Auctores sequuntur.

JOANNIS Wicleff viri pissimi Dialogorum libri quatuor, quorum primus divinitatem & ideas tractat. Secundus rerum universarum creationem completitur. Tertius de virtutibus vitisque ipsi contrarius copiosissime loquitur. Quartus Romane Ecclesie Sacramenta, ejus pestiferam dotationem, Antichristi Regnum, Fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocritism demonstrat.
De bonis operibus Doctoris Mart. Lutheri.
Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem X. summum Pontificem.
Tessaradeca consolatoria pro laborantibus & oneratis Mart. Lutheri.
Tractatus Lutheri de libertate Christiana.
Sermo Doctoris Martini Lutheri.
Enarrationes Martini Lutheri in Epistolas D. Petri.
Responsio Martini Lutheri ad librum Magistri Bartholomæi Catharini defensoris Silvestri Pontifici, cum exposita Visione Daniels 8. De Ann. Christi.
De operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.
Deuteronomio Moysi ex Hebræo castigatus, cum annotationibus Mart. Lutheri.
Lutheri Catechismus Latina donatus civitate, per Joannem Lonicum.
Jonas Prophetæ, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.
In Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, Mart. Lutheri commentarius.
Martini Lutheri Epistolarum farrago pietatis & eruditionis plena, cum Psalmorum aliquot interpretatione.
Enarrationes seu Possille Martini Lutheri in lectiones quas ex Evangelicis Historiis, Apostolorum scriptis, aliisque sacra Scriptura literis desumptæ per universum annum, tam diebus Dominicis, quam duorum memoria sacris, super missam faciendam recitantur.
Conclusiones Iudecum R. patris Domini Martini Lutheri, de fide & ceremoniis.
Ejusdem de Fide & Operibus saluberrima declaratio.

Ceremoniarum eruditissima resolutio, quid sint & quomodo eis utendum.
Conclusiones quinquaginta ejusdem pro timoratis conscientii.
Resolutio Lutheriana super propositionem suam 13. De potestate Papæ.
Didimi Faventini adversus Thomam Placentinum, pro Martino Lutero theologo oratio.
Enarrationes novæ Domini M. Lutheri in Jonam Prophetam.
De votis Monasticis, Martini Lutheri judicium.
Enchiridion pium precationum Martini Lutheri.
Concinnule quedam Martini Lutheri in deiparæ Virginis, & aliquot festis diebus, nuper & populari lingua Latina factæ.
In Esaiam Prophetam commentarius Joannis Oecolampadii.
In Daniele Prophetam Joannis Oecolampadii libri duo.
Apologetica Joannis Oecolampadii de dignitate Eucharistie.
Item, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billiconem, quoniam in verbis Cane alienum sensum inserant.
De non habendo pauperum delectu, Joannes Oecolampadii.
In postremos tres Prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariam & Malachiam, Commentarius Joannis Oecolampadii.
Quid de Eucharistia veteres tunc Græci, tum Latini senserint dialogus: in quo Epistola Philippi Melancthonis & Joannis Oecolampadii inseritur.
Apologetica Joannis Oecolampadii de dignitate Eucharistie.
Joannes Oecolampadii de genuina verborum Domini, Hoc est corpus meum, significatione.
In Epistolam Pauli Apololi adnotaciones a Joanne Oecolampadio recognitas.
Acta exegesis, id est, Expositio Eucharistici negotii ad Martinum Lutherum, Huldricum Zuinglium auctore.
Complanationes Esaiæ Prophetæ satura prima, cum Apologia per Huldricum Zuinglium.
Farrago annotationum in Genesim, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii. Annotatiuncule per Leonem Judam, ex ore Zuinglii in atranque Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam.
Ad Philippenses annotatiuncule per Leonem Judam, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii exceptæ.
Ad illustrissimos Germanie principes Augustæ congregatos de convitiis Ecclesiæ.
In Cataplastarum Strophas Elencbus Huldrici Zuinglii.
De veteri & falsa Religione Huldrici Zuinglii Commentarius.
Ad illustrissimum Cattorum principem Philippum, Sermones de providentia Dei, Huldrici Zuinglii auctore.
Complanationes Jeremie Prophetæ satura prima cum Apologia, per Huldricum Zuinglium.
Ad Theobaldi Bellicani & Urbani Regii Epistolæ responsio Huldrici Zuinglii.
Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sunt, præceptiones paucule, Huldrici Zuinglii auctore.
Annotationes Joannis Bugenbagii Pomerani in Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, Ephesios, Philippenses, Colossenses, Thessalonicenses, primam & secundam.
In Regum duos ultimos libros annotationes Joannis Bugenbagii Pomerani post Samuelem, jam primum emissæ.
Joannis Bugenbagii Pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, & in Samuelem Prophetam, id est, duos libros Regum.
De conjugio Episcoporum & Diaconorum, ad venerandum Doctorem Wolfgangum Rysenbush, per Johannem Bugenbagium Pomeranum.
Explicatio brevis, simplex, & canonica Libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris test. Canonici Libri expositi sunt, auctore Conrado Pellicano.

{KING} Psalterium Davidis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum: non esse ferendum in templis Christianorum imagines & statuas coli solitas, auctoribus Ecclesiasticis Argemonten.

Epistola Martini Bucer, Evangelistarum enarrationes nuncupata. De hebdomadis quae apud Danielem sunt opusculum, in quo tractatur de sacrificio missae abolendo, incerto auctore.

Novae Doctrinae ad veterem collatio per Urbanum Regium, in quo tractat de sacris Ecclesiis.

Collectanea Communium Troporum sacrosanctae Scripturae, Bartholomaeo Westhemero collectore.

In Epistolam ad Romanos, Andreae Knochen Cofermentis interpretatio, Adjecta est Epistola a Philippo Melanct.

Loci utriusque Testamenti complectentes praecipua capita totius Christianismi, cum adjectis scholiis.

Epistola Pauli ad Titumjam recens per Joann. Agricola scholiis novis illustrata.

In Hoseam Prophetam quinque Sermones Capito.

Dispositio orationis in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos Phil. Melanct. Auctore.

Sancti Pauli ad Corintheses Epistola, cum commentariis Phil. Melanctibonis.

Novae scholia Phil. Melanctibonis in Proverbia Salomonis.

De auctoritate, officio & potestate Pastorum Ecclesiasticorum, ex Phil. Melanct. editione.

Philippi Melanctibonis Annotationes in Jobannem.

Annotationes Philippi Melanctibonis in Evangelium Matthaei.

Enarrationes perpetuae in sacra quatuor Evangelia per Martinum Bucerum.

In sancti Pauli Epistolam ad Ephesos, Martinus Bucer.

In Theophrastum, quem Sophoniam vulgo vocant, Epitomegraphus ad Hebraicam veritatem versus, per Martinum Bucerum.

Job cum Commentariis Joannis Brentii.

Ecclesiastes Salomonis cum Commentariis Joannis Brentii.

In divi Joannis Evangelium Joannis Brentii exegese.

Francisci Lamberti Avinionensis, in divi Lucae Evangelium Commentarii.

Francisci Lamberti Commentarii de Prophetia, Eruditione & Linguis, deque Litera & Spiritu.

In Regulam Minoritarum, & contra universas perditionis Sectas, Francisci Lamberti Commentarii.

Ejusdem libellus de differentia stimuli carnis sathanae nuncii, & usum.

In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis, libellum quidem sensibus altissimis, in quo sublimia sacri conjugii mysteria, quae in Christo, & Ecclesia sunt, pertrahuntur, Francisci Lamberti Commentarii.

In Amos, Abdiam, & Jonam, Prophetas, Commentarii Francisci Lamberti.

Francisci Lamberti Commentarii in IV ultimos Prophetas, nempe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam & Malachiam.

Wessellus de Sacramento Eucharistiae, & de audienda missa. Farrago Wesselli Groning.

Lux mundi olim vulgo dicta, in qua tractatur de providentia Dei, de dignitate & pietate Ecclesiastica, de Sacramento penitentiae, & quae sunt claves Ecclesiae, & de Purgatorio.

Wesselli Epistola adversus M. Eugelbertum Lond.

in qua tractatur quid sit tenendum de spirituum & mortuorum apparitionibus, ac de iussu & celebrationibus.

Tractatus Wesselli de Oratione & modo orandi.

De Christi Incarnatione, de magnitudine, & amaritudine dominicae passionis, libri duo, Wessello Groningensi auctore.

In Dei gratia & Christianae Fidei commendationem, contra Iulianum & Pharisaicam multorum de justis & meritis operum doctrinam & gloriationem, fragmenta aliquot D. Joannis Gocchii, nunquam antehac excusa.

Dialogus D. Joannis Gocchii Mechliniensis, de quatuor erroribus circa Evangelicam legem exortis.

Quod non sit oserosa confessio paradox. Joannis Oecolampadii. De calibatu, monachatu, & viduitate, Domino Andrea Carolo radio Auctore.

Francisci Lamberti Commentarii de causis exaccationis multorum seculorum, ac veritate denuo & novissime Dei misericordia revelata, &c. Ex Regist. Lond.

The New Testament, in the Catalogue above recited, began first to be translated by William Tindal, and so came forth in Print, about the year of our Lord 1529, wherewith Cuthbert Tinsal Bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being fore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous Translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington a Mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the Bishop was. This man favoured Tindal, but shewed the contrary unto the Bishop. The Bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, My Lord, I can do more in this matter, than most Merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tindal, and have them here to sell, so that if it be your Lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them; and so I will assure you to have every Book of them that is printed and unsold. The Bishop thinking he had God by the Toe, said, Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington, get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn and destroy them all at Pauls Cross. This Augustine Packington went unto William Tindal, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon contract made between them, the Bishop of London had the Books, Packington had the thanks, and Tindal had the money. After this Tindal corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the Bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, How cometh this that there are so many New Testaments abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all. Then answered Packington, Surely, I bought all that were to be had. But I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have Letters and Stamps: Wherefore you were best to buy the Stamps too, and so you shall be sure. At which answer the Bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, which was then Chancellor of England, suspected of certain Heresies during the time that he was in the custody of Master More. After divers communications, amongst other things, Master More asked of him, saying, Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee, I will shew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the Sea, Tindal, Joy, and a great many of you, I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money, and thou being one of them hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that help them thus? My Lord, quoth Constantine, I will tell you truly; it is the Bishop of London that hath helped us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them, and that hath been, and yet is our only succour and comfort. Now by my truch, quoth More, I think even the same; for so much I told the Bishop before he went about it.

Of this George Constantine, moreover it is reported by Sir Thomas More, that he being taken and in hold, seemed well contented to renounce his former Doctrine, and not only to disclose certain other of his fellows, but also studied and devised, how these Books, which he himself, and other of his fellows had brought and shipped,

Augustine Packington the Bishop of London's Merchant.

George Constantine.

Out of More's Preces face against Tindal.

Shipped, might come to the Bishops hands to be burned, and shewed to the aforesaid Sir Thomas More, Chancellor, the Ship-mans name that had them, and the marks of the Fardels, by the which the Books afterward were taken and burned. Besides this, he is reported also to have disclosed divers of his Companions, of whom some were abjured after, some had abjured before, as Richard Nelson, who was committed to Newgate upon the same, and is thought there to have died in prison, or else had not escaped their hands, but should have suffered burning, if the report of Master More be to be credited. More in his Preface against *Tindal*.

George Constans a disloyal of his fellows

George Constans a trouble of Fear of St. Davids

Notwithstanding the same *Constans* afterward, by the help of some of his friends, escaped out of prison over the Seas, and after that, in the time of King *Edward*, was one of them that troubled the good Bishop of *St. Davids*, which after in Queen *Maries* time was burned. But of *Constans* enough.

Mention was made in the leaf before, how the Bishops had procured of the King a Proclamation to be set forth in the year of our Lord 1529, for the abolishing of divers Books aforesaid, and also for the withstanding of all such as taught or preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*. Upon this Proclamation ensued great persecution and trouble against the poor innocent flock of *Christ*, as here following you may see, with the said Proclamation also prefixed before the same, the tenour whereof is this.

A Proclamation for resisting and withstanding of most damnable Heresies, sown within this Realm by the Disciples of Luther, and other Hereticks, perverters of Christs Religion.

This Proclamation was made throughout all England the year of our Lord, 1519, and the 7 year of & Henry the Eighth

THE King our Sovereign Lord, of his most virtuous and gracious disposition, considering that this noble Realm of *England* hath of long time continued in the true Catholick Faith of *Christs* Religion, and that his noble Progenitors, Kings of this his said Realm, have before this time made and Enacted many devout Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, for the maintenance and defence of the said Faith against the malicious and wicked Sects of Hereticks and *Lollards*, who by perversion of Holy Scripture do induce Erroneous opinions, sow sedition amongst Christian people, and finally disturb the peace and tranquillity of Christian Realms, as lately happened in some parts of *Germany*, where by the procurement and sedition of *Martin Luther*, and other Hereticks, were slain an infinite number of Christian people; considering also, that as well by the corruption and malice of indiscreet Preachers, fators of the said Erroneous Sects, as by certain Heretical and blasphemous Books lately made, and privily sent into this Realm, by the Disciples, fators and adherents of the said *Martin Luther*, and other Hereticks the Kings subjects, are like to be corrupted, unless his Highness (as the Defender of the Faith) do put to his most gracious help and Authority Royal, to the due and speedy reformation thereof: his Highness therefore like a most gracious Prince, of his blessed and virtuous disposition, for the incomparable zeal which he hath to *Christs* Religion and Faith, and for the singular love and affection that he beareth to all his good subjects of this Realm, and specially to the salvation of their souls, according to his office and duty in that behalf, will and intendeth to provide with all convenient expedition, that this his noble Realm may be preserved from the said perilous, cursed, and seditious errors. And inasmuch as his Highness is credibly informed, that some of the said Errors be already sown and spread within this his Realm, partly by the corruption of indiscreet Preachers, partly by Erroneous Books, compiled, printed and written, as well in the *English* Tongue, as in *Latin* and other Languages, repleat with most venomous Heresies, blasphemies, and slanders, intolerable to the clean ears of

any good Christian man: his Highness therefore like a most Gracious and Christian Prince, only intending the safeguard of this his Realm, the preservation of his subjects, and salvation of their souls, willesh now to put in execution, with all diligence possible, all good Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, concerning the premises before this time provided, made, and ordained by his most noble Progenitors, Kings of *England* for that purpose and intent. Which Laws and Statutes by our Sovereign Lord, and his most Honourable Council, by long and deliberate advice for the extirpation, suppressing and withstanding of the said Heresies, have been seen, examined, and by them in every part thought good and necessary to be put in execution.

Wherefore his Highness chargeth and straitly commandeth all and every his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Judges, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other his Officers, Ministers, and all his true and loving subjects, that all favour, affection, and partiality laid apart, they effectually, with all diligence and study endeavour themselves substantially for the executing of all and every of the Articles hereafter ensuing, without dissimulation, intermission, or excuse, as they will avoid his high indignation and displeasure.

First, That no man within the Kings Realm, or other his Dominions subject to his Highness, hereafter presume to preach, teach, or inform any thing openly or privily, or compile and write any Book, or hold, exercise, or keep any Assemblies or Schools, in any manner of wise, contrary to the Catholick Faith, or determination of Holy Church; nor that any person within this his said Realm and Dominions do presume to preach openly or secretly, without they have first obtained license of the Bishop of the Dioceses where they intend to preach; Curates in their Parishes, persons privileged, and other by the Law of the Church only except.

Also that no man wittingly hereafter, favour, support, or maintain any person, which preacheth in form aforesaid, or maketh any such or like Conventicles and Assemblies, holdeth or exerciseth any Schools, maketh, writeth, or publisheth any such Book, teacheth, informeth, or stirreth the people, or any of them, in any manner of form to the said errors. Moreover, that all and every person and persons, having any Books or writings of any such errors, erroneous Doctrine, and opinion, do deliver or cause to be delivered, effectually and actually, all and every such Books and writings, to the Bishop of the Dioceses, or to the Ordinary of the place, within fifteen days after this Proclamation pronounced. And in case any person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they be, do or attempt any thing contrary to this Act and Proclamation, or do not deliver or cause to be delivered such Books, within the time aforesaid, that every Bishop in his Dioceses, or Ordinary, shall cause that person or persons, and every of them in that behalf defamed or evidently suspected, to be arrested, and detain and keep them under safe custody in their Prisons, until such time that the said persons, and every of them, either have purged themselves of the said errors or else do abjure the said Erroneous Sects, Preachings, Doctrines, or opinions, as the Law of Holy Church doth require.

Furthermore, if any person by the Law of Holy Church be convicted before the Bishop of the Dioceses, or his Commissary, in any case above expressed, that the said Bishop may keep in prison the said person or persons so convicted, as it shall seem best to his discretion, after the grievousness or quality of the crime. And further, may set a fine to be paid to the behoof of the King, by the person or persons convicted, as it shall be thought convenient to the said Bishop, having respect to the grievousness of the offence of the said person or persons: the said fine to be certified by the Bishop into the Kings Exchequer, there to be levied to the Kings use, except in such cases in which by the Laws of Holy Church, the said persons convicted of Heresies ought totally to be left to the Secular jurisdiction.

Also if any person within this his Realm of *England*, or other his Dominions, be by sentence judicial convicted of the said Preachings and Doctrines prohibited, Erroneous opinions, Schools, and informations, or any of them, and

KING
H. 8.

Readily.

Maxwell
and Stacy,
Londoners.

This Richard Bayfield, sometime a Monk of Bury, was converted by Doctor Barns, and two godly men of London, Brickmakers, Master Maxwell, and Master Stacy, Wardens of their Company. Who were grafted in the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their godly conversation of life, converted many men and women, both in

Richard
Bayfield,
Monk and
Chamber-
lain of the
Abbey of
Bury.

the said Country: and once a year of their own cost, went about to visit the Brethren and Sisters scattered abroad. Doctor Barns at that time, much resorted to the Abbey of Bury, where Bayfield was, to one Doctor Ruffam, who had been at Louane together Students. At that time it happened that this Bayfield the Monk was Chamberlain of the house to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained: who delighted much in Doctor Barns talk, and in the other lay-mens talk, afore rehearsed; and at the last, Doctor Barns gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tyndals Testament in English, with a Book called, *The wicked Mammon, and the obedience of a Christian man*: wherein

R. Bayfield
was
imprisoned
amongst
the Priests.

he was commanded to mightily in two years space, that he was cast into the prison of his house, there fore whipped, with a Gag in his mouth, and then stocked, and so continued in the same torment three quarters of a year before Doctor Barns could get him out; which he brought to pass, by the means of Doctor Ruffam aforesaid, and so he was committed to Doctor Barns to go to Cambridge with him. By that time he had been there a good while, he talked so well of good Letters, that he never returned home again to his Abbey, but went to London to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept him secretly a while, and so conveyed him beyond the Sea; Doctor Barns being then in the

R. Bayfield
a mutual
friend of
Tyndal
and
Frisch.

Fleet for Gods Word. This Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Master Tyndal, and Master Frisch: for he brought substance with him, and was their own hand, and sold all their works, and the German works, both in France and in England, and at the last coming to London, to Mr. Smiths house in Bucklers-Bury, there was he betrayed, and dogged from that house to his Book-binders in Mark-Lane, and there taken, and carried to Lollards Tower, and from thence to the Coalhouse, by reason that one Parion Pastmore, Parion of Murbaddam in Essex, then lying in Lollards Towers, was in the Doctrine and in the Kingdom of Christ there confirmed by him. This Parion Pastmore, after long trouble was abjured and condemned by the Bishops to perpetual prison, and delivered afterward by the Kings pardon, as more appareth in the sequel of his story among abjurors, &c. He was taken, because he married his Priests in those days. He had always Com plenty, and when the Markets were very dear, he would fend plenty of his Com thither to pluck down the prices thereof.

The cruel
handling of
R. Bayfield
in the Col-
lehouse.

This Richard Bayfield being in the Colehouse, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards Tower; for there he was tyed both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, to accuse other that had bought his Books; but he accused none, but stood to his Religion and Confession of his Faith, even unto the very end, and was in the Confilory of Pauls thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no? He said he would dispute for his Faith, and so did to their great shame; Stokesley then being his Judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other Bishops, whereof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seen.

The Articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the foresaid Bishops, were these, Anno 1531. November 10.

Articles laid to Richard Bayfield.

Articles ob-
jected a-
gainst Rich.
Bayfield.

First, That he had been many years a Monk, professed of the Order of Saint Bennet, of Saint Edmundsbury in the Diocese of Norwich.

2. That he was a Priest, and had ministered and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten years.

3. That since the Feast of Easter last, he being beyond the Sea, bought and procured to have divers and many Books and Treatises of sundry sorts, as well of Martin

Luthers own Works, as of divers other of his damnable Self, and of Oecolampadius the great Heretick, and divers other Hereticks, both in Latin and English: the names of which Books were contained in a little Bill written with his own hand.

4. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert then Bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain Articles contrary to the Holy Church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to Saints or Creatures.

5. That every Priest might preach the Word of God by the authority of the Gospel, and not to run to the Pope or Cardinals for license, as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said Bishop.

6. That he judicially abjured the said Articles before the said Bishop, and did renounce and forswear them and all other Articles contrary to the determination of Holy Church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7. That he made a solemn Oath upon a Book, and the Holy Evangelists, to fulfill such penance as should be enjoined him by the said Bishop.

8. After his Abjuration it was enjoined to him for penance, that he should go before the Crag in procession, in the Parish-Church of Saint Butolphs at Billingsgate, and to bear a Fagot of wood upon his shoulder.

9. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide an habit requisite and meet for his Order and profession, as shortly as he might, and that he should come or go no where without such an habit: the which he had not fulfilled.

10. That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, that he should sometime before the Feast of the Ascension, then next ensuing his Abjuration, go home unto the Monastery of Bury, and there remain according to the vow of his profession: which he had not fulfilled.

11. That he was appointed by the said Bishop of London to appear before the said Bishop the five and twentieth day of April next after his Abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance, and after his Abjuration, he fled beyond the Sea, and appeared not.

12. That the twentieth day of June next following his Abjuration, he did appear before the said Bishop Tonstall, in the Chappel of the Bishop of Norwichs place, and there it was newly enjoined him in part of penance, that he should provide him an habit convenient for his Order and profession, within eight days then next following: which he had not done.

13. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the City, Diocese, and Jurisdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the special license of the Bishop of London, or his successor for the time being: which he had not fulfilled.

The Answer of Richard Bayfield to the Articles prefixed.

TO the first Article he confessed, that he was professed a Monk in the Monastery aforesaid, in the year 1514.

To the second Article he answered, That he was a Priest and took Orders, Anno 1518.

To the third Article he confessed the Bill and Schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed therunto, and that he brought over the said Books and Works a year and a half past, and a great number of every sort. Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the Realm; he answered, To the intent that the Gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this Realm amongst Christian people; and that he had sold and dispersed many of those Books before named, to sundry persons within this Realm, and to divers of the Dioceses of London. Being further demanded, whether Martin Luther was condemned as an Heretick by the Pope? he answered, That he heard say, that Martin Luther was of Luthers Sect; and being demanded, whether Zuingleus was of Luthers Sect; he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked whether Zuingleus was a Catholic; he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired

RING,
Hie. 8.

A rack like
refers in the
Popes
Church, to
give all
laud and
praise to
God alone.

The answer
of R. Bay-
field to the
Articles.

KING inquired whether the Books contained in the Schedules did contain any errors in them; he said, he could not tell, neither could he judge. Also he confessed, That the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that *Oecolampadius* and *Zuinglius* be Hereticks; also that such as lean to *Martin Luther* be Hereticks. Also he confessed, That being beyond the Sea, he heard say before he brought into this Realm the Books contained in the said Bills, that the King had by Proclamation prohibited, That no man should bring into this Realm any of *Martin Luther's* Books, or of his Sect.

Which Confession thus ended, the Bishop appointed him to appear the next day.

Saturday being the eleventh of November, Richard Bayfield appeared, and acknowledged the answers that he had made in the Session the day before. Which thing done, the Official objected the fourth Article unto him. VVhereunto he answered, that he could not tell whether there was any Heresies in them; for he had read no Heresies in them. And being demanded whether he had read any of those Books; he answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout.

He was demanded, whether he believed the famed Books to be good, and of the true Faith. He answered, that he judged they were good, and of the true Faith. Being inquired what Books he read in the Realm; he said, that he had read the New Testament in *Latin*, and other Books mentioned in the Bills, but he said, that he read none translated: notwithstanding he confessed that he had read a Book called *Thorp*, in the presence and audience of others, and also a Book of *John Frith's* Purgatory, which he had read to himself alone, as he said; and also had read to himself a Book called, *The practise of Prelates*; and also said, that he had read a Book called, *The Parable of the wicked Mammon*, but in the presence and hearing of others which he knew not.

Also he confessed that he had read the *Obedience of a Christian man*, and the *Sum of Scriptures* among company, and also the Dialogue betwixt the *Plowman and the Gensleman*, among company as he thought: also he had read a piece of the answer of *Tindal* made to *Sir Thomas More*; likewise he had read the Dialogue of *Frith* to himself: he had read also the Prologues of the five Books of *Moses*, contained in the long Schedule, and in company as he thought.

All which Books he had read under manner afore said within these two years last past. And as for the New Testament in *English*, he read it before he had read these Books specified in the Schedule before rehearsed.

To the third Article as touching *Zuinglius* and others, he supposed that they held the same Doctrine that *Luther* did; but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The sixteenth day of November, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the Bishop, who inquired of him of what sect *Zuinglius* was. He said, he thought that he held with *Luther* in some points, &c.

Also he confessed, that first he brought Books of the sorts above named into this Realm, about *Midsummer* was twelve month, and landed them at *Colebecker*, and afterward brought part of them to this City, and some he disposed and sold in this City. The second time that he brought Books was about *All-Hallowtide* was twelve month, and landed them at *St. Catharines*; the which Books the Lord Chancellor took from him. Also that at *Easter* last was the third time that he brought over the Books now shewed unto him, and contained in these two Bills, and landed with them in *Northfolk*, and from thence brought them to the City of *London* in a Male.

To the fifth, sixth, and seventh Articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoyed him as is contained in the Article; the which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoyed him that he should go to the Abbey of *Bury*, and there continue: the which he said he did three times; but he did not wear his Monks Cowl, as he was enjoined.

The eleventh Article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, that he did not wear his Monks

habit according to the Abjuration, he referred himself to the Acts whether he were so enjoined or no.

To the thirteenth Article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himself to the Acts. Notwithstanding he confessed that he had no license of the Bishop of *London* to come to the City or Diocets of *London*, nor to make any abode there.

Ex Registre Lond.

The Sentence given against him in a case of Relapse.

IN the Name of God, Amen. VVe *John* by the sufferance of God, Bishop of *London*, in a case of Inquisition of Heretic, and relapse of the same, hith begun before *Mr. Rich. Foxford*, Doctor of both Laws, our Official, now depending before us undesided, against thee *Richard Bayfield* Priest and Monk, professed to the order and rule of *Saint Benedict*, in the Monastery of *Saint Edmundsbury*, in the Diocets of *Norwich*, and by means of the causes within written under our jurisdiction, and with all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the causes in this Inquisition heard, weighed, underlooked, and fully discussed by us the said Bishop, referring unto our selves that which by Law ought to be referred; have thought good to proceed in this manner to the pronouncing of our definitive sentence.

Forasmuch as by the Acts enacted, inquired, propounded, and alledged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured certain Errors and Heresies, and damnable opinions by thee confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend Fellow and Brother, then thy Ordinary, according to the form and order of the Church: and that one *Martin Luther*, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as an Heretic by the authority of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the Apostolick See, and the Books and all writings, Schedules and Sermons of the said *Martin Luther*, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in *Latin*, or in any other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold Heresies and Errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reprov'd, and utterly rejected, and inhibition made by the authority of the said See, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of Excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf to be incurred by the Law, that no man by any means presume to read, teach, hear, imprint, or publish, or by any do means defend, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other publick or private places, any such manner of Writings, Books, Errors, or Articles, as are contained more at large in the Apostolick Letters, drawn out in form of a publick Instrument; whereunto and to the contents thereof we refer our selves as far as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forasmuch as we do perceive that thou diddest understand the premises, and yet these things notwithstanding after thy Abjuration made (as is afore said) thou hast brought in divers and sundry times many Books of the said *Martin Luther*, and his adherents and complices, and of other Hereticks, the names, Titles and Authors of which Books here follow, and are these, *Martin Luther, Of the abrogating of the private Mass*. The Declarations of *Martin Luther* upon the Epistles of *St. Peter*. *Luther* upon the Epistles of *Saint Paul* and *Jude*. *Luther* upon Monastick Vowes. *Luthers* Commentary upon the Epistle of *Saint Paul* to the *Galatians*. *Johannes Oecolampadius*, upon the Exposition of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*. The Annotations of *Oecolampadius* upon the Epistles of *Saint Paul* unto the *Romans*. *Oecolampadius* his Commentary upon the three last Prophets, *Aggeus*, *Zachary*, and *Malachy*. The Sermons of *Oecolampadius* upon the Catholick Epistles of *John*. A Book of Annotations upon *Genesis*, gathered by *Huldricus Zuinglius*. The Commentaries of *Pomeran*, upon four Chapters of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. Annotations of *Pomeran* upon *Deuteronomy* and *Samuel*. *Pomeran* upon the *Psalms*.

The foregoing given: against Richard Bayfield.

A Catalogue of the Books brought in by Richard Bayfield.

The Book of Thorpe Examination. The Book of John Frith against Purgatory. The Pre-lice of Prelates, and wicked Mammon. The Book of Obedience. The sum of Holy Scriptures. A Dialogue between the Plowman and the Gensleman.

The Commentaries of Francis Lambert of Avinion, upon the Gospel of Saint Luke. A Congeit of all matters of Divinity by Francis Lambert. The Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophet Joel. The Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophets, Micah, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, and Osee. A new Gloſs of Philip Melancthon upon the Proverbs of Solomon. The Commentaries of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Colossians. The Annotations of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans, and upon the Epistle to the Colossians. Solomons Sentences, translated according to the Hebrew by Philip Melancthon. Most wholesome Annotations upon the Gospel of Saint Mark, by Christopher Hegendorphinus. The Commentaries of John Brennius upon Job. The Commentary of John Brennius upon Ecclesiastes of Solomon. Homilies of Brennius upon the Gospel of Saint John. The Annotations of Andrew Althomarus and Brennius upon the Epistle of Saint James. The Commentaries of Bucer upon Sophonias. Bucer upon the four Evangelists. The proceſs Conſiſtorial of the Martyrdom of John Hus. A brief Commendatory of Martin Luther, unto Otto Brunfelsius, as touching the life, Doctrine, and Martyrdom of John Hus. Felinus upon the Psalter. His Exposition upon Esay. His Expositions upon Jeremy. Capito upon Osee. Capito upon Abacuc. Unio diſſidentium. The Pandect of Otto. The Catalogue of famous men. An answer of Tindal unto Sir Thomas More. A Disputation of Purgatory, made by John Frith in English. A Prologue to the fifth Book of Moſes called Deuteronomy. The first Book of Moſes called Genesis. A Prologue to the third Book of Moſes called Leviticus. A Prologue to the fourth Book of Moſes called Numbers. A Prologue to the second Book of Moſes called Exodus. The practice of Prelates. The New Testament in English, with an Introduction to the Romans. The Parable of the wicked Mammon. The Obedience of a Christian man. A, B, C, of Thorpe. The Sum of Scripture. The Primer in English. The Psalter in English. A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Plowman.

Of all which kind of Books, both in Latin and English, translated, set forth, and imprinted, containing not only Lutheran Heresies, but also the damnable Heresies of other Hereticks condemned; forasmuch as thou hast brought over from the parties beyond the Sea, a great number into this Realm of England, and specially to our City and Diocesis of London, and hast procured them to be brought and conveyed over, also hast kept by thee, and studied those Books, and hast published and read them unto divers Christian men, and many of those Books also hast dispersed and given unto divers persons dwelling within our City and Diocesis of London, and hast confessed and affirmed before our Official, That those Books of Martin Luther and other Hereticks his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them are good and agreeable to the true Faith: saying thus, That they are good, and of the true Faith: And by this means and pretence hast commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and complices, and hast favoured and believed their Errors, Heresies, and opinions. Therefore we John the Bishop aforesaid, first calling upon the Name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes; by the counsel and consent of the Divines and Lawyers, with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree thee the aforesaid

If Christ were before your eyes, ye would not condemn this good man for these good Books.

Richard Bayfield, otherwise called Somersham, for the contempt of thy Abjuration, as a favourer of the aforesaid Martin Luther, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned Hereticks, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving and dispersing the Books and Writings, as well of the said Martin Luther, his adherents, and disciples, as of other Hereticks before named, and also for crediting and maintaining the Errors, Heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said Books and Writings, worthily to be and have been an Heretick; and that thou by the pretence of the premisses art fallen again most damnable into Heresie; and we pronounce that thou art and hast been a relapsed Heretick, and hast incurred and oughtest to incur the pain and punishment of a relapse: and we do decree and declare, and also condemn thee thereunto, and that

by the pretence of the premisses, thou hast even by the Law incurred the sentence of the greater Excommunication; and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be Excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all privilege and prerogative of the Ecclesiastical Orders, and also deprive thee of all Ecclesiastical Office and Benefice; also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, the which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as followeth.

In the Name of God, Amen. We John by the permission of God Bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismiss thee Richard Bayfield, alias Somersham, being pronounced by us a relapsed Heretick, and degraded by us from all Ecclesiastical privilege out of the Ecclesiastical Court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment to be done upon thee, and against thee in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness, but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other Hereticks unto the unity of the Catholic Faith. Thus our final decree by this our sentence definitive we have caused to be published in form aforesaid.

Monday the twentieth of November 1531, in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, before the said John Bishop of London judicially sitting, being assisted with John Abbot of Westminster, and Robert Abbot of Waltham, Nicholas Prior of Christ Church in London, these Honourable Lords being also present, Henry Earl of Essex, Richard Gray, Brother to the Marquess of Somerset, John Lambert Mayor of London, Richard Gresham, and Edward Altam Sheriffs, (the which Mayor and Sheriffs were required to be there present by the Bishop of London's Letters hereafter written, and by virtue of a Statute of King Henry the Fourth, King of England) also in the presence of divers Canons, the Chancellor, Official, and the Archdeacon of London, with the Bishops Chaplains, and a great number both of the Clergy and Laity; Matthew Greffon the Register, being also there present: Master Richard Bayfield, alias Somersham, was brought forth by Thomas Turner the Apparator his Keeper, in whose presence the transumpt of the Apostolic Bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, upon the condemnation of Martin Luther and his adherents, was brought forth and shewed, sealed with the seal of Thomas Wolsey late Legate de Latere, and subscribed with the sign and name of Master Robert Turnes, public Notary, and also the Decree upon the condemnation of certain Books brought in by him, sealed with the Seals of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and subscribed by three Notaries.

Then the Bishop of London repeated in effect before him his Abjuration which he had before made, and other his demerits committed and done beside his Abjuration: And the said Bayfield said, That he was not culpable in the Articles that were objected against him, and desired that the Heresies contained in the Books which he brought over might be declared in open audience. Then the Bishop after certain talk had with the said Bayfield as touching the desert of his cause, asked him, Whether he could shew any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment as a relapse. The said Bayfield declared or propounded no cause, but said that he brought over those Books for lack of money, and not to sow any Heresies. And incontinent the said Bayfield with a vehement spirit (as it appeared) said unto the Bishop of London. The life of you of the Spirituality is so evil, that ye be Hereticks, and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and also do let, that what true living is may not be known; and said, that their living is against Christs Gospel, and that their belief was never taken of Christs Church. Then the said Bishop, after long deliberation had, for so much as the

The Sentence of Degradation against blessed Bayfield.

And the Hall call you out of this Synagogue for my names sake.

Of this Statute read before.

Mr. Richard Bayfield again brought before the Bishop.

The flying of Richard Bayfield to the Bishop of London.

KING said Richard Bayfield, he said, could shew no cause why he should not be declared as a relaps, read the Decree and sentence against him: by the which amongst other things he condemned him as an Heretick, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into Heresie, and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence.

Sentence
against
Richard
Bayfield.

The foresaid sentence being so read by the Bishop of London, he proceeded immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said Rich. Bayfield, alias Somersham, and there solemnly and actually degraded him before the people; the which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the Ecclesiastical Court. Whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their jurisdiction, without any writ in that behalf obtained, but only by virtue of the Bishops Letters by the Statute of King Henry the Fourth, in that behalf provided and directed unto them under the Bishops Seal. The tenor of which Letters hereafter follow.

The Letters of requiry directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London, that they should be presents that day, when the sentence should be given, to receive the Heretick (as they called him) that was condemned.

The Letters
of requiry
to the May-
or and Shr-
iffs of Lon-
don.

John by the permission of God Bishop of London, unto our dearly beloved in Christ, the right honourable Lord Mayor of the City of London, and the Sheriffs of the same, Health, Grace, and Benediction. Whereas we have already by our Vicar general, proceeded in a certain cause of Heresie, and relaps into the same against one Richard Bayfield alias Somersham, and intend upon Monday next being the twentieth day of this present month of November, to give a sentence definitive against the said Richard Bayfield alias Somersham, and to leave and deliver him over unto the secular power: We require you the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs aforesaid, the Kings Majesties Vicegerents, even in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that according to the form and effect of the Statute of our most Noble and famous Prince in Christ our Lord, the Lord Henry the Fourth, by the Grace of God late King of England, you will be personally presents in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, with your favourable aid

and assistance in this behalf, the day that the sentence shall be given, and to receive the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersham, after his sentence so given, to discharge us and our Officers, and to do further according to the tenor and effect of the said Statute, as far as shall be required of you according to the Canonical sanctions, and the laudable custom of the famous Kingdom of England, in this behalf accustomed. In witness whereof we have set our Seal unto this present. Dated the nineteenth day of November, Anno 1531, and in the first year of our consecration.

On Monday the 20 day of November in the year aforesaid in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, the Bishop of London calling unto him John Abbat of Westminster, Robert Abbat of Waltham, Nicholas Prior of Christs Church of the City of London, Master J. Cox Auditor and Vicar General to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter Ligham, Official of the Court of Canterbury, Thomas Bagh, Chancellor of the Church of Saint Pauls, William Cliffe, Archdeacon of London, John Incent Canon Residentiary of the same, William Britton, Robert Birck, and Hugh A-price, Doctors of both Laws, in the presence of us Matthew Griffon Register, Anthony Hufise, Richard Martine, and Thomas Shadwall publick Notaries and Scribes appointed in this behalf, briefly rehearsed the answers of the same Bayfield in effect, and his abjuration, and order his demerits by him done betide his abjuration. The which religious persons, and other Ecclesiastical men aforesaid; thought it good and agreed that the said Bishop should proceed against him in this case of relaps, and should pronounce, and give forth the sentence against him in case aforesaid; and so he was delivered to the Sheriffs to carry to Newgate, being commanded to bring him again upon Monday following into Pauls upper Quire, there to give attendance upon the Bishop of London with the residue till they had done with him; and by and by the Sheriffs were commanded to have him into the Vestry, and then to bring him forth again in Antichrists apparel to be degraded before them. When he had degraded him kneeling upon the highest step of the Altar, he took his Crozier staff, and smote him on the brest, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, that he founded, and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant Church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true

Rich. Bay-
field given
up to the secu-
lar govern

Rich. Bay-
field degrad-
ed.
Bayfield
thrown
down with
the Bishop's
staff.

The Martyrdom of Richard Bayfield



sincere Church of Jesus Christ militant here in Earth ; and I trust anon, said he, to be in Heaven with Jesus Christ, and the Church Triumphant for ever : and so was he led forth through the Quire to *Newgate*, and there relict about an hour in prayer, and so went to the Fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy Fire, was half an hour alive. And when the left Arm was on Fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Sir *Thomas More*, after he had brought this good man to his end, sealed not to after his death rake in his Almes, to pry and spy out what sparks he could find of reproach and contumely, whereby to race out all good memory of his name and fame. In searching whereof he hath found out two things to lay against him. The one is, that he saith, he went about to assure himself of two Wives at once, one in *Brabant*, another in *England*. The second, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in utter despair of his Pardon, he was content to forswear his Doctrine, and letted not to disclose his brethren. For the answer whereof although there were no more to be said, yet this were enough to say, that Master *More* thus said of him, a man so blinded in the zeal of popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can see nothing but all fair Roles and sweet Vernies in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can please his phantasie, but all as black as pitch, vice, abomination, Heresie and folly, whatsoever they do, or intend to do. But as touching the defence of this *Bayfield*, as also of other more, I will defer the defence of them to a several Apology by it self, hereafter God willing, to be adjoynd.

John Tewkesbury Leather-seller of London, Martyr.

Mr. More
a partial
Judge in
matters of
Heresie.

John Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of *Tindals* Testament, and the wicked *Mammam*. He had the Bible written. In all points of Religion he openly did dispute in the Bishops Chapel in his Palace. Who in the Doctrine of Justification and all other Articles of his Faith was very expert, and prompt in his answers, in such sort as *Tonstal* and all his learned men were affamed, that a Leather-seller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. This disputation continued a sevennight. The procees of whole Examinations, Articles, and answers, here follow, as they are out of the Bishops Register extracted.

E. Rousse
Lec.

On *Wednesday* the one and twentieth day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1529. *John Tewkesbury* was brought into the Conlitory at *London*, before *Cuthbert* Bishop of *London*, and his assistants, *Henry* Bishop of *Saint Asse*, and *John Abbas* of *Westminster*. Unto whom the Bishop of *London* declared that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and Heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him, not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy Mother the Church. Who made answer, that in his judgment he did not err from the Doctrine of the holy Mother the Church.

The examination of
John Tewkesbury
before
Thomas Bishop of London.

And at the last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the said Book called the wicked *Mammam*, he answered thus : Take ye the Book and read it over, and I think in my Conscience, ye shall find no fault in it. And being asked by the said Bishop, whether he did rather give credit to his Book or to the Gospel, he answered that the Gospel is and ever hath been true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this Article, That the *Jews* of good intent and zeal slew Christ ; He answered, Look ye the Book through, before and after as it lieth, and ye shall find a better tale in it, than ye make of it ; and further thought, that who-soever translated the New Testament, and made the Book, meaning the wicked *Mammam*, he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

Also being further asked, by the said Bishop of *London*, whether he would stand to the contents of his Book, he answered, Look ye the Book before and after, and I will be content to stand unto it. Then being examined,

whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing ; He answered, that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in Heaven ; for if He should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether that Christ with all his works did not deserve Heaven, He answered and said, that it was plain enough. Which things being done, the Bishop said further to *John Tewkesbury* thus ; I tell thee before God and those which are here present, in examination of my Conscience, that the Articles above named, and many other more contained in the same Book are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy Church : how thinkest thou ? And further, the said Bishop of *London* said unto him again, I tell thee before God and those which are here present, *&c.* and so asked him again, what he thought of those Articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinately under pain of the Law, saying further unto him, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate Heretic according to the order of the Law. Which things so done, the Bishop asked *John Tewkesbury* again, whether the said Book, called the wicked *Mammam*, were good ?

To which Interrogatory he answered, That he thinketh in his Conscience there is nothing in the Book but that which is true. And to this Article objected, that is, that Faith only justifieth without works, he answered, that it is well said. Whereunto the Bishop inferneth again, that the Articles before objected, with divers other contained in the Book called the wicked *Mammam*, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reprov'd and condemned by the Church ; and before God, and all those that were present, for the discharge of his Conscience, he had often and very gently exhorted the said *John Tewkesbury*, that he would revoke and renounce his errors : otherwise if he did intend to persevere in them, he must declare him an Heretic, which he would be very sorry to do. These things thus done, the Bishop oftentimes offered him, that he should chuse what Spiritual or Temporal man he would to be his Counsellor, and gave him time as before to deliberate with himself until the next sitting.

Also in the same month of *April*, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the Bishop of *London* *Cuthbert Tonstal* sitting in the Conlitory, with *Nicholas* of *Ely*, *John* of *Lincoln*, and *John Bath* and *Wells*, &c. This *John Tewkesbury* was brought before them. After certain Articles being repeated unto him, the Bishop of *London* brought before him a certain Book, called the wicked *Mammam*, asking him whether the Book was of the same Impression and making, as was his Books that he had sold to others ? Who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the Bishop of *London* asking him again, Whether the Book contained the same error or no ? Who answered again, saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the Gospel, and translation of the Testament be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it : for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the holy Scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass, so in reading the New Testament, he knoweth the faults of his foul. Furthermore, he was examined upon certain Points and Articles, extracted out of the said Book of the wicked *Mammam* ; as followeth.

First, That Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as your Forefathers talked of him, but Antichrist is a spiritual thing. Whereunto he answered and said, That he findeth no fault in it. Again, it was demanded of him of Antichrist, touching the Articles, whether Faith only justifieth a man. To this he said, that if he should look to deserve Heaven by works, he should do wickedly, for works follow Faith, and Christ redeemed us all with the merits of his passion.

That the Devil holdeth our hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to consent unto Gods Law. To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

That the Law of God sufficeth no merits, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God. To that he answered, that it is plain enough, considering what the Law is ; and he said, that he findeth no ill in it.

That

KIN 1
Hes 8
Articles
misleading
John Tewkesbury
out of the
Book of the
wicked
Mammam.

The judgment
of John Tewkesbury
of the Book of the
wicked
Mammam.

Another
examination
of John
Tewkesbury.

Articles extracted
out of the Book
of the wicked
Mammam.

His opinion
of Antichrist
outward
things, but
a spiritual
thing.

No man justified
by merits.

[KING] That the Law of God requireth of us things impossible. To that he answered, that the Law of God doth command, that thou shalt love God above all things, and thy Neighbour as thy self, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his Conscience.

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no Law put to him that believeth and is justified through Faith. To that he answered and said, he findeth no ill in it.

All good works must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof. To that he answered, it is truth.

Christ with all his works did not deserve Heaven. To that he answered, that the Text is true as it lieth, and he findeth no fault in it.

Peter and Paul, and Saints that be dead are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive. To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

Alms deserve no reward of God. To that he answered, that the Text of the Book is true.

The Devil is not cast out by merits of fasting or Prayer. To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we live under the Law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation, and the wrath of GOD upon us, yea where we were damned afore we were born, we cannot love God, nor cannot but hate him as a Tyrant, unrighteous and unjust, and flee from him, as did Cain. To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

We are Damned by nature, as a Tode is a Tode by nature, and a Serpent is a Serpent by nature. To that he answered, it is to be true as it is in the Book.

Item, As concerning the Article of fasting. To that he answered and said, the Book declareth it self.

Every one man is a Lord of whatsoever another man hath. To that he answered; what Law can be better than that? For it is plainly meant there.

Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another. To that he answered and said, it is plain enough of it self.

As concerning the preaching of the word of God and waiving of Diliges, there is no difference as concerning Salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God. To that he answered, saying, it is a plain Text, and as for pleasing God it is all one.

That the Jews of good intent and zeal put Christ to death. To that he answered, that it is true, and the Text is plain enough.

The Sects of Saint Francis, and Saint Dominick, and others be damnable. To that he answered and said Saint Paul repugneth against them. Which Articles being objected, and answer made unto them by John Tewkesbury, the said Bishop of London asked him whether he would continue in his Heresies and errors above rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them. Who answered thus, I pray you reform your self, and if there be any error in the Book, let it be reformed, I think the Book is good enough.

Further the Bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. To the which the said John Tewkesbury answered as is above written; to wit, I pray you reform your self, and if there be any error in the Book, let it be reformed, I think it is good enough. Which thing being done, the Bishop appointed him to determine better with himself against the morrow, in the presence of Master John Cox, Vicar general to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Master Gaufred Warton, Rowland Phillipp, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of Divinity.

The thirteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord above said, in the Chappel within the Palace of London, before Cuthbert Bishop of London, with his assistants, Nicholas Bishop of Ely, &c. Tewkesbury again appeared, and was examined upon the Articles drawn out of the Book called the wicked Mammon, as followeth.

First, Christ is thine, and all his deeds be thy deeds; Christ is in thee, and thou lovest him inseparably, neither canst thou be Damned, except Christ be Damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved except Christ be saved with thee. To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

Item, We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our Neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that we trust not in his Holiness. To this he answered,

ed, Take ye it as ye will, I will take it well enough.

Item, Now test thou what Alms meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his Alms more than to be merciful, to be a Neighbour to succor his Brothers need, to do his duty to his Brother, to give his Brother that he ought him, the same is blind and seeth not Christs blood. Here he answereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the Book, but that all the Book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his Conscience.

Item, That ye do nothing to please God but that he commanded. To that he answereth, and thinketh it good, by his truth.

Item, So God is honoured on all fides, in that we count him righteous in all his Laws and Ordinances. And to worship him otherwise than so, it is idolatry. To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these Articles being done, the Bishop of London did exhort the said John Tewkesbury to recant his errors above said; And after some other communication had by the Bishop with him, the said Bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next Session what he would do.

IN the next Session he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoyed Penance, as followeth; which was the eighth of May.

Imprimis, That he should keep well his Abjuration, under pain of relapse.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in Pauls Church in the open Procession, he should carry a Fagot and stand at Pauls Crofs with the same.

That the Wednesday following he should carry the same Fagot about Newgate-Market and Cheapside.

That on Friday after he should take the same Fagot again at S. Peters Church in Cornhill, and carry it about the Market of Leden-hall.

That he should have two signs of Fagots embroidered; one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve; which he should wear all his life time unless he were otherwise dispensed withal.

That on Whitsunday Eve he should enter into the Monastery of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and there abide, and not come out unless he were released by the Bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the City or Diocesis of London, without the special Licence of the Bishop or his successors. Which Penance he entered into the eighth day of May, An. 1529.

And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expressed, to retract and abjure his Doctrine. Notwithstanding, the same John Tewkesbury, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Bayfield above said, that was burned in Smithfield, did return and continually abide in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for the same. Who recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, was brought before Six Tho. More, and the Bishop of London; where certain Articles were objected of him: The chief whereof we intend briefly to recite, for the matter is prolix.

Imprimis, That he confessed that he was baptised, and intended to keep the Catholick Faith.

Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration, Oath, and subscription that he made before Cuthbert, late Bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

Thirdly, That he had the Books of the obedience of a Christian man, and of the wicked Mammon, in his custody, and hath read them since his abjuration.

Fourthly, That he affirmeth that he suffered the two Fagots that were embroidered on his sleeve, to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

Fifthly, He saith, that Faith only justifieth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixthly, He saith, that Christ is a sufficient Mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto Saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the Aitheme: *Salve Regina advocata nostras, &c.* To the which he answered, That he knew none other Advocate but Christ alone.

Ed. Freefe
purgatory.

Seventhly, He affirmeth that there is no Purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgatory for us.

Eighthly, He affirmeth, That the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

Ninthly, He affirmeth, That a Priest, by receiving of Orders, receiveth more grace, if his Faith be increased, or else not.

Tenthly, And last of all, he believeth, that the Sacrament of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, is not the very body of Christ, in Flesh and Blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary. Whereupon the Bishops Chancellor asked the said Tewkesbury, if he could shew any cause why he should not be taken for an Heretick, falling into his Heresie again, and receive the punishment of an Heretick. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong again.

Then the Chancellor caused the Articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; the which the said Tewkesbury confessed, and thereupon the Bishop pronounced sentence against him and delivered him unto the Sheriffs of London for the time being, which were Richard Greham and Edward Alam; who burned him in Smithfield upon Saint Thomas Eve, being the twentieth of December, in the year aforesaid, the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the Bishop, doth here ensue, word for word.

IN the Name of God, Amen. The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of heretical gravity, and falling again thereunto by thee John Tewkesbury, of the Parish of Saint Michaels in the Queen, of the City of London, and of our Jurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgment, being heard, seen, and understood, and fully discussed by us John, by the sufferance of God, Bishop of London, because we do find by inquisition; manifestly enough, that thou dost abjure freely and voluntarily before us, late Bishop of London, thy Ordinary, divers and sundry Heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our Mother Holy-Church, as well special as general, and that fallen and beside the foresaid abjuration thou art again fallen into the same damnable Heresies, opinions, and errors, (which is greatly to be lamented) and the same dost hold, affirm, and believe: we therefore John the Bishop aforesaid, the Name of God first being called upon, and the same only God yet before our eyes, and with the Counsel of learned men assisting us in this behalf (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and final Decree, in this behalf to be done) do intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we do find thee, the foresaid John Tewkesbury of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the first abjuration, and moreover, before and after the foresaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be an Heretick fallen, and to have incurred the pain of such fallen Hereticks: we do pronounce, determine, declare and condemn thee of the premises, to have incurred the danger of the great Excommunication, and also do pronounce thee to be excommunicated, and also do declare thee the said Tewkesbury, so damnable fallen again into Heresie, to be in the secular power and in their judgment (as the holy Canons have decreed) and here we do leave thee to the foresaid secular power, and to their judgment; beseeching them earnestly in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that such severe punishment and execution, as in this behalf is to be done against thee, may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigor be used but to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror fear, and rooting out of Hereticks, and their conversion to the Catholick Faith and Unity, by this our final Decree which we declare by these our writings.

In words
they pretend
moderation,
but their
doings be
clean contrary.

The death
and Martyr-
dom of J.
Tewkesbury.

This foresaid sentence definitive against John Tewkesbury was read and pronounced by the Bishop of London, the sixteenth day of the month of December, the year aforesaid, in the house of Sir Thomas More high Chancellor of England in the Parish of Chelsey. After the which sentence, the Sheriffs received the foresaid Tewkesbury into

their custody, and carried him away with them, and afterward buried him in Smithfield, as is aforesaid, having no Writ of the King for their Warrant.

The apprehension of one Edward Freefe a Painter.

Edward Freefe was born in York, and was Apprentise to a Painter in the same City, and by the reason of working for his Master in Bearfe Abbey, or by some such occasion, was known unto the Abbot of the same House, for he was a Boy of a pregnant wit, and the Abbot favoured him so much, that he bought his years of his Master, and would have made him a Monk. And he had not liking of that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, and came to Colchester in Essex, and remaining there according to his former vocation, was married and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new Inn in Colchester, which is in the middle of the Market place, and in the upper border of the cloths he wrote certain sentences of Scripture, and by that he was plainly known to be one of them which they call Hereticks.

And on a time he being at his work in the same Inn, they of the Town, when they had seen his work, went about to take him; and he having some inkling thereof, thought to shift for himself, but yet was taken forcibly in the Yard of the same Inn, and after this he was brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the Bishops House, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certain others of Essex, that is to wit, one John and his Wife, Wyke, and his Wife, and his Son, and Father Bate of Rowledge. They were fed with fine Manchester made of law-dust, or at the least a great part thereof, and were so straitly kept, that there wives and their friends could not come to them. After the Painter had been there a long space, by much suite he was removed to Lallards Tower. His Wife, in the time of the suite, whiles he was yet at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the Gate, being then bigg with Child, the Porter lift up his foot and struck her on the belly, that a length the child of the same, but the Child was destroyed immediately.

After that, they were all flocked for a long time, and then they were let loose in their Prisons again. Some had Horflocks on their legs, and some had other Irons. This Painter would ever be writing on the Walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, Doctor Dredpoll would make me believe the Moon were made of Green-cheese. And because he would be writing many things, he was manacled by the Wrists, so long till the flesh of his Arms was grown higher than his Irons. By the means of his manacles he could not Comb his head, and he remained so long manacled, that his Hair was folded together.

After the death of his Wife, his Brother sued to the King for him, and after long suite he was brought out in the Confilary at Pauls, and (as his Brother did report) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man, and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing, but my Lord is a good man. And thus, when they had spoiled his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him back again to Bearfe Abby; but he came away again from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: Albeit he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day.

His Brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Valentine Freefe and his Wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, by the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the Wife of the said Father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the King with out redress, and at the last delivered one to his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go into Chancery Lane, to one, whose name (as is thought) was master Selyard, and at last she got a Letter of the said Selyard to the Bishop, and when she had it, she thought all her suite well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked Officers in those days were cruel, and desirous of

The story of
Ed. Freefe.

The cause of
the taking
Ed. Freefe.

John and
his Wife,
Wyke, his
Wife, and
his Son.
Father Bate.

A cruel
fact of
the Porter.

Cruelly
threw to
the Palace

Valentine
and his
Wife
burned
in York.

Gods good
Providence.

KING of his blood, as some others had proved their practice, some of her friends would needs fee the contents of her Letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the Bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed: for it was after this manner.

A costly Letter of a wicked Office. After commendations had, &c. Look what you can gather against Father *Bate*, send me word by your truly friend, Sir *William Saxie*, that I may certify the Kings Majesty, &c. Thus the poor woman, when she thought her fate had been done, was in less hope of her Husbands life than before. But within short space it pleased God to deliver him: for he got out in a dark night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

Roy burned in Portugal. In this year also, as we do understand by divers notes of old Registers and otherwise, Frier *Roy* was burned in Portugal, but what his examination, or Articles, or order of his death was, we can have no understanding: but what his Doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies, which he here left in England.

The Bishop commanded by the King to set forth a new Translation of the new Testament. In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the Clergy made to the King, the Translation of the New Testament, with a great number of other Books, were forbidden. For the Bishops coming into the Star-Chamber the five and twentieth day of May, and coming with the Kings Council, after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the Translation of *Tindal* and *Lye* were not truly Translated, and moreover, that in them were Prologues and Prefaces, that smelled of Heresie, and railed against the Bishops: wherefore all such Books were prohibited, and commandment given by the King to the Bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned mean of the Universities, should cause a new Translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the Law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the Bishops did nothing at all, to the setting forth of any new Translation, which caused the people much to study *Tindals* Translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear.

The Translation of the New Testament inhibited by the Bishops. This year also, in the month of May, the Bishop of London caused all the new Testaments of *Tindals* Translation, and many other Books which he had bought, to be brought unto *Pauls* Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

James Bainham, Lawyer and Martyr.

James Bainham Gentleman, son to one Master *Bainham* a Knight of *Gloucestershire*, being virtuously brought up by his Parents, in the studies of good Letters, had knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that he gave himself to the study of the Law, being a man of virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to Prayer, an earnest reader of Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visiter of the Prisoners, liberal to Scholars, very merciful to his Clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving Counsel to all the needy, Widows, Fatherless and afflicted, without money or reward, briefly a singular example to all Lawyers.

This Master *Bainham*, as is above noted, married the Wife of *Simon Fish* aforesaid, for the which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir *Thomas More* Chancellor of England, and arrested with a Sergeant at Arms, and carried out of the middle Temple to the Chancellors house at *Chelsey*, where he continued in free Prison a while, till the time that Sir *Thomas More* saw he could not prevail in perverting of him to his Sect. Then he call him into prison in his own house, and whipping him at the Tree in his Garden, called the Tree of Truth, and after sent him to the Tower to be wracked, and so he was, Sir *Thomas More* being present himself, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the Gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would they where his Books lay; and because his Wife denied them to be at his House, she was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before *John Stokesley*, Bishop of London, the fifteenth

day of December Anno, 1531, in the said Town of *Chelsey*, and there examined upon these Articles and Interrogatories ensuing.

First, whether he believed there were any Purgatory of Interrogatories souls hence departed.

Whereunto he made answer as followeth: *If we walk in light, even as he is in light, we have Society together with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us: If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities.*

2. Secondly, Whether that the Saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us.

To the which he answered on this wise: *My little children, I write this unto you, that you sin not. If any man do sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Just, and he is the propitiation for our sins also for the sin of the whole World. And further upon occasion of these words, Omnes sancti Dei orate pro nobis. Being demanded what he meant by these words, Omnes sancti, he answered, That he meant them by those that were alive, as Saint Paul did by the Corinthians, and not by those that be dead: for he prayed not to them, he said, because he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole Church is gathered together, they use to pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart: and that the Will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: and I pray, said he, as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last hour; Father, take this Cup from me if it be possible, yet thy Will be fulfilled.*

3. Thirdly, He was demanded whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in Heaven pained, or no.

To this he answered and said, That he believed that they be there as it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the Faith of Abraham, and that herein he would commit himself to the Church.

4. Fourthly, It was demanded of him, whether he thought it necessary to Salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a Priest.

Whereunto his answer was this, That it was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another. As for any other confession he knew none. And further he said, that if he came to the Sermon, or any other where, whereas the Word of God is preached, and there take repentance for his sin, he believed his sins forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that he needed not to go to any confession.

5. Fifthly, That he should say and affirm, that the truth of the holy Scripture hath been hid, and appeared not these 800 years, neither was known before now.

To this he said, That he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of holy Scripture was never, these eight hundred years past, so plainly and expressly declared unto the people, as it hath been within these few years.

6. He was demanded further, for what cause holy Scripture hath been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these 800 years before.

Whereunto he answered, To say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the Word of God sincerely and purely, and after the vain of Scripture, except Master *Crome* and Master *Latimer*, and said moreover, that the New Testament now Translated into English, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time men did preach but only that folks should believe as the Church did believe, and then if the Church erred, men should err too. Howbeit the Church, said he, of Christ cannot err: and that there were two Churches, that is, the Church of Christ militant, and the Church of Antichrist, and that this Church of Antichrist may and doth err, but the Church of Christ doth not.

7. Seventhly, Whether he knew any person that dyed in the true Faith of Christ, since the Apostles time.

Answer. He said, He knew Bayfield, and thought that he dyed in the true Faith of Christ.

Answer. Purgatory.

8. Eighthly, He was asked what he thought of Purgatory.

He answered, If any such thing had been moved to Saint Paul of Purgatory after this life, he thought Saint Paul would have condemned it for an Heresie. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say, that he thought there was Purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that the said Master Crome lied, and spake against his Conscience; and that there were an hundred more, which thought the same as he did: saying moreover, that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in Print, God was a very foolish thing, as he judged.

And as concerning Vows, he granted that there were lawful Vows, as Annias vowed, Acts 5. for it was in his own power, whether he would have sold his possession or not, and therefore he did offend. But Vows of Chastity, and all godliness is given of God by his abundant grace, the which no man of himself can keep, but it must be given him of God. And therefore a Monk, Friar, or Nun, that have vowed the vows of Religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at Baptism, they may go forth and Marry, so that they keep, after their Marriage, the promise that they made at Baptism. And finally, he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of Baptism.

9. Ninthly, He was demanded, whether Luther being a Friar, and taking a Nun out of Religion, and afterward marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein.

Answer. He answered, That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no. He made answer, he could not say so.

As concerning the Sacrament of Amelung, being willed to say his mind.

Answer. He answered and said, It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man should be the better for such annoying and anointing. The best was, that some good prayers be said to that effect.

Likewise, touching the Sacrament of Baptism, his words were these,

Answer. That as many as repent, and do on them Christ, shall be saved: that is, as many as dye concerning sin, shall live by Faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And so whether we live or dye, we are Gods by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: That is, by keeping the promise made. For ye are kept by Grace and Faith, saith Saint Paul, and that not of your selves, for it is the gift of God.

He was asked moreover of Matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth Grace, being commanded in the old Law, and not yet taken away.

Answer. His answer was, That Matrimony is an order or Law, that the Church of Christ hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women and not sin.

Answer. Lastly, For his Books of Scripture, and for his judgment of Tindal, because he was urged to confesse the truth, he said, That he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tindal within this month, and thought he offended not God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the Kings Proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church at Pauls Cross. But for all that he thought the Word of God had not forbid it: confessing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these Books; The wicked Mammon, The Obedience of a Christian man, The Practice of Prelates, The Answer of Tindal to Thomas More's Dialogues, The Book of Fifth against Purgatory, The Epistle of George Ge, alias George Geik: adding furthermore, that in all these Books he

never saw any errors. And if there were any such in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said Books. And as concerning the new Testament in English, he thought it utterly good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know (said he) that Tindal was a naughty fellow. And to these answers he subscribed his name. This examination (as is said) was the fifteenth day of December.

The next day following, which was the sixteenth day of December, the said James Bainham appeared again before the Bishop of London, in the foresaid place of Sir Thomas More at Chelsey, where, after the guile and form of their proceedings, first his former Articles with his Answers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they asked him whether he would persist in that which he had said, or else would return to the Catholick Church, from whence he was fallen, and to the which he might be yet received, as they said: adding moreover many fair inticing and alluring words, that he would reconcile himself, saying, the time was yet that he might be received; the bosom of his Mother was open for him. Otherwise, if he would continue stubborn, there was no remedy.

Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the case present now required a present answer, for else the sentence definitive was ready there to be read &c.

To conclude long matter in few words: Bainham was in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the Adversaries, gave answer unto them that he was contented to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance. Then the Bishop requiring him to say his mind plainly of his answers above declared, demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no.

To this Bainham said, that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked of the Bishop, whether there was any Purgatory; He answered and said, he could not believe that there was any Purgatory after this life.

Upon other Articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth; that he could not judge whether Bayfield dyed in the true Faith of Christ or no. That a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin. That a Priest promising to live chaste, may not marry a Wife. That he thinketh the Apostles to be in Heaven. That Luther did naught in marrying a Nun. That a child is the better for confirmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man keep Books prohibited by the Church, the Pope, the Bishop, or the King: and said, That he pondered those points more now than he did before, &c.

Upon these answers, the Bishop thinging to keep him in safe custody, to further Tryal, committed him to one of the Counters.

The time thus passing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of February next following, in the year of our Lord, 1532, the foresaid James Bainham called for again to the Bishops Consistory, before his Vicar General and other his assistants: To whom Foxford, the Bishops Chancellor recited a new Articles and Answers above mentioned; protesting That he intended not to receive him to the unity of the holy Mother Church, unless he knew the said Bainham to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the Catholick Faith, and to submit himself penitently to the judgment of the Church. To whom Bainham spake to this effect, saying, That he hath, and doth believe the holy Church, and holdeth the Faith of the Holy Mother the Catholick Church.

Wherefore the Chancellor offering to him a Bill of his abjuration, after the form of the Popes Church conceived, required him to read it. Who was contented; and read to the clause of the abjuration, containing these words; I voluntarily, as a true penitent person returned from my Heresies, utterly abjure, &c. And there he stayed and would read no further, saying, that

KING
Hm. 8. 5

M. Bainham
submitte
himself.

He Reply.
Lm.

Anno
1532.
Bainham
again
brought be-
fore the Bi-
shops Chan-
cellor.

{KING, that he knew not the Articles contained in his Abjuration to be Heretic, therefore he could not see why he should refuse them. Which done, the Chancellor proceeded to the reading of the sentence definitive, coming to this place of the sentence; The Doctrine and determination of the Church, &c. and there paused, saying, He would reserve the rest till he saw his time. Whom then Bainham desired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a Purgatory; that the Souls of the Apostles were in Heaven, &c. Then Began he again to read the sentence: but Bainham again desired him to be good to him. Whereupon he ceased the sentence, and said that he would accept this his confession for that time as sufficient.

Bainham again brought to the Confessory. Bainham took to abjure.

So Bainham for that present was returned to his Prison again. Who then the fifth day after, which was the eighth day of February, appeared, as before, in the Confessory. Whom the foresaid Chancellor repeating again his Articles and Answers, asked if he would abjure and submit himself. Who answered, That he would submit himself as a good Christian Man should. Again, the Chancellor the second time asked if he would Abjure. I will (said he) forsake all my Articles, and will meddle no more with them; and so being commanded to lay

his hand upon the Book, read his Abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he burst out into these words, saying, That because there were many words in the said Abjuration, which he thought obscure and difficile, he protested that by his Oath he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his Oath. Which done, the Chancellor asked him why he made that protestation. Bainham said, For fear, lest any Man of ill will do accuse me hereafter. Then the Chancellor taking the definitive sentence in his hand, disposing himself (as appeared) to read the same; Well Master Bainham, said he, take your Oath, and kiss the Book, or else I will do mine office against you: and so immediately he took the Book in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

Which done, the Chancellor receiving the Abjuration at his hand put him to his Fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the King. After that, he enjoined him Penance, to go before the Cross in Procession at Pauls, and to stand before the Preacher during the Sermon at Paul's-Cross, with a Fagot upon his Shoulder, the next Sunday, and so to return with the Sumner to the Prison again, there to abide the Bishops determination: and so the seventeenth day of February he was released and dismissed home. Where

Bainham enjoyed Penance. Bainham dissatisfied out of Prison.

James Bainham enjoined penance.



Repentance of Bainham after his fall. he had scarce a month continued, but he bewailed his Fact and Abjuration, and was never quiet in his Mind and Conscience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the World forgiveness before the Congregation in those days, in a Water-house in Bow-lane: and immediately the next Sunday after he came to St. Austins, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the Obedience of a Christian man in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his Pew, there declaring openly with weeping tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did: for (said he) if I should not return again unto the Truth (having the New Testament in his hand) this Word of God would damn me both Body and Soul at the Day of Judgment. And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did: for he would not feel such an Hell again as he did feel, for all the Worlds good. Besides this, he wrote also certain Letters to the Bishop, to his Brother, and to others; so that shortly after he was apprehended, and so committed to the Tower of London.

Bainham again appeared, headed and sent into the Tower.

The Process against James Bainham in case of relapse.

THE nineteenth day of April, 1532, Master Richard Fosford, Vicar General to the Bishop of London, accompanied with certain Divines, and Matthew Gresford the Register, sitting judicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the Lieutenant of the Tower; before whom the Vicar-General rehearsed the Articles contained in his Abjuration before made, and shewed him a bound Book, which the said Bainham acknowledged to be his own writing, saying, That it was good. Then he shewed him more of a certain Letter sent unto the Bishop of London, the which also he acknowledged to be his: objecting also to the said Bainham, that he had made and read the Abjuration which he had before recited: shewing him moreover certain Letters which he had written unto his Brother, the which he confessed to be his own writing; saying moreover, That though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the same that is naught, if it be as my Lord Chancellor faith. Then he asked of Bainham, how

Ann. 7. 1532. Another Process against James Bainham: See Register. lxx.

How he understood this which followeth, which was in his Letters: Yet could they not see nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and Man, yea, he was Three Persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and Bainham said it was naught. Which things thus done, there was further objected unto him these words: That he had as leue pray to *Joan* his Wife, as to our Lady. The which Article Bainham denied. The said Bainham amongst other talk, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, said, Christs Body is not chewed with Teeth, but received by Faith. Further it was objected against him, That notwithstanding his Abjuration, he had said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a mystical or memorial Body: the which Article Bainham denied. It was further laid unto him, that he should say, That *St. Thomas of Canterbury* was a Thief and a Murderer, and a Devil in Hell. Whereunto he answered thus: That *St. Thomas of Canterbury* was a Murderer, and if he did not repent him of his Murther, he was rather a Devil in Hell, than a Saint in Heaven.

Articles fully de-
praved by
the adver-
saries.
The Becky.

Another
appearance.

The twentieth day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, the said *James Bainham* was brought before the Vicar-General, in the Church of *All Saints, of Barking*, whereas he ministred these Interrogatories unto him.

First, That since the Feast of *Easter* last past, he had said, affirmed, and believed, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but a mystical Body of Christ; and afterward he said, It was but a memorial. The which Article Bainham denied. Then the Vicar-General declared unto him, that our holy Mother the Catholick Church determineth and teacheth in this manner: That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, there remaineth no Bread. The Official asked Bainham, whether he did believe or not? Whereunto Bainham answered, saying, That *St. Paul* calleth it Bread, rehearsing these words; *Quotiescunque comederitis panem hunc, & de poculo bibetis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis.* And in that point he faith as *St. Paul* faith, and believeth as the Church believeth. And being demanded twice afterward what he thought therein, he would give no other answer.

St. Paul
saileth the
Sacrament
Bread.

True
preachers
have as
much
power of
the Keys as
the Pope.

Item, That since the Feast of *Easter* aforesaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every Man whatsoever that would take upon him to preach the Gospel of Christ clearly, had as much power as the Pope. To the which Article he answered thus: He that preacheth the Word of God purely, whatsoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the Key that bindeth and looseth both in Heaven and Earth. The which Key is the same Scripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other power to bind and to loose, but by the Key of the Scripture.

Articles
fully de-
praved.

Item, That he affirmed, That *St. Thomas of Canterbury* was a Thief and a Murderer, and in Hell. Whereunto he answered as before.

Item, That he said, That he had as leue pray to *Joan* his Wife, as to our Lady. The which he denied as before.

Item, That he affirmed and believed, that Christ himself was but a Man: The which Article he also denied.

Witness
against the
said Bain-
ham.

The Premises thus passed, the Vicar-General received *Francis Realmis*, *John Edwards*, *Ralph Hilton*, *John Ridley*, *Francis Drisland*, and *Ralph Noble*, as Witnesses to be Sworn upon the Articles aforesaid, and to speak the truth before the face of the said *James Bainham*, in the presence of Master *John Naylor*, Vicar of *Barking*, Master *John Rode* Bachelor of Divinity, *William Smith*, *Richard Grivel*, *Thomas Wimple*, and *Richard Gil*.

The last
appearance of
James
Bainham.

The fix and twentieth day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, before Master *John Foxford*, Vicar-General of the Bishop of *London*, in the presence of *Matthew Greston*, Register, and *Nicholas Wilson* and *William Philley*, professors of Divinity, *John Oliver*, *William Middleton*, and *Hugh Apprise*, Doctors of the Law, M. *Richard Gresham* Sheriff of *London*, and a great company of others, *James Bainham* was brought forth by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, in whose presence the Vicar-General rehearsed the merits of the cause of Inquisition of Heresy against him, and proceeded to the reading of the Abjuration. And when the Judge read this Article following, contained in the Abjuration: Item, That I have said, That I will not determine whether any Souls departed be in Heaven or no, but I believe that they be there as it

Witness
against the
said Bain-
ham.

pleaseth God to have them; that is to say, in the Faith of *Abraham*: and I wote not whether the Souls of the Apostles or any other be in Heaven or no. To this *James* answered, That I did Abjure, and if that had not been, I would not have Abjured at all.

The Sacra-
ment of
Baptism.

After all the Articles were read contained in the Abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the Sacrament of Baptism, the said *James Bainham* spake these words: If a *Turk*, a *Jew*, or a *Saracen* do trust in God, and keep his Law, he is a good Christian Man. Then the Official shewed unto him the Letters which he sent unto his Brother, written with his own hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this Clause following: Yet could they not see and know him from God, when indeed he was both God and Man, yea, he was three Persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Whereunto Bainham said, That it was naught, and that he did it by ignorance, and did not over-see his Letters. Then Master *Nicholas Wilson* amongst other talk, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, declared unto him, That the Church did believe the very Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. Bainham answered, The Bread is not *Jesus Christ*, for Christs Body is not chewed with Teeth, therefore it is but Bread. Being further demanded whether in the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Christ, God and Man in Flesh and Blood; after divers doubtful answers, Bainham answered thus: He is there very God and Man in form of Bread.

The Sacra-
ment of the
Altar.

This done, the Official declared unto him the Depositions of the Witnesses which were come in against him, and objected unto him, that a little before *Easter*, he had Abjured all Heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said Vicar-General, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his Affiliants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing: whereby amongst other things, besides his Abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed Heretic, damnably fallen into sundry Heresies, and so to be left unto the Secular Power; that is to say, to one of the Sheriffs being there present. After the pronouncing of which sentence, Master *Nicholas Wilson* counselled and admonished the said *James*, That he would conform himself unto the Church. To whom he answered, That he trusted that he is the very Child of God; which ye blind Asses, said he, do not perceive. And last of all, departing from his Judgment, he spake these words: Master *Wilson*, nor you my Lord Chancellor shall not prove by Scripture, that there is any Purgatory. Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him, the which here to repeat word for word is not necessary, forasmuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of *Bayfield*, alias *Somerham*. Here also should ensue the Letter of the Bishop of *London*, directed unto the Mayor and Sheriffs of the same City, for the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenor whereof is also of like effect to that before-written in the story of *Bayfield*. After this sentence given, *James Bainham* was delivered into the hands of Sir *Richard Gresham* Sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his Officers to be carried unto *Newgate*, and the said *James Bainham* was burned in *Smithfield* the last day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, at three of the Clock at afternoon.

Sentence
read against
Bainham.

The words
of James
Bainham
to Minister
Wilson.

This Master *Bainham*, during his Imprisonment, was very cruelly handled. For almost the space of a fortnight he lay in the Bishops Cole-house in the Stocks, with Irons upon his Legs. Then he was carried to the Lord Chancellors, and there chained to a Post two nights. Then he was carried to *Fulham*, where he was cruelly handled by the space of a fortnight. Then to the *Tower*, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with Whips, to make him revoke his Opinions. From thence he was carried to *Barking*, then to *Chelsey*, and there condemned, and so to *Newgate* to be burned.

The cruel
handling of
Bainham.

The burning of James Bainham.



Anno 1532. At whose burning, here is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the Stake in the midst of the flaming fire, which fire had half consumed his Arms and Legs, he spake these words: O ye Papists, behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle; for in this Fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a Bed of Down: but it is to me as a Bed of Roses. These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his Legs and Arms, as I said, were half consumed.

John Bent, Martyr.

At the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one John Bent, who about this pre-

sent time, or not long before, being a Tailor, and dwelling in a Village called *Urchevant*, was burned in the Town of the *Deviset* within the County of *Wiltshire*, for denying of the Sacrament of the Altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, Martyr.

Also much about the same time, was one Trapnel burned in a Town called *Bredford*, within the same County.

Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Maryll hanged, for taking downe the Rood of Dovercourt.

John Bent, Martyr.



The History of three Men hanged for the burning of the Rood of Dover-Court, collected out of a Letter of Robert Gardiner, which was one of the doers of the same.

Out of a Letter of Robert Gardiner, written to Chapman a Lawyer, and yet alive. The Rood of Dover-Court

Robert King, Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marshe, Martyrs.

The blind opinion of the people. Eventment of false Idolatry.

The Idol set on light fire.

False-filke-militaires ready.

The right handling of an Idol.

Robert King, Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marshe, Martyrs.

Robert Gardiner escaped.

Excesses, no officers, images destroyed.

IN the same year of our Lord 1532, there was an Idol named the Rood of Dover-Court, whereunto was much and great resort of People. For at that time there was a great rumour blown abroad amongst the ignorant sort, That the power of the Idol of Dover-Court was so great, that no Man had power to shut the Church-door where he stood, and therefore they let the Church-door both Night and Day, continually stand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumor. Which once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar sort, seemed a great marvel unto many Men; but to many again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, was greatly suspected, especially unto these, whose names here follow: as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marshe of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner of Dedham, whose Consciences were sore burdened to see the Honour and Power of the Almighty-Living God so to be blasphemed by such an Idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travel out of Dedham in a wondrous goodly Night, both hard Frost and fair Moonshine, although the Night before and the Night after were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the Town of Dedham, to the place where the filthy Rood stood, Ten Miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprise, that they went these Ten Miles without pain, and found the Church-door open according to the blind talk of the ignorant People: for there durst no ungodly body shut it. Which happened well for their purpose; for they found the Idol which had as much power to keep the Door shut as to keep it open. And for proof thereof, they took the Idol from his Shrine, and carried him a quarter of a Mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the said Idol. Whereupon they strook Fire with a Flint-stone, and suddenly set him on Fire, who burned out so brim, that he lighted them homeward one good Mile of the Ten.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great Riches in that place: but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves afterward confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his Coat, his Shoes, and Tapers. The Tapers did help to burn him, the Shoes they had again, and the Coat one Sir Thomas Roke did burn, but they had neither Penny, half-Penny, Gold, Groas, nor Jewel.

Notwithstanding three of them were afterward indicted of Felony, and hanged in Chains within half a year after, or thereabout. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burchet; Debnam was hanged at Cateaway-Cawsey; Nicholas Marshe was hanged at Dover-Court. Which three persons, through the Spirit of God at their death, did more edifie the People in godly learning, than all the Sermons that had been preached there a long time before.

The fourth Man of this company, named Robert Gardiner, escaped their hands and fled. Albeit he was cruelly sought for to have had the like death. But the living Lord preserved him to whom be all honour and glory, World without end.

The same year, and the year before, there were many Images cast down and destroyed in many places: as the Image of the Crucifix in the Highway by Cogshall, the Image of St. Petronil in the Church of great Horkesleigh, the Image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another Image of St. Petronil in a Chappel of Ipswich.

Allo John Seward of Dedham overthrew the Crofs in Stoke-Park, and took two Images out of a Chappel in the same Park, and cast them into the Water.

The Story, Examination, Death, and Martyrdom of John Frith.

AMONGST all other chances lamentable, there hath been none a long time which seemed unto me more grievous, than the lamentable death and cruel handling of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young Man, which had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that scarcely there was his equal amongst all his companions: and besides, withal had such a godliness of life joyed with his Doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiseworthy in them both. But as touching his Doctrine by the Grace of Christ we will speak hereafter. Of the great godliness which was in him this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular Gifts and Ornaments of the mind in him most pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an ease way unto Honour and Dignity, notwithstanding he chose rather wholly to consecrate himself unto the Church of Christ, excellently shewing forth and practising in himself the Precept so highly commended of the Philosophers, touching the life of Man; which life they say is given unto us, in such sort, that how much the better the Man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto other, serving for the common utility, and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our Parents, a greater part unto our Country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the Church, if we will be counted good Men. First of all he began his study at Cambridge. In whom Nature had planted, being but a Child, marvellous inclinations and love unto learning, whereunto he was addicted. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing, inasmuch that he seemed not to be sent unto learning, but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that towardsness, or worthy of his disposition. Whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of Learning; but also became an exquisite learned Man. In the which exercise when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit both of Latin and Greek, at the last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tyndal, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the Seed of the Gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York prepared to build a College in Oxford, a marvellous sumptuous, which had the name and title of *Bridge-Poole*, but now named *Christ Church*, not so much (as it is thought): for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto the posterity. But that building, he being cut off by the stroke of death (for he was sent forth unto the King, accused of certain crimes, and in the way by immoderate punishments killed himself) left partly begun, partly half ended, and unperfected, and nothing else save only the Kitchen was fully finished. Whereupon *Rodolphus Gualterus*, a learned Man, being then in Oxford, and beholding the College, said these words in Latin: *Egregium opus, Cardinalis iste instituit collegium, & absolvit partem.* How large and ample those Buildings should have been, what sumptuous cost should have been bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the Kitchen, the Hall, and certain Chambers; whereas there is such curious Graving and Workmanship of Stone-cutters, that all things on every side did glitter for the excellency of the Workmanship, for the fineness of the matter, with the gilt Anticks and Embellishments, inasmuch that if all the rest had been finished to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not only all Colleges of Students, but also Palaces of Princes. This ambitious Cardinal gathered together into that College whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole Realm, either Vestments, Vessels, or other Ornaments, beside provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such Men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge. Whose names to recite all

KING
Hiz 2.

Ann.
1532
John Frith, Martyr.

John Frith, first Student in Cambridge.

Commentation of Frith's handling.

The College of Bridge-Poole, now called Christ Church College.

The saying of Rodolphus Gualterus touching the Cardinal's College.

KING } in order would be too long. The chief of them which
HENR. 8. } were called from Cambridge were these:

Master Clerk, Master of Art, of thirty four years of Age.

M. Frier, afterward Doctor of Physick, after that a strong Papist.

M. Sumner, Master of Art.

M. Harman, Master of Art, and after fellow of Eaton College, after that a Papist.

M. Bettes, Master of Art, a good Man and zealous, and so remained.

Master Cox, Master of Art, who conveyed himself away toward the North, and after was School-master of Eaton, and then Chaplain to Doctor Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, and by him preferred to King Henry, and late Bishop of Ely.

John Frith, Bachelor of Art.

Bayly, Bachelor of Art.

Goodman, who being sick in the Prison with the other, was had out, and died in the Town.

Drumme, who afterwards fell away and forsook the Truth.

Thomas Lawney, Chaplain of the House, Prisoner with John Frith.

This Taverner represented him very much that he had made songs to Popish Dieties in the time of his blindness.

To these joyn also *Taverner* of Boston, the good Musician, besides many other called also out of other places, most picked young Men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who confining together upon the abuses of Religion, being at that time crept into the Church, were therefore accused of Heresie unto the Cardinal, and cast into a Prison, within a deep Cave under the Ground of the same College where their Salt Fish was laid; so that through the filthy stench thereof they were all infected, and certain of them taking their death in the same Prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the Prison into their Chambers, there deceased.

Persecutors. The troubles and examiners of these good Men, were these: Doctor London, Doctor Hodgson, Dean of the said College, and Doctor Cotterford, Commissary.

M. Clerk, Master Sumner, and Sir Bayly, eating nothing but Salt Fish from February to the midst of August, died all three together within the compass of one week.

Master Bettes a witty Man, having no Books found in his Chamber, through inreary and surety got out of Prison, and so remaining a space in the College, at last slipped away to Cambridge, and after was Chaplain to Queen Ann, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of *Clarks* Books under the Boards in his School; yet the Cardinal for his Mulick excused him; saying, That he was but a Musician: and so he escaped.

After the death of these Men, *John Frith* with other, by the Cardinals Letter, which sent word that he would not have them so fruitly handled, were dismissed out of Prison, upon condition not to pass above Ten Miles out of Oxford. Which *Frith*, after hearing of the Examination of *Dalaber* and *Garret*, which bear then Fagots, went over the Sea, and after two years he came over for Exhibition of the Prior of *Reading* (as was thought) and had the Prior over with him.

Being at *Reading*, it happened that he was there taken for a Vagabond, and brought to Examination: where the simple Man, which could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the Stocks. Where after he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and desired that for all that declare what he was, at the last he desired that the School-master of the Town might be brought to him, which at that time was *Leonard Cox*, a Man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, *Frith*, by and by began in the *Latin* Tongue to bewail his Captivity.

The School-master by and by, being overcome with his Eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such an estate and misery. Afterward, they conferring more together upon many things, as touching the Universities, Schools, and Tongues, fell from the *Latin* into the

Greek: Wherein *Frith* did so intame the love of that School-master towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when the School-master heard him so promptly by heart rehearse *Homer's* Verses out of his first Book of *Iliads*. Whereupon the School-master went with all speed unto the Magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did shew unto so excellent and innocent a young Man.

Thus *Frith*, through the help of the School-master, was freely dimitted out of the Stocks, and set at liberty without punishment. Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly purfuite of Sir *Thomas More*, who at that time being Chancellor of England, persecuted him both by Land and Sea, besetting all the Ways and Havens, yea and promising great rewards, if any Man could bring him any news or tydings of him.

Thus *Frith* being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to run him, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his Garments and Place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no not long amongst his Friends: so that at the last, being traitorously taken (as ye shall after hear) he was sent unto the Tower of London, whereas he had many conflicts with the Bishops, but specially in writing with Sir *Thomas More*. The first occasion of his writing was this: Upon a time he had communication with a certain old familiar Friend of his, touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. The whole effect of which disputation consisted specially in these four points:

1. **F**irst, That the matter of the Sacrament is no necessary Article of Faith under pain of damnation.

2. Secondly, That forasmuch as Christ's natural Body in like condition hath all properties of our body, in only except, it cannot be, neither as it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

3. Moreover, it shall not seem meet or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and Phrase of speech, comparing Phrase with Phrase, according to the Analogy of the Scripture.

4. Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right Instruction of Christ, albeit that the order which at this time is crept into the Church, and is used now a days by the Priests, do never so much differ from it.

And forasmuch as the Treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat long, his Friend desired him that such things as he had reasoned upon he would briefly commit unto writings, and give unto him for the help of his memory. *Frith*, albeit he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a contentious matter, at the last notwithstanding, he being overcome by the intreaty of his Friend, rather followed his will, than looked to his own safeguard.

There was at that time in London a Taylor named *William Holt*, which feigning great friendship toward this party, instantly required of him to give him license to read over that same Writing of *Frith*. Which when he unadvisedly did, the other by and by carried it unto *More*, being then Chancellor. Which thing afterward was occasion of great trouble, and also of death unto the said *Frith*. For *More* having gotten a Copy of his Book, not only of this Sycophant, but also two other Copies, which at the same time in a manner were sent him by other promoters, he whetted his wits, and called his spirits together as much as he might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary Book.

This in a manner was the whole sum of the reasons of *Frith's* Book; First, to declare the Popes belief of the Sacrament to be no necessary Article of our Faith; that is to say, that it is no Article of our Faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation; that the Sacrament should be the natural Body of Christ. Which has thus

John Frith through the help of the School-master, was delivered out of the Stocks.

Sir Thomas More a deadly persecutor of *John Frith*.

The occasion of *Frith's* writing against *More*.

The occasion on which *Frith* writing upon the Sacrament.

William Holt a Jew.

Sir Thomas More a deadly persecutor.

Of this *Dalaber* more in the Story of *Thomas Garret*.

John Frith set in the Stocks at *Reading*.

Leonard Cox, School-master of *Reading*.

The sum of
Frith's Book
of the Sa-
crament.

This not
believing
the corpor-
al presence
of Christ
in the Sacra-
ment is no
damnation.

proveh. For many so believe, and yet in so believing the Sacrament to be the natural body are not thereby saved, but receive it to their own damnation.

Again, in believing the Sacrament to be the natural body, yet that natural presence of his Body in the Bread is not that which saveth us, but his presence in our hearts by Faith. And likewise, the not believing of his bodily presence in the Sacrament, is not the thing that shall damn us, but the absence of him out of our heart, through unbelief. And if it be objected, that it is necessary to believe Gods Word under pain of damnation: to that he answereth, That the Word taken in the right sense, as Christ meant, maintaineth no such bodily presence as the Popes Church doth teach, but rather a Sacramental presence. And that, saith he, may be further confirmed thus:

Argument.

C^o None of the old Fathers before Christs Incarnation were bound under pain of damnation to believe this point.

Ia- All we be saved by the same Faith that the old Fathers were.

rent. Ergo, None of us are bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

The first part, saith he, is evident of it self. For how could they believe that which they never heard nor saw?

August. ad
Dardanum.

The second part, saith he, appeareth plainly by Saint Augustine, writing ad Dardanum, and also by an hundred places more. Neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate than this, that the same Faith that saved our Fathers, saveth us also. And therefore upon the truth of these two parts thus proved, must the conclusion, saith he, needs follow,

Another Argument.

None of the old Fathers before Christs Incarnation did eat Christ corporally in their signs, but only mystically, and spiritually, and were saved.

All we do eat Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

Ergo, None of us do eat Christ Corporally, but mystically, and spiritually in our signs as they did.

For the probation of the first part, Frith proceeding in his Discourse declareth how the ancient Fathers before Christs Incarnation did never believe any such point of this gross and carnal eating of Christs body; and yet notwithstanding they did eat him spiritually and were saved: As Adam, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Phinees, and other godly Israelites besides. All which, saith he, did eat the Body of Christ, and did drink his Blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was Spiritual, pertaining only to Faith, and not to the Teeth:

1 Cor. 10

For they were all under the cloud, and drank of the rock which followed them; this rock was Christ, which was promised them to come into the World. And this promise was first made unto Adam, when as it was said unto the Serpent; I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between her seed and thy seed, &c. And afterward again unto Abraham: In thy seed shall all people be blessed, &c. Adding also the Sacrament of Circumcision, which was called the Covenant: not because it was so indeed, but because it was a sign and a token of the Covenant made between God and Abraham, admonishing us thereby, how we should judge and think touching the Sacrament of body and blood; to wit, that albeit it be called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereby the fruit of our justification, which plentifully floweth unto all the faithful, by his most healthful body and blood.

Likewise the same promise was made unto Moses the most meek and gentle Captain of the Israelites, which did not only himself believe upon Christ, which was so often promised, but also did prefigure him by divers means, both by the Manna which came down from Heaven, and also by the Water which issued out of the Rock, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Augustus
1. 1. 1. 1.
Christi 82.
aj.

Gen. 26.
Bread is
called the
Body, as
the Sacra-
ment of
Circumci-
sion is cal-
led the Co-
venant.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both Manna and this water had a prophetic mystery in them, declaring the very self-same thing then, which the Bread and the Wine do now declare unto us in the Sacrament. For thus saith Saint Augustine, Whosoever did understand by Bread and Wine a Christ in the Manna, did eat the same spiritual food that we do. But they, which by that Manna sought only to fill their Bellies, did eat thereof, and are dead. So likewise faith he of the Drink; For the Rock was Christ. And by and after he inferneth thus: Moses did eat Manna, and Phinees also, and many other also did eat thereof, which pleased God, and are not dead. Why? Because they did understand the visible meat spiritually. They did spiritually hunger, and did spiritually taste of it, that they might be spiritually satisfied. They all did eat the same spiritual meat, and all did drink the same spiritual drink: all one spiritual thing, but not all one Corporal matter (for they did eat Manna, and we another thing) but the self-same spiritual thing that we do, and although they drank the same spiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we another: Which nevertheless signified all one thing in spiritual effect. How did they drink all one thing? The Apostle answereth, Of the spiritual Rock which followed them, for the Rock was Christ. And Beda also adding these words saith, Behold the signs are altered, and yet the Faith remaineth one. Thereby a man may perceive that the Manna which came down from Heaven, was the same unto them that our Sacrament is unto us, and that by either of them is signified, that the body of Christ came down from Heaven; and yet notwithstanding never any of them said, that Manna was the very body of Melchisedech, as our Sacramental Bread is not indeed the Body of Christ, but a mystical representation of the same. For like as the Manna which came down from Heaven, and the bread which is received in the supper, doth nourish the body, even so the body of Christ coming down from Heaven, and being given for us, doth quicken up the spirits of the Believers unto life everlasting. Then if the Salvation of both people be like, and their faith also one, there is no cause why we should add Transubstantiation unto our Sacrament, more than they believed their Manna to be altered and changed. Moreover because they are named Sacraments, even by the signification of the name they must needs be signs of things, or else of necessity they can be no Sacraments.

But some may here object and say; If only Faith, both unto them and also unto us, be sufficient for Salvation, what need then any Sacraments to be instituted? He answered, that there are three causes why Sacraments are instituted. The first Saint Austin declareth in these words, Writing against Faustus, Men, faith he, cannot be knit together into one name of Religion, be it true or be it false, except they be knit by the society of signs and visible Sacraments, the power whereof doth wonderfully prevail, in so much that such as contain them are wicked: for that is wickedly concerned without the which godliness cannot be made perfect, &c. Another cause is, that they should be helps to graft and plant Faith in our Hearts, and for the confirmation of Gods promises. But this use of Sacraments many are yet ignorant of, and more there be, which do preposterously judge of the same, taking the signs for the thing it self, and worshipping the same: even by like reason in a manner, as if a man would take the bush that hangeth at the Tavern door, and suck it up the minds and hearts of the faithful to give thanks unto God for his benefits. And these in a manner are the principal points of his Book.

When More (as is aforesaid) had gotten a Copy of this Treatise, he sharpened his Pen all that he might to make answer unto this young man (for so he calleth him throughout his whole Book) but in such sort, that when the Book was once set forth, and shewed unto the World, then he endeavored himself all that he might to keep it from printing, peradventure lest that any Copy thereof should come unto Friths hand, But notwithstanding when at the last Frith had gotten a Copy thereof, by means of his friends, He answered him out of the Prison, counting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect and

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The Water
of the rock
Figure of
Christs Bo-
dy, and Wine a
Figure 1. 1.
Christs Bo-
dy. (Cor. 10)

The old Fa-
thers did
eat the same
Spiritual
Food that
we do, but
not the
same Cor-
poral Food,
for they did
eat Christ
in Manna,
we do eat
him in
Bread. Beda.

A similit-
ude be-
tween
Manna and
the Body
of Christ.

Objection.

Answer.
Three causes
why Sacra-
ments are
Ordained.
August.
course
Faustus.

The second
cause.
Sacraments
not to be
worshipped
for the
things.

The third
cause.

More vet-
ereth against
John Frith.

Frith an-
swereth
to More.

and absolute handling of the matter. And as it were a great labour, so do I think it not much necessary to repeat all his Reasons and Arguments, or the Testimonies which he had gathered out of the Doctors: specially for-much as the Archbishop of *Canterbury* Crammer, in his Apology against the Bishop of *Winchester*, seemed to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other: and I doubt much whether the Archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any Author of that Doctrine, than unto this aforesaid *Frith*.

What dexterity of Wit was in him, and excellency of Doctrine, it may appear not only by his Books which he wrote of the Sacrament, but also in them which he intitled of Purgatory. In the which quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obdurate enemies: that is to say, of *Rochester*, *More*, and *Raſſal*, whereof the one by the help of the Doctors, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural Philosophy had conspired against him. But he, as a *Hercules* fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted *Raſſal* to his part.

Besides all these Commendations of this young Man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joyed with a learned godliness. Which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the Church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they never so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would God that all things in all places were so free from all kind of diffenſion, that there were no mention made amongst Christians of *Zuinglians* and *Lutherians*, when as neither *Zuinglius*, neither *Luther* died for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing could happen more grievous unto those worthy Men, than their names to be abused to Sects and Factions, which so greatly withstood and strove against all Factions. Neither do I here discourse which part came nearest unto the truth: Neither so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might join either part unto other.

But now, inſomuch as we treat of the Story of *John Frith*, I cannot chooſe, but muſt needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that Man, who maintaining his quarrel of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, no less godly than learnedly, (and so no Man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily) yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the Papists, except he had been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness sake, as his most modest Reason and answers did declare.

For when as *More*, disputing in a certain place upon the Sacrament, layed against him the authority of Doctor *Barns*, for the presence of the Body and Blood in the Sacrament, he answered unto *More* and his Companions, that he would promise under this condition, That the sentence of *Luther* and *Barns* might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it: for in that point they did both agree with him, that the Sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that Idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every Man to judge of the Sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any Man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore if they did agree in that which was the chiefest point of the Sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the remnant.

Thus much he wrote in the Treatise, entituled, The exile of *Barns* against *More*. Which words of this most meek Martyr of Christ, if they would take place in the felonious divisions and factions of these our days, with great ease and little labour, Men might be brought to an unity in this controverted, and much more concord and love should be in the Church, and much less offence given abroad than there is.

But to our Story again of *John Frith*, who after he had now sufficiently contained in his writings with *More*,

Rochester, and *Raſſal*, *Mores* Son in Law, he was at the last carried to *Lambeth*, first before the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and afterward unto *Croïdon*, before the Bishop of *Winchester*, to Plead his Cause. Last of all, he was called before the Bishops in a common Assembly at *London*, where he constantly defended himself, if he might have been heard.

The Order of his judgment, with the manner of his Examination and Articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a Letter written and sent unto his Friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter of *John Frith* to his Friends, concerning his troubles: Wherein after he had first with a brief Preface saluted them, entering then into the matter, Thus he writeth.

I Doubt not dear Brethren, but that it doth some deal vex you, to see the one part to have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the other to be put to silence, and not be heard indifferently. But refer your matters unto God, which shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the mean time I have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what Articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that you might understand the matter certainly.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special Articles, that is to say, of Purgatory, and of the substance of the Sacrament.

And first of all, as touching Purgatory, they enquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the Soul after this life. But I said, that I thought there was no such place: For Man (said I) doth consist and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this World, by the Cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every Child that he receiveth: as affliction, Worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. And last of all the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us: but the soul is purged with the Word of God, which we receive through Faith, to the salvation both of Body and soul. Now if ye can shew me a third part of Man beside the Body and the Soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye do call Purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the Bishop of *Rome's* Purgatory: Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary Article of our Faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a Purgatory or no.

Secondly, They examined me touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether it was the very Body of Christ, or no.

I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's Body and also our Body, as Saint Paul teacheth us in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and tenth Chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many cornes, it is called our body, which being divers and many members, are associate and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of Grapes, and is made into one Liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the Body of Christ, declaring his Body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

Furthermore, in that the Sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's Body, signifying that as verily as the Sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily is Christ's Body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

In that it is received it is Christ's Body, signifying that as verily as the outward Man received the Sacrament with his Teeth and Mouth, so verily doth the inward Man through Faith receive Christ's Body and fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the Bread which he eateth.

Well (said they) dost thou not think that his very natural Body, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, is really contained under the Sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, said I—I do not so think: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any Article of Faith. For

John Frith converted before the Bishop.

This Letter is to be seen in the end of that collection and worthy work which he made in the Tower concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Purgatory.

The Sacrament of Christ's Body.

Transubstantiation.

Rochester, More, and Raſſal, against Frith

John Frith answered Raſſal.

The prudent temperance and moderation of *John Frith*.

John Frith speaking according to that time, shewed the opinion of *Luther* might be received.

Moderation commended in matters of dissipation.

even as I say, that you ought not to make any necessary Article of the Faith of your part (which is an affirmative) so I say again, that we make no necessary Article of the Faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all Men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love, and one to bear another's infirmity.

Frith
manus
script.

After this they alledged the place of Saint Augustine, where he saith; *Fructus in manibus propriis*, That is to say, He was carried in his own hands.

The place
of St. Augu-
stine ex-
pounded.

Whereunto I answered, That Saint Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he hath in another place, *Fructus tanquam in manibus suis*: That is to say, He was carried as it were in his own hands; which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirm, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that Saint Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet he writing unto Boniface doth plainly admonish all Men, that the Sacraments do represent and signifie those things whereof they are Sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves they do take their names. And therefore according to this rule it may be said, he was born in his own hands, when as he bare in his hands the Sacrament of his Body and Blood.

Augu-
stine
ad Boni-
facium

Then they alledged a place of Chrysostome, which at the first blash may seem to make much for them, who in a certain Homily upon the Supper writeth thus; *Doſt thou see Bread and Wine?* Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid; for as in Wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth nor abideth: so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body, &c.

The place
of Chryso-
stome in-
ferred.

Theſe words I expounded by the words of the same Doctor, which in another Homily saith in this manner; The inward eyes (saith he) as soon as they see the Bread, they see over all Creatures, and do not think of the Bread that is baked of the Baker, but of the Bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical Bread. Now confer these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expoundeth the first plainly. For he saith, *Doſt thou see the Bread and Wine?* I answer by the second, *Nay, For the inward eyes, as soon as they see the Bread, do pass over all Creatures, and do not any longer think upon the Bread, but upon him which is signified by the Bread.* And after this manner he seeth it, and again he seeth it not: For as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he seeth it not, that is to say, regardeth not the Bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do; not that indeed we do not see that which we go about, but because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and doth not attend unto that which the Eyes do see.

Argumen-
tum ex
Christo,
the belly
of man can-
not avoid
any part of
it viti-
body.
The belly
of man
provideth
food: none
of every
thing that
the mouth
receiveth;
Ergo, the
mouth of
man receiv-
eth not
the Body of
Christ.

In like manner may it be answered unto that which followeth; Do they avoid from thee (saith he) in the draught as other meats do? I will not so say, for other meats passing thorough the Bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the Body, be voided into the draught: but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by Faith, and nourisheth both Body and Soul unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time voided as other meats are.

And as before I said that the external Eyes do behold the Bread, which the inward Eyes, being otherwise occupied, do not behold or think upon, even so our outward Man doth digest the Bread, and void it into the draught; but the inward Man doth neither regard nor think upon it, but thinketh upon the thing it self that is signified by that Bread. And therefore Chrysostome, a little before the words which they alledged, saith; Lift up your minds and hearts. Whereby he admonisheth us to look upon and consider those Heavenly things which are represented and signified by the Bread and Wine, and not to mark the Bread and Wine it self.

Here they said, that was not Chrysostome's mind; but that by this example he declared that there remained no Bread nor Wine. I answered; That was false: for the example that he taketh tendeth to no other purpose, but to call away our spiritual Eyes from the beholding of vile things, and to transport

them another way, as if the things which are seen were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our mind from the consideration of these things, and fixeth it upon him which is signified unto us by the same. The very words which follow sufficiently declare this to be the true meaning of the Author, whereas he commandeth us to consider all things with our inward eyes; that is to say, spiritually.

But whether Chrysostome's words do tend either to this or that sense, yet do they indifferently make on our part against our adversaries, which way soever we do understand them. For if he thought that the Bread and Wine do remain, we have no further to travel: but if he meant contrariwise, that they do not remain, but that the natures of the Bread and Wine are altered, then are the Bread and Wine falsely named Sacraments and mysteries, which can be said in no place to be in the nature of things: for that which is in no place, how can it be a Sacrament, or supply the room of a mystery? Finally, if he speak only of the outward forms and shapes (as we call them) it is most certain that they do continually remain, and that they by the substance of the body are not consumed in any place; wherefore it must necessarily follow the words of Chrysostome to be understood in such sense as I have declared.

Here peradventure many would marvel, that so much as the matter touching the substance of the Sacrament, being separate from the Articles of Faith, and binding no Man of necessity either unto salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all Men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do contain or despise the other; but that all love and charity be still hidden and kept in this diffinition of opinions: what then is the cause, why I would therefore lo willingly suffer death? The cause why I die is this; For that I cannot agree with the Divines and other head Prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an Article of Faith, and that we should believe under pain of Damnation, the substance of the Bread and Wine to be changed into the Body and Blood of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, the form and shape only not being changed. Which thing if it were most true (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture or Doctors) yet shall they not be so bold to pass, that that Doctrine, were it never so true, should be holden for a necessary Article of Faith. For there are many things both in the Scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as an Article of Faith.

So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things, and yet for all that I will not hold it as an Article of Faith, (a) but that you may without danger of Damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

But as touching the cause why I cannot affirm the doctrine of Transubstantiation, divers reasons do lead me thereto.

First, For that I do plainly see it to be false and vain, and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures or of approved Doctors.

Secondly, For that by my example I would not be an Author unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of Faith, more than the necessary points of their Creed, wherein the whole sum of our salvation doth consist, specially such things, the Belief whereof have no certain argument of authority or reason.

I added moreover, that their Church (as they call it) hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us under the peril of our souls, to the believing of any such Articles.

Thirdly, Because I will not, for the favour of our Divines or Priests, be prejudicial in this point unto so many Nations, of Germans, Helvetians, and other, which altogether rejecting the Transubstantiation of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion that I am, as well those that take Luther's part, as those that hold with Occolampadius. Which things standing in this case, I

J KING
128.8.1

All myſte-
ries to be
ſeen with
inward eyes.

Chryſtoſtome
againſt the
populiſh do-
ctrine of the
Sacra-
ment.

The objec-
tion of
Chryſtoſtome
avoided by
a Dilemma.

A queſtion
asked, with
the cauſe
declared,
why this
feeling the
matter of
the Sacra-
ment it ſelf
importeth
neither ſal-
vation nor
damnation,
why then
ſhould one
ſuffer death
for the ſame.

(a) This is
to be
weighed
with the
time when
Frith wrote.
Three cau-
ſes why
Transub-
ſtantiation
is not to be
believed.

The ſecond
cauſe.

Our title
cauſe.

[SING] there is no Man of any upright conscience, which will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto for this only cause, that I do not think Transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, to be established for an Article of Faith.

And thus much hitherto as touching the Articles and whole disputation of *John Frith*, which was done with all moderation and uprightnes. But when as no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, the Twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1533. he was brought before the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, who sitting in Saint Pauls upon Friday, the Twentieth day of June, ministered certain interrogatories upon the Sacrament of the Supper, and Purgatory, unto the said *Frith*, as is above declared. To the which when he had answered and shewed his mind in form and effect, as by his own words above doth appear, he afterward subscribed to his answers with his own hand, in these words.

The Execution of John Frith.

Ego Frithus ita sentio, et quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asserui, et affirmavi.

That is to say:

I Frith thus do think, and so I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my Books have published.

But when as by no means he could be persuaded to recant these Articles aforesaid, neither be brought to believe that the Sacrament is an Article of Faith, but said, *Fiat judicium & justicie*: he was condemned by the Bishop of London to be burned, and sentence given against him; the Tenor whereof here ensueth.

John Frith condemned

The sentence given against John Frith.

Sentence against John Frith.

(b) Arthey had which executed Frith.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We *John* by the permission of God, Bishop of London, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by the authority and virtue of our Office, against the *John Frith* of our jurisdiction, before us personally here present, having accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of Heresie, having heard, seen, and understood, and with diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed which by us in this behalf by Order of Law ought to be observed, sitting in our Judgment Seat, the Name of Christ being first called upon, and having (b) God only before our eyes, because by the Acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this manner, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find, that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers Errors and Heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the Holy Church, and specially against the Reverend Sacrament; and albeit that we following the example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, have oftentimes gone about to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and most wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again to the true Faith, and the Unity of the Universal Catholick Church, notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and Heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and as the Child of wickedness and darkness, so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy Shepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions: We therefore, *John* the Bishop aforesaid; not willing that thou which art wicked, shouldst become more wicked, and infect the Lords Flock with thy Heresie, which we are greatly afraid of, do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the said *John Frith*, thy demerits and faults being aggravate through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable Heresies, and as an obstinate unrepentent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and

Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and that thou hast been, and art by Law excommunicate, and pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person: Also we pronounce and declare thee to be an Heretic, to be cut out from the Church, and left unto the judgment of the Secular Power, and now presently to do leave thee unto the Secular Power, and their judgment: most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror and conversion of Heretics, to the Unity of the Catholick Faith, by this our sentence definitive, or final Decree, which we here promulgate in this form aforesaid.

Moderation pretended, but none showed.

This sentence thus read, the Bishop of London directed his Letter to Sir *Stephen Peacock*, Mayor of London, and the Sheriffs of the same City, for the receiving of the foresaid *John Frith* into their charge. Who being so delivered over unto them the fourth day of July, in the year aforesaid, was by them carried into *Smithfield* to be burned, and when he was tied unto the Stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death. For when the Fagots and Fire were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same; thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christs sake, and the true Doctrine, whereof that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm Testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bare away the flame from him unto his fellow that was tied to his back: but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoyce for his Fellow, than to be careful for himself.

John Frith delivered to the secular hands.

The constant death of John Frith.

This truly is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his Saints: Who sanctifie us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his most holy Name, Amen.

The day before the burning of these worthy Men of God, the Bishop of London certified *King Henry* the Eighth, of his worthy, yea, rather Woolvish proceeding against these Men: the Tenor whereof, in so much as it proceedeth as the other do before, we therefore omit it, referring the Reader to the same.

Andrew Hewet burned with Master Frith.

Andrew Hewet, born in *Feversham*, in the County of *Kent*, a young Man of the age of four and twenty years, was Apprentise with one *Master Warren* a Tailor, in *Watling Street*. And as it happened that he went upon a Holy-day into *Fleet Street*, towards Saint Dunstons, he met with one *William Holt*, which was fore-man with the Kings Tailor, at that present called *Master Malre*, and being suspected by the same *Holt* (which was a dissembling wretch) to be one that favoured the Gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about *Fleet Bridge*, which was a Booksellers house. Then *Holt*, thinking he had found good occasion to shew forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain Officers, and searched the house, and finding the same *Andrew*, apprehended him, and carried him, to the Bishops house, where he was cast into Irons; and being there a good space, by the means of a certain honest Man, he had a File conveyed unto him, wherewith he filed off his Irons, and when he spied his time he got out of the gate. But being a Man unskilful to hide himself, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into *Smithfield*, and there met with one *Withers*, which was an Hypocrite, as *Holt* was. Which *Withers* understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the Country where he had to do, from *Low-Sunday* till *Whitsunday*, and then brought him to London to the house of one *John Chapman* in *Hofter Lane* beside *Smithfield*, and there left him by the space of two days.

Andrew Hewet's Martyrdom. Ann. 1533.

Andrew Hewet apprehended. The man that gave him this file Valentine Press the Painter's Brother, who was afterwards with his Wife burned in 1536.

John Chap-
man.

William
Holt play-
eth the
Judas.

John
Tibauld five
times in
hands for
Christ.

Andrew
Hewet again
taken.

Chapman in
the Stocks.

Tibauld en-
joyed, not
to come
within
seven miles
of his house.

Then he came to the said *Chapmans* House again, and brought *Holt* with him. And when they met with the said *Andrew*, they seemed as though they meant to do him very much good. And *Holt* for his part, said, That if he should bring any Man in trouble (as the voice was that he had done the said *Andrew*) it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up. Inasmuch that they would needs Sup there that night, and prepared meat of their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain Guests with them, because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and *Holt* took out of his purse two Groats, and gave them to the said *Andrew*, and embraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one *John Tibauld*, which was banished from his own house by an Injunction, for he had been four times in prison for Christs sake. And within an hour after that *Holt* and *Witbers* were gone, the Bishops Chancellor and one called Sergeant *Weaver* came, and brought with them the Watch, and searched the house, where they found the said *John Chapman* and the forenamed *Andrew*, and *John Tibauld*, whom they bound with Ropes, which Sergeant *Weaver* had brought with him, and so carried them to the Bishops house: but *Andrew Hewet* they sent unto the Lollards Tower, and kept *Chapman* and *Tibauld* asunder, watched with two Priests servants. The next day Bishop *Stokesley* came from *Fulham*, and after they were examined with a few threatening words, *Chapman* was committed to the Stocks, with this threat, That he should tell another Tale, or else he should sit there till his heels did drop from his Arse: and *Tibauld* was shut up in a close Chamber; but by Gods provision, he was well delivered out of prison, albeit he could not enjoy his House and Land, because of the Bishops Injunction, but was faine to sell all that he had in *Essex*; for the Tenor of his Injunction was, That he should not come within seven miles of his own house: and the forenamed *Chapman*, after five weeks imprisonment (whereof three weeks he fate in the Stocks) by much suit made unto the Lord Chancellor, which at that time was Lord *Audley*, after many threatnings was delivered: But the said *Andrew Hewet*, after long and cruel imprisonments was condemned to death, and burned with *John Frith*: Whole examination here followeth.

THe Twentieth day of the Month of *April*, *Andrew Hewet* was brought before the Chancellor of the Bishop of *London*, where was objected against him, that he believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the Body of Christ, and that the Host consecrated was not the very Body of Christ. Now for so much as this Article seemed hainous unto them, they would do nothing in it without the consent of learned Counsel: whereupon the Bishop of *London*, associated with the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, called him again before them. Where he being demanded what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; answered; Even as *John Frith* doth. Then said one of the Bishops unto him; Dost thou not believe that it is really the Body of Christ, born of the Virgin *Mary*? So (saith he) do not I believe. Why not, said the Bishop? because (saith he) Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly unto all men which say; Behold here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false Prophets, shall rise up, saith the Lord.

Then certain of the Bishops smiled at him; and *Stokesley* the Bishop of *London* said; Why, *Frith* is an Heretick and already judged to be burned, and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him? Truly (saith he) I am content therewithal. Then the Bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions. Whereunto he answered, That he would do as *Frith* did. Whereupon he was sent unto the prison to *Frith*, and afterward they were carried together to the fire. The Bishops used many persuasions to allure this good Man from the truth, to follow them: but he, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore, the fourth day of *July*, at afternoon, he was carried into *Smithfield* with *Frith*, and there burned.

When they were at the Stake, one Doctor *Cook*, a Parson in *London*, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a Dog. At which words *Frith* smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed Martyrs committed their Souls into the hands of God.

KING.
Hen. 8.
Andrew
Hewet
brought
and exam-
ined before
the Bishop.

Christ not
to be believ-
ed to be really
in the
Sacrament.

Hewet hol-
deth with
death with
John Frith.
Hewet con-
stant in
the Faith.
Hewet burn-
ed with
John Frith.

The Burning of John Frith, & Andrew Hewet.



The Burning of Thomas Bonet.



KING}

HEN. 8.

The History of the Persecution and death of
Thomas Benet, burnt in Exeter: Collected
and revised by John Vowel, alias Hoker.

The Benet
of Exeter,
Martyr.The Benet
coming
from Cam-
bridge to
Devonshire.Benet came
to Exeter.Will. Somers
prisoned in
Exeter for
Gods Word.Benet, why
he married.Antichristi-
ans are
those which
are against
Christ.The godly
zeal of
Th. Benet.

This *Thomas Benet* was born in Cambridge, and by order of degree of the University there made M. of Art, and (as some think) was also a Priest, a Man doubtless very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of *Thomas Bulney*, the famous and glorious Martyr of Christ. This Man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy Word, the more he did dislike and abhor the corrupt state of Religion then used; and therefore thinking his own Country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he did forsake the University, and went into *Devonshire*, in the year of our Lord, 1524, and first dwelled in a Market town, named *Torinton*, both Town and Country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all Men there. Where, for the better maintenance of himself and his Wife, he did practise to teach young Children, and kept a School for the same purpose. But that Town not serving his expectation, after his abode one year there, he came to the City of *Exeter*, and there hiring a House in a Street called the Butchers-row, did exercise the teaching of Children, and by that means sustained his Wife and Family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all Men, and offensive to no body. His greatest delight was to be at all Sermons and Preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private Study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saying with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the Gospel, and zealous of Gods true Religion: of such he would be inquisitive, and most desirous to join himself unto them. And therefore understanding that one *William Stroud* of *Newnam*, in the County of *Devonshire* Esquire, was committed to the Bishops prison in *Exeter* upon suspicion of Heresy, although he were never before acquainted with him, yet did he send his Letters of comfort and consolation unto him. Wherein, to avoid all suspicion which might be conceived of him, he did disclose himself, and utter what he was, and the causes of his being in the County: writing among other things these words; *Ue ne scortator aut immundus essem, uorem duxi, cum qua hinc sex annis ab istorum Antichristianorum manibus in Devonia latitavi.* That is to say, Because I would not be a Whoremonger, or an unclean person, therefore I married a Wife, with whom I have hidden myself in *Devonshire*, from the Tyranny of the Antichristians these six years.

But as every Tree and Herb hath his due time to bring forth his Fruit, so did it appear by this Man. For he daily feeling the glory of God to be so blasphemed, Idolatrous Religion so imbraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the Bishop of *Rome* so extolled, was so grieved in Conscience, and troubled in Spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein. Wherefore dealing privately with certain of his Friends, he did plainly open and disclose how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his Word contemned, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were by blind Guides carried headlong to everlasting Damnation: and therefore he could no longer endure, but must needs, and would utter their abominations, and for his own part, for the Testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of Gods true Religion, would yield himself most patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die and to shed his Blood therein; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the Church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose persuasions when his Friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the Cause, and continue a faithful Soldier to the end. Which done, he gave order for the bettowing of such Books as he had, and very shortly after, in the Month of

October, he wrote his mind in certain Scroles of Paper, which in secret manner he set upon the Doors of the Cathedral Church of the City in which was written: The Pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God only, and no Saints.

These Bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the enquiry of the Heretic that should set up these Bills: and the Mayor and his Officers were not so busy to make searches to find out this Heretic, but the Bishop and all his Doctors were as hot as Coals, and inkindled as though they had been stung with a sort of Wasps. Wherefore to keep the people in their former blindness, Order was taken that the Doctors should in haste up to the Pulpit every day, and confute this Heretic. Nevertheless this *Thomas Benet*, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the Cathedral Church to the Sermon, and by chance fate down by two Men, which were the busiest in all the City in seeking and searching for Heretics; and they beholding this *Benet*, said the one to the other; Surely this Fellow by all likelihood is the Heretic that hath set up the Bills, and it were good to examine him. Nevertheless when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the Man, his attentiveness to the Preacher, his godliness in the Church, being always occupied in his Book, which was a Testament in the Latin Tongue, were astonished, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed and left him Reading in his Book. As touching this point of *Benet's* behaviour in the Church, I find the reports of some other a little to vary, and yet not much contrary one to the other. For in receiving the Letters and Writings of a certain Minister, which at the same time was present at the doing hereof in *Exeter*; thus I find moreover added concerning the behaviour of this *Thomas Benet* in the Church.

At that time (saith he) as I remember, Doctor *Mores* and *man*, *Crispin*, *Calsey*, with such other, bare theiving there. Besides these, were also Preachers there, one Doctor *Escauld*, an unlearned Doctor, God knoweth, and one Doctor *David*, as well learned as he, both Gray-Friers, and Doctor I know not who, a Black-Frier, not much inferior unto them. Moreover, there was one Bachelor of Divinity, a Gray-Frier named *Gregory Bassett*, indeed learned more than they all, but as blind and superstitious as he which was most. Which *Gregory* not long before was revolted from the way of Righteousness, to the way of *Belial*: For in *Brishow* (saith the Author) he lay in prison long, and was almost famished, for having a Book of *Martin Luther*, called his Questions, which he a long time privily had studied, and for the teaching of Youth a certain Catechism. To be short, the Brains of the Canons and Priests, the Officers and Commons of that City were very earnestly baited, how, or by what means such an enormous Heretic, which had picked up those Bills, might be eluded and known; but it was long first. At last, the Priests found out a toy to Curse him, whatsoever he were, with Book, Bell, and Candle; Which Curse at that day, seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the Curse was after this sort.

One of the Priests apparelled all in White, ascended up into the Pulpit. The other Rabblement, with certain of the two Orders of Friars, and certain superstitious Monks of Saint *Nicholas* House standing round about, and the Crows (as the custom was) being holden up with holy Candles of Wax fixed to the same, he began his Sermon with this Theme of *Josua*; *Est Blasphemia in castris*; There is blasphemy in the Army: and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious: and so concluded, That that foul and abominable Heretic which had put up such blasphemous Bills, was for that his blasphemy damnable Cursed, and befought God, our Lady, Saint *Peter*, Patron of that Church, with all the holy Company of Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, that it might be known what Heretic had put up such blasphemous Bills, that Gods people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of the Cursing of the said *Benet* was marvelous to behold, forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a Shereman or two, whose Houses I well remember were searched for Bills at that time, and for Books, that knew any thing of Gods matters, or how God doth bless their Curses in such cases.

The Pope is
Antichrist.Benet set
up bills
against the
Pope.Benet almost
taken in the
Church.The Stories
a little vary
touching
the talking
of Benet.The Stories
and
Friars in
Exeter.Gregory
Bassett, Frier
of Exeter.The Priests
Curse they
cannot tell
whom.

cafes. Then said the Prelate, By the Authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy Saints, we Excommunicate, we utterly Curse and Ban, commit and deliver to the Devil of Hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have in spite of God and of Saint Peter, whose Church this is, in spite of all holy Saints, and in spite of our most holy Father the Pope, Gods Vicar here on Earth, and in spite of the reverend Father in God, John our Diocesan, and the Worshipful Canons, Masters, and Priests, and Clerks, which serve God daily in this Cathedral Church, fixed up with Wax such cursed and heretical Bills full of Blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy Churches within this City. Excommunicate plainly be he or she plenally, or they, and delivered over to the Devil, as perpetual Malefactors and Schismatics. Accursed might they be, and given Body and Soul to the Devil. Cursed be they, be or she, in Cities and Towns, in Fields, in Ways, in Paths, in Houses, out of Houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the participation of the holy Mass, from all Sacraments, Chappels and Altars, from holy Bread, and holy Water, from all the Merits of Gods Priests, and religious men, and from all their Cloysters, from all their Pardons, Privileges, Grants, and Immunities, which all the holy Fathers, Popes of Rome have granted to them: and we give them over utterly to the power of the Fiend, and let us quench their Souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of Hell fire, as this Candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the Candles:) and let us pray to God (if they be alive) that their Eyes may be put out, as this Candle light is (so he put out the other Candle:) and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to Saint Peter and Paul, and all holy Saints, that all the senses of their Bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the lights of this Candle is gone (and so he put out the third Candle) except they, be or she, come openly now and confess their Blasphemy, and by Repentance (as in them shall lie) make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the Worshipful Company of this Cathedral Church: and as this holy Crofs staff now falleth down, so might they, except they repent, and shew themselves: and one first taking away the Crofs, the staff fell down. But Lord, what a shout and noise was there, what terrible fear, what holding up of hands to heaven, that Curse was so terrible?

Now this fond foolish fantastic and mockery being done and played, which was to a Christian heart a thing ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, but within himself, and for a great space could not cease, by the which thing the poor man was espied. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great Curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, For what cause he should so laugh. My Friends, said he, who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes plaied of the Priests? Straight way a noise was made, Here is the Heretick, here is the Heretick, hold him fast, hold him fast, hold him fast. With that, there was a great confusion of Voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the Heretick or no. Some say, that upon the same he was taken and apprehended. Other report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house. Where he, being not able to digest the lyes there preached, renewed his former Bills, and caused his Boy early in the morning following, to set the said Bills upon the Gates of the Church-yard. As the Boy was setting one of the said Bills upon a Gate, called The little Style, it chanced that one W. S. going to the Cathedral Church to hear a Mass, called Barions Mass, which was then daily said about five of the Clock in the morning, found the Boy at the Gate and asking him, Whose Boy he was, did charge him to be the Heretick which had set up the Bills upon the Gates: wherefore pulling down the Bill, he brought the same together with the Boy before the Major of the City, and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was violently committed to Ward.

On the morrow began both the Canons and Heads of the City joyned with them, to fall to examination. With whom for that day he had not much communication, but confessed and said to them, It was even I that put up those Bills, and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but that is very truth. Couldst not thou, said they, as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up Bills of Blasphemy? No, said he, I put up the Bills, that many should read and bear what abominable Blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your Antichrist, the Pope to be that Boar out of the Wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the Hedges of Gods Church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light: for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you.

The next day after he was sent unto the Bishop, who first committed him to prison, called The Bishops Prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong Irons, with as much favour as a Dog should find. Then the Bishop associating unto him one Doctor Brewer his Chancellor, and other of his lewd Clergy and Friars, began to examine him and burthen him, that contrary to the Catholick Faith he denied praying to Saints, and also denied the Supremacy of the Pope. Whereunto he answered in such forbearing manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his Assertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his Adversaries, but also brought them in great admiration of him, the most part having pity and compassion on him. The Friars took great pains with him to persuade him from his erroneous Opinions, to recant and acknowledge his Fault, touching the Bills; but they did but dig after day: for God had appointed him to be a blessed Witness of his holy Name, and to be at defiance with all their Persecutions.

To declare here with what cruelty the Officers searched his house for Bills and Books, how cruelly and shamefully they handled his Wife, charging her with divers Enormities, it were too long to write. But she, like a good Woman took all things patiently that they did unto her: like as in other things she was contented to bear the Crofs with him, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to live with coarse meat and drink, that they might be the more able somewhat to help the Poor, as they did to the uttermost of their power. Amongst all other Priests and Friars, Gregory Bassett was most busie with him. This Gregory Bassett, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleasant Tongue, and not long before was fallen from the Truth, for the which he was prisoned in Brisfow long time, at whose examination was ordained a great Pan of fire, where his holy Brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced him to burn his hands off: whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterward a mortal Enemy to the Truth all his life. This Gregory, as it is said, was fervent with the poor man, to please the Canons of that Church, and marvelously tormented his brains, how to turn him from his Opinions, yea, and he was so diligent and fervent with him, that he would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day, who notwithstanding lost his labour: for good Benet was at a point not to deny Christ before men. So Gregory, as well as the other holy Fathers, lost his Spurs, inasmuch that he laid in open audience, That there was never so obstinate an Heretick.

The principal Point between Bassett and him was touching the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, whom in his Bills he named Antichrist, the Thief, the Mercenary, and Murdrer of Christs Flock: and these Disputations lasted about eight days, where at sundry times repaired to him both the Black and Gray-Friars, with Priests and Monks of that City. They that had some Learning persuaded him to believe the Church, and shewed by what tokens it is known. The other unlearned railed, and said, That the Devil tempted him, and spit upon him, calling him Heretick: who prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: For, said he, I will rather die, than Worship such a Beast, the very Whore of Babylon, and a false Usurper, as manifestly doth appear by his doings. They asked, What

Here is sold charity

Bliss and
cure we,
faith the
Lord: Curs
and blis
we, faith
the Pope.

Mark the
upth Pape
nity of this
Popelings.

The Benet
laughed at
their curs
ing.

The Benet
seteth up
new Bills.

The Benet
taken by
means of his
Boy setting
up his Bills.

KING
HEN. 8. 5

The Benet
willingly
confessed
the cause
why he set
up his Bills.

The Benet
sent to the
Bishops pri
son.

Articles
laid against
Benet.

Gregory
Bassett get
tuned at
Brisfow.

Gregory
Bassett com
pelled by
the Friars to
recant.

Gregory Bas
sett busie
against the
Benet.

The matter
between
Bassett and
the Benet.

Railing
against the
Benet.

KING he did. that he had not Power and Authority to do, being God's Vicar? He doth, quoth he, sell the Sacraments of the Church for money, he selleth remission of Sins daily for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers Masses for Souls in famed Purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying Sermons to the people, to maintain your false Traditions, and foul Gains. The whole World doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame. The shame, say they, shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foul Heretick. Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy Church? What a perverse Heretick art thou? I am, said he, no Heretick, but a Christian man, I thank Christ, and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the Church to the Glory of God, and edifying of my Soul: but I see nothing in your Church, but that maintaineth the Devil. What is our Church, said they? It is not my Church (quoth Benet) God give me Grace to be of a better Church, for verily your Church is the plain Church of Antichrist, the Malignant Church, the second Church, a Den of Thieves, and Army of Poison, and as far wide from the true Universal and Apostolick Church, as Heaven is distant from the Earth.

Doſt not thou think, said they, that we pertain to the Universal Church? Yes, quoth he, but as dead Members, unto whom the Church is not beneficial: for your works are the Devices of man, and your Church a weak foundation; for ye say and preach, That the Popes word is equal with Gods Word in every degree. Why, said they, did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven? He said that, quoth he, to all as well as to Peter, and Peter had no more Authority given him than they, or else the Churches planted in every Kingdom by their preaching are no Churches. Doth not Saint Paul say, Upon the Foundations of the Apostles and Prophets? Therefore I say plainly, That the Church that is built upon a man, is the Devils Church or Congregation, and not Gods. And as every Church this day is appointed to be ruled by a Bishop or Pastor, ordained by the Word of God in preaching and administration of the Sacraments under the Prince the supreme Governor under God: So to say, That all the Churches with their Princes and Governors be subject unto one Bishop is detestable Heresie, and the Pope your God, challenging this Power to himself, is the greatest Schismatick that ever was in the Church, and most foul Whore of whom John in the Revelation speaketh.

O thou blind and unlearned Fool (said they) is not the confession and consent of all the World as we confess and consent: That the Pope Holiness is the supreme Head and Vicar of Christ? That is (said Benet) because they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of Princes to know their Office, his false Supremacy would soon decay. We think (said they) thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no Church. Look (said he) where they are that confess the true Name of Jesus Christ, and where only Christ is the Head, and under him the Prince of the Realm, to order all Bishops, Ministers and Preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only Glory of God by preaching the Word of God, and where it is preached, that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making Intercession for us, and where the true faith and confidence in Christs Death and Passion, and his only Merits and Deservings are extolled, and our own depressed: where the Sacrament is duly without Superstition or Idolatry administered in remembrance of his blessed Passion, and only Sacrifice upon the Cross once for all, and where no Superstition reigneth, of that Church wilt I be.

Doth not the Pope (said they) confess the true Gospel? do not we all the same? Yes (said he) but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the Sands, not upon the Rock. And wilt thou believe indeed (said they) that the Pope is Gods Vicar? No (said he) indeed. And why, said they? Because (quoth he) he to other Apostles a Power not given him of Christ, no more than to other Apostles: and also because he doth by force of that usurped Supremacy blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded.

What (said they) if he do all things after Gods Ordinance and Commandment should be then be his Vicar? Then (said he) would I believe him to be a good Bishop at Rome over his own Diocese, and to have no further Power. And if it pleased God, I would every Bishop did this in their Dioceses: then should we live a peaceable life in the Church of Christ, and there should be no such Seditions therein. If every Bishop would seek no further power than over his own Diocese, it were a goodly thing. Now because all are subject to One, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great Superstition in every Kingdom. And what Bishop soever be that preacheth the Gospel, and maintaineth the Truth, is a true Bishop of the Church. And doth not (said they) our holy Father the Pope maintain the Gospel? Yes (said he) I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also; but neither be nor you do fix the anchor of your Salvation therein. Besides that, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, that no man may read it but your selves. And when you preach, God knows how you handle it: inasmuch, that the people of Christ knoweth no Gospel wellnear, but the Popes Gospel: and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true Gospel of Christs confidence is none, but only in your Popes Traditions, and phantastical inventions.

Then said a Black-Frier unto him (God knoweth a black-head) Do we not preach the Gospel daily? Yes (said he) but what preaching of the Gospel is that when therewith ye extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have Redemption through Pardons and Bulls from Rome, a penance & culpa, as ye term it: and by the merits of your Orders ye make many Brethren and Sisters, ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your Coats, and in shew ye beguile them: yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more: a man may be weary to speak of them. I see, said the Frier, thou art a damned wretch, I will have no more talk with thee.

Then slept to him a Gray-Frier, a Doctor (God knoweth) of small Intelligence, and laid before him great and many dangers. I take God to record, said Benet, my life is not dear to me, I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of Gods flock, and for my part, I can no longer forbear: I had rather by death (which I know is not far off) depart this life, than I may no longer be partaker of your detestable Idolatries and Superstitions, or be subject unto Antichrist your Pope. Our Pope (said the Frier) is the Vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God. I pray you, said Benet, depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is only my way, which faith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. In this way will I walk, his doings shall be my Example, not yours, nor your false Popes. His Truth will I embrace, not the lies and falsehood of you, and your Pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true Reward of all faithful people. Away from me I pray you. Vex my Soul no longer, ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity it self. If I should bear and follow you this, everlasting death should hang over me, a just Reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me, your company liketh me not.

Thus a whole week, night and day, was Benet applied of these and such other Hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done and said to him in the time of his Imprisonment, and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding they could never move his patience, he answered to every matter soberly, and that more by the aid of Gods Spirit, than by any worldly study. I think he was at the least fifty years old. Being in prison, his Wife provided sustentance for him, and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good and godly Exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his Adversaries.

Thus when these godly Canons and Priests with the Monks and Friars had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they proceeding unto Judgment drew out their bloody Sentence against

What inconvenience followeth, that all Bishops should be ruled by man.

The Popes Gospel.

Benet weary of the Friers talk.

Thom. Benet patient and constant.

The abuse of the Pope to be noted. Selling of Souls.

The Popes Church painted in his colours.

The who not only given to Friers, but to all the Apostles.

The Church builded upon man, the Devils Church.

The vision of Babylon. Content of the world.

Where the true Church is.

The Pope not Gods Vicar, and usurper a Power not given him of Christ, no more than to other Apostles.

against him, condemning him, (as the manner is) to be burned. Which being done, and the Writ which they had procured *De Comburendo*, being brought from London, they delivered him the fifteenth of January, 1531. unto Sir Thomas Denis Knight, then Sheriff of Devonshire to be burned. The mild Martyr rejoicing his end to approach so near, as the sheep before the Shearer, yielded himself with all humbleness to abide and suffer the Crofs of Persecution. And being brought to his Execution, in a place called *Livery-dole* without Excester, he made his most humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy Oration to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as also to leave the devils, fantasies, and imaginations of mans inventions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonished and in great admiration: Inasmuch that the most part of the people, as also the Scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was Gods Servant, and a good man.

Nevertheless two Esquires, namely, *Thomas Carew* and *John Barnhouse*, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and goodly words, but at length, through threatnings, led him to revoke his Errors, and to call to our Lady and the Saints, and to say, *Precor Sanctam Mariam, & omnes Sanctos Dei, &c.* To whom he with all meekness answered, saying, No, no, is God only upon whose Name we must call, and we have no other Advocate unto him, but only Jesus Christ, Who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father to be an Advocate for us; and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and be heard. With which answer the forefaid Barnhouse was so enkindled, that he took a Furze-bush upon a Pike, and being set on fire, thrust it unto his face, saying, *Ab Whorison Heretick, pray to our Lady, and say, Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, or by Gods wounds I will make thee do it.*

To whom the said Thomas Benet, with an humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, *Alas Sir, trouble me not.* And holding up his hands, he said, *Pater ignosce illis.* Whereupon the Gentlemen caused the wood and fuzes to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, saying, *O Domine, re-ripe spiritum meum.* And so continuing in his prayers, did never stir nor strive, but most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until his life was ended. For the which the Lord God be praised, and send us his Grace and Blessing, that at the later day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the Elect Children of God.

This Benet was burned in a Jerkin of Neats-Leather; at whose burning (such was the devilish rage of the blind people) that well he was or the that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

Hitherto we have run over (good Reader) the names, the acts and doings of them which have sustained death and the torment of burning for Christs Cause, through the rigorous Proclamation above specified, set out (as is said) in the Name of King Henry, but indeed procured by the Bishops. Which Proclamation was so straitly looked upon, and executed so to the uttermost, in every point, by the said Popish Prelates, that no good man, *Esd. 7. habens spiritum* (whereof *Esdas* speaketh) could peep out with his head never so little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, as were these above mentioned, or else compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whose names if they were sought out through all Registers in England, no doubt it would make too long a discourse. Nevertheless, omitting the rest; it shall content us at this present, briefly as in a short Table to insinuate the names, with the special Articles, of such as in the Dioceses of London, under Bishop *Stokesley*, were molested and vexed, and at last compelled to abjure, as here may appear.

Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Geffrey Lome, 1528.

His Articles were these, For having and dispersing certain Books of Luther.

Item, For translating certain Chapters of his Book *De Bonis Operibus*. For holding, That Faith without Works is sufficient to bring us to Heaven. That Christian men ought to worship God only, and no Saints. That Christian men should not offer to Images in Churches, nor set any light before them. That Pardons granted by Pope or Bishop do not profit a man.

Sigar Nicolson, Stationer of Cambridge, 1528.

His Articles were like; and moreover, for having in his house certain Books of Luther, and other prohibited, and not presenting them to the Ordinary. The handling of this man was too too cruel, if the report be true, that he should be hanged up by those parts which nature well suffereth not to be named.

John Rammad a Dutchman, 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of Tindals new Testaments to be printed at *Antwerpe*, and for bringing five hundred into England.

Paul Luther, Gray-Friar, and Warden of the House at *Wate*, 1529.

His Articles, For preaching and saying, That it is pity that there be so many Images suffered in so many places, whereas undidrect and unlearned people be; for they make their Prayers and Oblations so entirely and heartily before the Image, that they believe it to be the very self Saint in Heaven.

Item, That if he knew his Father and Mother were in Heaven, he would count them as good as St. Peter and Paul, but for the pain they suffered for Christs sake.

Item, That there is no need to go on Pilgrimage. Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God, and no Saint; for Saints in Heaven cannot help us, neither know any more what men do here in this World, than a man in the North Country knoweth what is done in the South Country.

Roger Whaplod, Merchant-Taylor, 1529.

Roger Whaplod, sent by one *Tho. Norfolk* unto Doctor *Goderidge* this Bill following to be read at his Sermon in the Spittel.

If there be any well disposed person willing to do any cost upon the reparation of the Conduit in Fleetstreet, let him or them resort unto the Administrators of the Goods and Cattel of one Richard Hunne late Merchant-Taylor of London, which died intestate, or else to me, and they shall have toward the same six pound thirteen shillings four pence, and a better penny, of the Goods of the said Richard Hunne; upon whose Soul, and all Christian Souls, Jesus have mercy.

For the which Bill, both Whaplod and Norfolk were brought and troubled before the Bishop; and also Doctor *Goderidge*, which took a great for reading the said Bill, was suspended for a time from saying Mass, and also was forced to revoke the same at Pauls Crofs; reading this Bill as followeth.

5 KING
Hen. 8. 1.

Men abju-
red.

A Bill read
by the
Preacher at
the Spittle.

It was the
manner at
this time to
take mooney
for reading
of Bills at
Sermon.
See Regist.
Lond.

The

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

The Revocation of Doctor William Goderige, read at Pauls Crofs.

MAfters, fo it is, that where in my late Sermon at Saint Mary Spittle, the Tuesday in Easter-week laft paft, I did pray fpecially for the Soul of Richard Hunne, late of London Merchant-Taylor, an Heretick by the Laws of holy Church juftly condemned; by reafon whereof I greatly offended God and his Church, and the Laws of the fame, for the which I have fubmitted me to my Ordinary, and done Penance therefore: fo far as much as peradventure the audience, that was there offended by my faid words, might take any occafion thereby to think that I did favour the faid Heretick, or any other, I delire you at the infance of Almighty God to forgive me, and not fo to think of me, for I did it unadvifedly. Therefore here before God and you I declare my felf that I have not favoured him or any other Heretick, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all times fhall defend the Catholick Faith of holy Church, according to my profeflion to the beft of my power.

Robert Weft, Prieft, 1529.

Abjured for Books and Opinions contrary to the Proclamation.

Nicholas White of Rye, 1529.

His Articles; for fpeaking againft the Priefts faying of *Mattens*. For fpeaking againft praying for them that be dead; againft praying to God for fmall trifles, as the Cow calving, the Hen hatching, &c. For fpeaking againft the Relick of St. Peters finger; Againft Oblations to Images; Againft vowing of Pilgrimage; Againft Priefthood; Againft holy Bread and holy Water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, Prieft, 1529.

His Articles; That Pardons granted by the Pope are naught, and that men fhould put no truft in them, but only in the Paffion of Chrift. That he being led by the words of the Gospel, *Matth. 7. De via lata, & angufta*, and alfo by the Epiftle of the Maft, beginning, *Vir fortiffimus Judas*, had erred in the way of the Pope, and thought, that there were but two ways and no Purgatory. That men ought to worfhip no Images, nor fet up Lights before them. That Pilgrimage doth nothing avail. That the Gospel was not truly preached for the fpace of three hundred years paft.

William Wegen Prieft at St. Mary Hill, 1529.

His Articles; That he was not bound to fay his *Mattens* nor other Service, but to fing with the Quire till they came to *Prinne*, and then, faying no more Service, thought he might well go to Maft. That he had faid Maft oftentimes, and had not faid his *Mattens* and his Divine-Service before. That he had gone to Maft without confeffion made to a Prieft. That it was fufficient for a man being in deadly fin to ask only God mercy for his fin, without further confeffion made to a Prieft. That he held againft Pilgrimages, and called Images, *Stocks*, and *Stones*, and *Witches*.

Item, That he being fick went to the *Roode* of Saint *Margarete Parents*, and faid before him twenty *Pater nifters*, and when he faw himfelf never the better, then he faid, *A foul evil take him*, and all other Images.

Item, That if a man keep a good tongue in his head, he faileth well.

Item, For commending *Luther* to be a good man, for preaching twice a day, &c. For faying that the Maft was but a Ceremony, and made to the intent that men fhould pray openly.

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Item, For faying, that if a man had a pair of Beards, or a Book in his hand at the Church, and were not difpoted to pray, it was naught, &c.

William Hale,

Holy-Water Clerk of Tolenham, 1529.

His Articles, That offering of Money and Candles to Images did not avail, fith we are juftified by the Blood of Chrift.

Item, For fpeaking againft worfhipping of Saints and the Popes Pardons. For faying, that fith the Sacraments that the Prieft doth minifter be as good as they which the Pope doth minifter, he did not fee but the Prieft hath as good authority as the Pope.

Item, That a man fhould confeft himfelf to God only, and not to a Prieft, &c.

William Blomfeld Monk of Bery.

Abjured for the like Cauces.

John Tindall, 1530.

For fending five Marks to his Brother William Tindall beyond the Sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain Letters from his Brother.

William Wofley Prieft and Hermit, 1530.

His Articles, For preaching at *Halefede*, having the Curates Licence, but not the Bifhops.

Item, For preaching of thefe words, *That no man riding on Pilgrimage, having under him a foft Saddle, and an eafie Horfe, fhould have any merit there-by, but the Horfe and Saddle, &c.*

Item, For faying, *That hearing of Mattens and Maft is not the thing that fhall fave a mans Soul, but only to hear the Word of God.*

John Stacy, Tiler, 1530.

His Articles were againft Purgatory, which he faid to be but a device of the Priefts to get money. Againft Fasting-days by mans Prefcription, and choice of meats. Againft fuperfluous Holy-days. *Item*, Againft Pilgrimage, &c.

Lawrence Maxell, a Taylor, 1530.

His Articles, That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Chrift in flefh and blood; but that he received him by the Word of God, and in remembrance of Chrifts Paffion.

Item, That the Order of Priefthood is no Sacrament. That there is no Purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curfon Monk of Eaftacre in Norfolk, 1530.

His Articles were thefe, For going out of the Monaftery, and changing his Weede, and letting his Crown to grow, working abroad for his living, making Copes and Vefiments. Alfo for having the *New Teftament of Tindals* Tranflation, and an other Book containing certain Books of the *Old Teftament*, tranflated into *Engliſh*, by certain whom the *Papifts* call *Lutberans*.

Thomas Cornwell or Auffy, 1530.

His Articles; It was objected, that he being enjoyed afore by Richard Fitz-james Bifhop of London, for his Penance to wear a Fagot brodered upon his Sleeve under pain of Relapfe, he kept not the fame; and therefore he was condemned to perpetual cuftody in the houfe of Saint *Bartholomew*, from whence afterward he efaped and fled away.

Thomas

1530
1531

Doctor
Goderige
revoketh his
praying for
the Soul of
Richard
Hunne.

Via lata,
Via angufta.

C. Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Thomas Philip, 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by Sir Thomas More, to Bishop Stokesly by Indenture. Besides other Articles of Purgatory, Images, the Sacrament of the Altar, Holy-days, keeping of Books, and such like, it was objected unto him, that he, being searched in the Tower, had found about him *Tracies Testament*, and in his Chamber in the Tower was found Cheese and Butter in Lent-time. Also, that he had a Letter delivered unto him going unto the Tower. Which Letter, with the Testament also of Tracy, because they are both worthy to be seen, we mind (God willing) to annex also unto the story of this Thomas Philip. As he was oftentimes examined before Master More and the Bishop, he always stood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearly against him, but only *Tracies Testament*, and his Butter in Lent. One Tracy first bare witness against him, but after in the Court openly he protested that he did it for fear. The Bishop then willing him to furnish himself, and to swear never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of holy Church; he said, *He would*: and when the form of his Abjuration was given him to read, he read it: but the Bishop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not: and said, *He would Appeal to the King as Supreme Head of the Church*, and so did. Still the Bishop called upon him to abjure. He answered, *That he would be obedient as a Christian man should, and that he would swear never to hold any Heresie during his life, nor favour any Hereticks*.

But the Bishop not yet content, would have him to read the Abjuration after the form of the Church conceived, as it was given him. He answered again, *That he would forswear all Heresies; and that he would maintain no Heresies, nor favour any Hereticks*. The Bishop with this would not be answered, but needs would drive him to the Abjuration formed after the Popes Church. To whom he said, *If it were the same Abjuration that he read, he would not read it, but stand to his Appeal made to the King, the Supreme Head of the Church under God*. Again the Bishop asked him, *If he would abjure or not*. Except, said he, *you will show me the cause why I should abjure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my Appeal*, and required the Bishop to obey the same. Then the Bishop reading openly the Bill of Excommunication against him, denounced him for Contumacious, and an excommunicate person, charging all men to have no company, or any thing to do with him. After this Excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his Appeal, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the Tower, or whether he abjured, I find no mention made in the Registers.

A Letter directed to Thomas Philip in the name of the Brethren, and given him by the way going to the Tower.

A Letter first by the Congregation to Thomas Philip.

The favour of him that is able to keep you that you fall not, and to confess your name in the Kingdom of Glory, and to give you strength by his Spirit to confess him before all his Adversaries, be with you ever. Amen. Sir, the Brethren think that there be divers false Brethren craftily crept in among them, to seek out their freedom in the Lords, that they may accuse them to the Lords Adversaries, as they suppose they have done you. Wherefore if so it be, that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, they as Counsellors desire you above all things to be steadfast in the Lords verity without fear: for he shall and will be your help, according to his Promise, so that they shall not mislead the least hair of your head without his will: unto the which will submit yourself and rejoice: For the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and how to reserve the unjust unto the day of Judgment to be

punished: and therefore cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. And in that you suffer as a Christian man, be not ashamed, but rather glorify God on that behalf. Looking upon Christ the Author and Finisher of our Faith, which for the joy that was set before him abode the Cross and despised the shame. Notwithstanding though we suffer the wrong, after the example of our Master Christ, yet we be not bound to suffer the wrong cause, for Christ himself suffered it not, but proved him that smote him wrongfully. And so likewise saith Saint Paul also. So that we must not suffer the wrong, but boldly reprove them that sit as righteous Judges, and do contrary to righteousness. Therefore according both to Gods Law and man, ye be not bound to make answer in any cause, till your Accusers come before you. Which if you require, and thereon do stick, the false Brethren shall be known, to the great comfort of those that now stand in doubt whom they may trust: and also it shall be a means that they shall not craftily by questions take you in snare. And that you may thus do lawfully, in the twentieth Acts 20. Chapter of the Acts it is written, It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man that he should perish, before that he which is accused have his Accusers before him, and have licence to answer for himself, as pertaining to the Crime whereof he is accused. And also Christ will that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses all things shall stand. And in the fifth Chapter to Timothy the first Epistle it is written, Against a Senior receive none Accusation, 3 Tim. 5. but under two or three Witnesses. A Senior in this place is any man that hath an Honour to govern. And also their own Law is agreeable to this. Wherefore seeing it is agreeable to the Word of God, that in Accusations such Witnesses should be, you may with good conscience require it. And thus the God of Grace, which hath called you unto his eternal Glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self after a little affliction make you perfect, shall settle, strengthen and establish you, that to him may be Glory and Praise for ever. Amen.

Thus ye have heard the Letter delivered to Thomas Philip. Now followeth the Testament of William Tracy.

Tracy his Testament.

A Little before this time, William Tracy, a worshipful Esquire in Gloucestershire, then dwelling at Todington, made in his Will, that he would have no funeral Pomp at his burying, neither passed he upon Mass; and he farther said, *That he trusted in God only, and hoped by him to be saved, and not by any Saint*. This Gentleman died, and his Son as Executor brought the Will to the Bishop of Canterbury to prove: which he shewed to the Convocation, and there most cruelly they judged that he should be taken out of the ground, and be burnt as an Heretic, Anno 1532. This Commission was sent to Doctor Parker, Chancellor of the Diocels of Worcester, to execute their wicked Sentence; which accomplished the same. The King hearing his Subject to be taken out of the ground and burnt, without his knowledge or order of his Law, sent for the Chancellor, and laid high Offence to his Charge, who excused himself by the Archbishop of Canterbury which was late dead; but in conclusion it cost him 300 pound to have his Pardon. The Will and Testament of this Gentleman, thus condemned by the Clergy, was as hereunder followeth:

In the Name of God, Amen. I William Tracy of Todington in the County of Gloucester, Esquire, make my Testament and last Will as hereafter followeth: First and before all other things, I commit my self to God and to his Mercy, believing without any doubt or mistrust, that by his Grace and the Merits of Jesus Christ, and by the Vertue of his Passion and of his Resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and redemption of Body and Soul, according as it is written, *I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the Earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my bosom*.

And touching the wealth of my Soul, the Faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other means Works or Merits. My ground

KING 1 Hen. 8.

Acts 23.

Acts 20.

Mat. 18.

What is a Senior by St. Paul.

Mr. Tracy taken up being dead, and burnt.

The Testament of William Tracy.

Job 19.

KING 16. and belief is, That there is but one God and one Mediator between God and man, which is Jesus Christ; so that I accept none in Heaven nor in Earth to be Mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ: all other to be but as Petitioners in receiving of Grace: but none able to give influence of Grace; and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent that any man should say or do to help my Soul; for therein I trust only to the Promises of Christ; *He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.*

As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; For Saint *Augustine* saith, *De cura agenda pro mortuis*, that the funeral pomps are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead, and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine Executors.

And touching the distribution of my Temporal Goods, my purpose is by the Grace of God to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of Faith; so that I do not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the Faith of Jesus Christ only, by whom such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, *I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat, &c.* And it followeth, *That ye have done to the least of my Brethren, ye have done it to me, &c.* And ever we should consider that true saying, That a good work maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work; for Faith maketh a man both good and righteous: *For a righteous man liveth by Faith, and whatsoever springeth not of Faith is sin, &c.*

And all my Temporal Goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to *Margaret* my Wife, and *Richard* my Son, whom I make mine Executors. Witnesses hereof mine own hand the tenth of *October*, in the 22th year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

This is the true Copy of his Will, for the which (as you heard before) after he was almost two years dead, they took him up and burned him.

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

John Periman, Skinner, 1531.

His Articles were much like unto the others before; adding moreover, That all the Preachers then at *Pauls* Cross preached nothing but lyes and flatterings, and that there was never a true Preacher but one; naming *Edward Crome*.

Robert Goldstone, Glasier, 1531.

His Articles, That men should pray to God only, and to no Saints; That Pilgrimage is not profitable; That men should give no worship to Images. *Item*, For saying, That if he had as much power as any Cardinal had, he would destroy all the Images that were in all the Churches in England.

Lawrence Staple, Servingman, 1531.

His Articles, For having the *Testament* in English, the five Books of *Moses*, the practise of Prelates, the sum of Scripture, the *A. B. C.*

Item, About the burning of *Bainham*, for saying, I would I were with *Bainham*, seeing that every man hath forsaken him, that I might drink with him, and he might pray for me.

Item, That he moved *Henry Tomson* to learn to read the *New Testament*, calling it *The Blood of Christ*.

Item, In Lent past, when he had no Fish, he did eat Eggs, Butter and Chere. Also about six weeks before Master *Bilney* was attached, the said *Bilney* delivered to him at *Greenwich* four *New Testaments* of *Tindals* Translation, which he had in his Sleeve, and a Budget belides of Books, which Budget he,

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

shortly after riding to Cambridge, delivered unto *Bilney*, &c.

Item, On *Fridays* he used to eat Eggs, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

Henry Tomson, Taylor, 1531.

His Articles, That which the Priest lieth over his head at the sacring-time is not the very Body of Christ, nor is it God, but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poor *Tomson*, although at the first he submitted himself to the Bishop, yet they with Sentence condemned him to perpetual prison.

Jasper Wetzell of *Coleine*, 1531.

His Articles, That he cared not for going to the Church to hear Mass, for he could say Mass as well as the Priest; That he would not pray to our Lady, for he could do us no good.

Item, Being asked if he would go hear Mass, he said, He had as leve go to the Gallows where the Thieves were hanged.

Item, Being at *St. Mary Patens*, and there holding his Arms acrois, he said unto the people, That he could make as good a Knave as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.

Robert Man, Servingman, 1531.

His Articles, There is no Purgatory; The Pope hath no more power to grant Pardon than another simple Priest; That God gave no more authority to *St. Peter* than to another Priest; That the Pope was a Knave, and his Priests Knaves all, for suffering his Pardons to go abroad to deceive the people; That *St. Thomas of Canterbury* is no Saint; That *St. Peter* was never Pope of *Rome*.

Item, He used commonly to ask of Priests where he came, Whether a man were accursed if he handled a Chalice, or no? If the Priest would say, Yea: then would he reply again thus, If a man have a Sheep-skin on his hands (meaning a pair of Gloves) he may handle it. The Priests saying, Yea. Well then (quoth he) ye will make me believe, that God put more vertue in a Sheep-skin, than he did in a Christian mans hand, for whom he died.

Henry Feldon, 1531.

His trouble was for having these Books in English; A proper Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Husbandman, The Sum of Scripture, The Prologue of *Mark*. A written Book containing the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* in English. The Ten Commandments, and the sixteen Conditions of Charity.

Robert Cooper, Priest, 1531.

His Article only was this, For saying that the blessing with a Shooe-soul is as good as the Bishops blessing, &c.

Thomas Roe, 1531.

His Articles were, For speaking against Auricular Confession and Priestly Penance, and against the preaching of the Doctors.

Will. Wallam, 1531.

His Opinion, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Christ in flesh and blood, and that there is a God, but not that God in flesh and blood in the form of bread.

Grace

Eating of Eggs made Dietetic.

Priests get more store by a pair of Gloves, than they do by a Lay-mans hand.

Ex Regist. 16. Edm.

Our merit be only our Faith in Christ.

Funeral pomp serve only for the living, and give no help for the dead

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Grace Palmer, 1531.

Against
bearing of
Palms.

Witness was brought against her by her Neighbours, *John Rouse*, *Agnes* his Wife, *John Pole*, of *St. Olfers*, for saying, Ye use to bear Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, it skilleth not whether you bear any or not, it is but a thing used, and need not.

Also ye use to go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Grace*, of *Walsingham*, and other places, ye were better tarry at home, and give money to succour me and my Children, and other of my poor Neighbours, than to go thither; for there you shall find but a piece of Timber painted, there is neither God nor our Lady.

Item, For repenting that she did ever light Candles before Images.

Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Christ; it is but Bread, which the Priest there sheweth for a token or remembrance of Christs Body.

Philip Brafer of Becksted, 1531.

His Articles, That the Sacrament holden up between the Priests hands is not the Body of Christ, but bread, and is done for signification; That confession to a Priest needeth not; That Images be but stocks and stones; That Pilgrimage is vain; also for saying, That when there is any Miracle done, the Priests do anoint the Images, and make men believe that the Images do great labouring for them; and with the Offerings the Priests find their Harlots.

John Fairstede of Colchester, 1531.

Prophecie.

His Articles, For words spoken against Pilgrimage and Images. Also for saying these words, *That the day should come that men should say, Cursed be they that make these false Gods* (meaning Images.)

George Bull of Much-Hadham, Draper, 1531.

Three Con-
fessors.

His Articles, That there be three Confessors; one Principal to God, another to his Neighbour whom he had offended, and the third to a Priest; and that without the two first Confessions, to God and to his Neighbour, a man could not be saved. The third confession to a Priest, is necessary for counsel to such as be ignorant and unlearned, to learn how to make their confession with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for Forgiveness; and also in what manner they should ask forgiveness of their Neighbour whom they have offended, &c. Item, For saying that *Luther* was a good man. Item, That he reported, through the credence and report of *Mr. Patmore*, Parson of *Hadham*, that where *Wickliffe*'s bones were burnt sprang up a Well or Well-Spring.

A Well-
spring where
Wickliffe's
bones were
burned.

John Haymond, Millwright, 1531.

His Articles, For speaking and holding against Pilgrimage and Images, and against prescribed Fasting-days.

That Priests and religious men, notwithstanding their Vows made, may lawfully forsake their Vows and marry.

Item, For having Books of *Luther* and *Tindall*.

Rob. Lambie, a Harper, 1531.

His Article, For that he standing accused two years together, and not fearing the Censures of the Popes Church, went about with a Song in the Commendation of *M. Luther*.

John Hewar, Draper, 1531.

His Articles, For speaking against Purgatory, and *Thomas Becket*.

Item, At the Town of *Farnesham*, he seeing

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

[KING]
[HEN. 8.]

Edward Frensham kneeling in the street to a Crofs carried before a Crofs; asked, *To whom he kneeled?* He said, *To his Maker.* Thou art a Fool (said he) it is not thy Maker, it is but a piece of Copper or Wood, &c.

Against
kneeling to
the Crofs.

Item, For these words, Masters ye use to go on Pilgrimage; it were better first that ye look upon your poor Neighbours which lack succour, &c.

Also for saying, That he heard the Vicar of *Croidon* thus preach openly, That there is as much baudry kept by going on Pilgrimage to *Wilsedom* or *Monswell*, as in the Stews belide, &c.

Much bau-
dry in Pil-
grimage.

Tho. Patmore, Draper, 1531.

This *Patmore* was Brother to *Master Patmore*, Parson of *Hadham*, who was prisoned in the *Bollards* Tower for marrying a Priest, and in the same prison continued three years.

This *Patmore* was accused by divers Witneses, upon these Articles:

That he had as leve pray to yonder Hunter, pointing to a man painted there in a stained-cloth, for a piece of flesh, as to pray to Stocks that stand in Walls, meaning Images.

Item, That men should not pray to Saints, but to God only; For why should we pray to Saints (said he) they are but blocks and stocks.

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now.

Item, Coming by a Tree wherein stood an Image, he took away the Wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead.

Also in talk with the Curate of *St. Peters*, he defended that Priests might marry.

This *Patmore* had long held with the Bishop of *London*. First, he would not swear, *infamia non procedente*. Then he would Appeal to the King; but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the Bishops Nets, that he could not get out; but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the King an hundred pounds.

Note in the Communication between this *Patmore* and the Priest of *Saint Peters*, That whereas the Priest objected against him (as is in the Register) that Priests have lived unmarried, and without Wives these 1500 years in the Church: he and all other such Priests therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by story is proved in this Volume, that Priests here in *England* had Wives by the Law within these five hundred years and less.

The truth
of Scripture
a long time
kept from
us.

A note.

The Popish
falsly say,
that Priests
have been
unmarried
these 1500
years.

Simon Smith Master of Arts of *Gunnwell-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and *Benor* his Wife, 1531.

This *Simon Smith*, and *Benor* his Wife were the Parties whom *Master Patmore* Parson of *Hadham* above mentioned did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetual Prison. For the which Marriage both the said *Simon* and *Benor* his Wife were called to Examination before the Bishop, and he caused to make the whole Discourse of all his doings, how and where he married. Then after his marriage, how long he tarried, whether he went beyond Sea, where he was, and with whom. After his return, whether he resorted, how he lived, what *Mercery-Ware* he occupied, what Fairs he frequented, where he left his Wife, how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how he was found, &c. All this they made him confess, and put it in their Register. And though they could fatten no other Crime of Heresie upon him, but only his marriage; yet calling both him and her, being great with child, to Examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer Penance.

Thomas

{KING}
{Hen. 8.}

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Thomas Patmore, Parson of Hadham, 1530.

This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the Parsonage of Hadham in Hertfordshire, by Richard Fitz-James Bishop of London, and there continued instructing and teaching his flock, during the time of the said Fitz-James, and also of *Toussal* his successor, by the space of sixteen years or more, behaving himself in life and conversation, without any publick blame or reproach, until that *John Stokesley* was preferred unto the said Bishoprick: Who not very long after his installing, either for malice, not greatly liking of the said Patmore, or else desirous to prefer some other unto the Benefice (as it is supposed and alleged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the King, as also unto *Ann*, then Marchioness of Pembroke) caused him to be attached and brought before him, and then keeping him Prisoner in his own Palace, a certain time afterward committed him to *Lollards* Tower, where he kept him most extremely above two years without fire or Candle, or any other relief, but such as his friends sent him, not suffering any of them notwithstanding to come unto him, no not in his sickness. Howbeit, sundry times in the mean while he called him judicially, either before himself or else his Vicar General *Foxford*, that great Persecuter, charging him with these sundry Articles, viz. as first, whether he had been at *Wittenberg*; secondly, and had seen or talked with *Luther*; thirdly, or with any *Englishman*, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him, or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what Books he bought there, either *Latine* or *English*; sixthly, and whether he had read or studied any works of *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, *Pomerane* or *Melancthon*. Besides these, he ministered also other Articles unto him, touching the Marriage of Master *Simon Smith* (before mentioned) with one *Jean Bensor*, charging him that he both knew of and also consented unto their Marriage, the one being a Priest and his Curate, and the other his Maid-servant, and that he had persuaded his said Maid-servant to marry with his said Curate, alledging unto her, that though it were not lawful in *England* for Priests to marry, yet it was in other Countries beyond Seas. And that after their said Marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said *Smith* to minister in his Cure all *Easter* time, and fifteen days after; and that at their departure out of *England*, he shipped with them at the Bell in *New-Fishstreet*, and again, at their return into *England*, did meet them at the said Bell, and there lent unto the said *Smith* a Priests Gown.

He objected moreover against him in the said Articles; that he had affirmed at *Cambridge*, first, that he did not set a Bottle of Hay by the Popes or Bishops Curse; secondly, and that God bindeth us to impossible things, that he may save us only by his mercy; thirdly also, that though young Children be baptised, yet they cannot be saved except they had faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against Gods law to burn Heretics.

Unto these Articles, after long imprisonment and great threats of the Bishop and his Vicar, he at the last answered, making first his Appeal unto the King. Wherein he shewed, that forasmuch as the Bishop had most unjustly and contrary to all due order of Law, and the equity thereof, proceeded against him, as well in falsely defaming him with the crime of Heresie, without having any just proof or publick defamation thereof, as also contrary to all justice, keeping him in most strait Prison to long time (both to the great danger of his life by grievous sickness taken thereby, as especially to his no small grief, that through his absence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the Word of God and his Sacraments as he would) and then to minister unto him such Articles, mingled with Interrogatories, as neither touched any Heresie nor transgression of any Law, but rather threw-

¶ Persons abjured, with their Articles.

ing a mind to pick quarrels against him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the causes alledged, was compelled and did appeal from him and all his Officers unto the Kings Majesty, whom under God he had for his most just and lawful refuge, and defender against all injuries. From which Appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet because he would not shew himself obstinate against the Bishop being his Ordinary (although he had most just cause to suspect his unjust proceedings against him) he was nevertheless content to exhibit unto him this his answer. First, that howsoever the Bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not *Publice diffamatus apud bonos & graves*, according to law, he was not by the law bound to answer to any of those Articles.

And as touching the first six Articles (as whether he was at *Wittenberg*, and spake with *Luther* or any other, or bought or read any of their Books, &c.) because none of those things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publickly accused of them (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them) he was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the Marriage of Master *Simon Smith* with *Jean Bensor*, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Master *Smith*; but that he gave his Maid-cousin thereunto be utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the Marriage between them, he thought it not at all against Gods Law, who at the first Creation made Marriage lawful for all men: Neither thought he it unlawful for him, after their Marriage, either to keep him as his Curate, or else to lend or give him any thing needful (wherein he said he had shewed more charity than the Bishop, who had taken all gifts from them) and therefore he desired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that Priests Marriages were not lawful. Against whom, *Foxford* the Bishops Vicar often alledged General Councils, and Determinations of the Church, but no Scriptures, still urging him to abjure his Articles; which Patmore long time refused, and sticking a great while to his former answers, at last was threatened by *Foxford*, to have definitive sentence read against him. Whereupon he answered, That he believed the holy Church as a Christian man ought to do, and because it passed his capacity, he desired to be instructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a Priest might marry a Wife, howbeit by the laws of the Church he thought that a Priest might not marry. But the Chancellor still urged him to shew whether a Priest might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that Priests might not marry without offence to God, because the Church had forbidden it, and therefore a Priest could not marry without deadly sin. Now as touching the four last Articles, he denied that he spake them as they were put against him; but he granted that he might, perhaps; jestingly say, *That a bottle of Hay were more profitable to him than the Popes curse, which he thought true*. Also to the second he affirmed, That God had set before us by his Precepts and Commandments the way to justice; which way was not in mans power to go and keep; therefore *Paul* saith, *ad Galatas 3. Quod lex erat ordinata per Angelos*; but yet to fulfil it, it was in manu (*id est, in potestate*) *intercessoris*: That none that shall be saved shall account their salvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own justice in observing the Law; for it was in no mans power to observe it; but shall give all thanks to the mercies and goodnes of God; according to the *Psalm*, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, and according to the saying of *Paul*, *Ut qui glorietur, in Domino glorietur*; Which hath sent his Son to do for us that which was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the Law, Christ had been sent to us without cause, to do for us that thing which we our selves could

Priests marriage.

Persons abjured, with their Articles.

could have done, that is to say, fulfil the Law. As for the third he spake not, for he did never know that any may be baptised without Faith; which Faith, inasmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given *parvulis*? To the last he said, That if he spake it, he meant it not of those that Saint Bernard called Hereticks, with more Adulterers, Thieves, Murders and other open sinners, which blaspheme God by their mouths, calling good evil, and evil good, making light darkness, and darkness light. But he meant it of such as men call Hereticks according to the testimony of St. Paul, *Act. 24. I live after the way (saith he) that men call Heresie, whom Christ doth foretell that ye shall burn and persecute to death.*

After these answers thus made, the Bishop with his persecuting *Foxford*, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by strait imprisonment, and partly by threats to proceed against him, that in the end he was slain through humane infirmity to submit himself, and was abjured and condemned to perpetual prison; with loss, both of his Benefice, as also of all his goods. Howbeit one of his Brethren afterwards made such suit unto the King (by means of the Queen) that after three years imprisonment, he was both released out of Prison, and also obtained of the King a Commission to the Lord *Awdeley*, then being L. Chancellor, and to *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to *Cromwel*, then Secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjust dealings of the Bishop and his Chancellor against the said *Patmore*, notwithstanding his appeal unto the King, and to determine thereof according to true equity and justice, and to restore the said *Patmore* again unto his said Benefice. But what was the end and issue of this Commission, we find not as yet.

John Row, Book-binder, a Frenchman, 1531.

This man, for binding, buying and dispersing of Books inhibited, was enjoined, beside other Penance, to go to *Smithfield* with his Books tied about him, and to cast them in the fire, and there to abide till they were all burnt to ashes.

Christopher, a Dutchman of *Antwerp*, 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in *English*, to *John Row* aforesaid, was put in Prison at *Westminster*, and there died.

W. Nelson, Priest, 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of *Periman* certain Books of *Luther*, *Tindal*, *Thorpe*, &c. and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the Kings Proclamation, for the which he was abjured. He was Priest at *Litch*.

Thomas Eve, Weaver, 1531.

His Articles: That the Sacrament of the Altar is but a memory of Christs Passion. That men were fools to go on Pilgrimage, or to set any Candle before Images. Item, It is as good to set up slaves before the Sepulchre, as to set up Tapers of Wax. That Priests might have Wives.

Robert Hudson of S. Sepulchres. 1531.

His Article: On *Childermas* day (saith the Register) he offered in *Pauls* Church at offering time, to the Child Bishop (called *S. Nicholas*) a Dog for devotion (as he said) and meant no hurt, for he thought to have offered a half-penny, or else the Dog, and thought the Dog to be better than a half-penny, and the Dog should raise some profit to the Child; and said moreover, that it was the tenth Dog, &c. *Ex Regist.*

Christopher, a Book-binder died in Prison.

A Dog offered to St. Nicholas Bishop.

Persons Abjured, with their Articles.

Edward Hewet, Servingman, 1531.

His Crime: That after the Kings Proclamation, he had and read the New Testament in *English*; also the Books of *John Frith* against Purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry, servant, 1531.

His Article: That he, after the Kings Proclamation, had and used these Books; The Testament in *English*, the Summ of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in *English*, hidden in his Beddraw at *Worcester*.

Michael Lobley, 1531.

His Articles: That he being at *Antwerp*, bought certain Books inhibited, as *The Revelation of Antichrist*, the obedience of a Christian man, the wicked Mammon, Frith against Purgatory. Item, For speaking against Images and Purgatory. Item, For saying, that *Bibley* was a good man, and died a good man, because of a Bill, that one did fend from *Norwich*, that specified that he took his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

A Boy of *Colchester*, 1531.

A Boy of *Colchester* or *Norfolk*, brought to *Richard Bayfield* a Budget of Books, about four days before the said *Bayfield* was taken; for the which the Lad was taken, and laid in the Counter by Mr. *Mare* Chancellor, and there died.

William Smith, Taylor, 1531.

His Articles: That he lodged oftentimes in his house, *Richard Bayfield*, and other good men; that he received his Books into his house, and used much reading in the New Testament; he had also the Testament of *William Tracy*; he believed that there was no Purgatory.

William Lincoln, Prentice, 1532.

His Articles: For having and receiving Books from beyond the Sea, of *Tindal*, *Frith*, *Thorpe*, and other. Item, He doubted, whether there were any Purgatory: Whether it were well done to set up Candles to Saints, to go on Pilgrimage, &c.

John Mel of *Bocksted*, 1532.

His Heresie was this: For having and reading the New Testament in *English*, the Psalter in *English*, and the Book called *ABC*.

John Medwel, servant to Master *Carkes*, Scrivener.

This *Medwel* lay in Prison twenty four Weeks, till he was almost lame. His Heresies were these; That he doubted whether there was any Purgatory. He would not trust in Pardons, but rather in the Promises of Christ; he doubted, whether the merits of any but only of Christ did help him; He doubted whether Pilgrimages and setting up of Candles to Images, were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any Saint. Item, he had in his custody, the New Testament in *English*, the Examination of *Thorpe*; the wicked Mammon, a Book of Matrimony, *Ex ipsius schedula ad Episc. Scripta*.

Christopher

KING
Hen. 8.

Why then doth Mr. *Mare* say, that *Bibley* recanted and died a good man, if this be justified for commending him to die a good man.

A Lad in *Colchester* died in Prison for bringing to *Bayfield* his Books.

Heresie with the Pope to trust only to the merits of Christ.

Persons abjured, with their Articles.

Christopher Fulman, Servant to a Goldsmith, 1532.

This young man was attached, for receiving certain Books at Antwerp of George Constantine, and transporting them over into England, and selling them to sundry persons, being Books prohibited by the Proclamation. Item, He thought then these Books to have been good, and that he had been in error in times past.

Margaret Bourger, 1532.

Her Heresies were these, being asked if she would go on Pilgrimage, she said, I believe in God, and be can do me more good than our Lady, or any other Saint; and as for them, they shall come to me, if they will, &c. Then Richard Sharple, Patron of Millend by Colchester, asked her, if she said her Ave Maria. I say, said she, Hail Mary, but I will say no further. Then said he, if she left not those opinions, she would bear a Fagot. If I do, said she, better than I shall: adding moreover, that she would not go from that to die therefore; to whom the Priest answered said, she would be burned. Hereunto Margaret again replying, asked the Priest, Who made Martyrs? Tyrants (quoth she) they shall, or may we, quoth Margaret. At length with much ado, and great persuasions, she gave over to Foxford the Chancellor, and submitted her self.

John Tiler, an Irishman of Bilerika, Taylor.

His Articles were these, That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the body of Christ, but only a Cake of Bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how he fell into that Heresie, he answered said, that about three Weeks before Midsummer last, he heard Mr. Hugh Latimer preach at Saint Mary Abchurch, that men should leave going on Pilgrimage abroad, and do their Pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Also the said Mr. Latimer in his Sermon did set the Sacrament of the Altar at nillie.

William Lancaster, Taylor, 1532.

The cause laid to this man, was, that he had in his keeping the book of Wickliff's Wicket. Item, That he believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, not to be the body of Christ really, &c. Item, Upon the day of Assumption, he said, That if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

Robert Topley, Frier, 1532.

His Articles: He being a Frier Augustine of Clare, forsook his Habit, and going in a secular mans weed ten years, married a Wife, called Margaret Nixon, having by her a child; and afterward, being brought before the Bishop, he was by him abjured and condemned to be imprisoned in his former Monastery; but at last he escaped out, and returned to his Wife again.

Thomas Topley, Augustine Frier, at Stokeclare:

By the occasion of this Robert Topley afore-said, place is offered to speak something likewise of Thomas Topley, his Brother belike, and also a Frier of the same Order and House of Stokeclare. This Thomas Topley had been before converted by one Richard Fox, Priest of Bumstead, and Miles Coverdale, inasmuch, that he being induced partly by them, partly by reading certain Books, cast off both his Order and Habit, and went like a secu-

Persons Abjured, with their Articles.

lar Priest. Whereupon he was espied, and brought to Cuthbert, Bishop of London, Anno 1528, before whom this Confession he made as followeth.

The Recantation of Thomas Topley.

ALL Christian men beware of consenting to Erasmus Fables, for by consenting to them they have caused me to shrink in my Faith, that I promised to God at my Christening by my Wines. First, as touching these Fables, I read in Colloquium, by the instruction of Sir Richard Fox, of certain Pilgrims, which (as the Book doth say) made a Vow to go to Saint James, and as they went, one of them died, and he desired his fellows to salute Saint James in his name; and another died homeward, and he desired that they would salute his Wife and Children; and the third died at Florence, and his fellow said, he supposed he was in Heaven, and yet he said that he was a great Iyer. Thus I mused of these Opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from Devotion to Saints. Notwithstanding, I consented that the divine Service of them was very good, and is, though I have not had such sweetness in it as I should have had, because of such Fables; and also because of other foolish Pastimes; as dauncing, Tennis, and such other, which I think have been great occasions that the goodness of God hath been void in me, and vice in strength.

Moreover, it fortuned thus, about half a year ago, that the said Sir Richard went forth, and desired me to serve his Cure for him; and as I was in his Chamber, I found a certain Book called Wickliff's Wicket, whereby I felt in my Conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterward also when I remembered it, it wounded my Conscience very fore. Nevertheless I consented not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon Saint Anthonies day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said Book (which did make the Sacrament of Christs body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christs Passion) till I heard Sir Myles Coverdale preach, and then my mind was fore withdrawn from that blessed Sacrament, inasmuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christ his body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soul with sin, because I have not been steadfast in that holy Order that God hath called me unto by Baptism, neither in the holy Order that God and St. Augustine hath called me to by my Religion, &c.

Furthermore, he said and confessed, That in the Lent last past, as he was walking in the field at Bumstead, with Sir Myles Coverdale, late Frier of the same Order, going in the Habit of a secular Priest, which had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent at Bumstead, they did commune together of Erasmus Works, and also upon Confession. The which Sir Myles said and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his Conscience, without Confession made to a Priest; which Opinion this Respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also he said, that at the said Sermon made by the said Sir Myles Coverdale at Bumstead, he heard him preach against worshipping of Images in the Church, saying and preaching, That men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it.

William Gardiner, Augustine Frier of Clare.

With this Topley I may also join William Gardiner, one of the same Order and House of Clare, who likewise by the motion of the said Richard Fox, Curate of Bumstead, and by shewing him certain

The Recantation of Thomas Topley Frier, Colchester, England.

See Reg. Lm.

Wickliff's Wicket.

Miles Coverdale.

Miles Coverdale.

KING
Hra. 8.

Tyrants
make Mar-
tyrs.

Mr. Latimer
preached a-
gainst Pil-
grimage.

A Frier con-
fessed.

Miles Co-
verdale.

Books

¶ Persons Abjured, with their Articles.

Books to read, was brought likewise to the like learning and judgment, and was by the same abjured by *Cuthbert*, Bishop, the same year, 1528.

Richard Johnson of Bockfeed, and *Alice* his Wife.

This *Richard* and his Wife were favourers of Gods Word, and had been troubled for the same of long time. They came from *Salisbury* to *Bockfeed*, by reason of Persecution, where they continued a good space. At length by resort of good men, they began to be suspected; and specially for a Book of *Wickliff's Wicker* which was in their house, they were converted before *Stokeley* Bishop of *London*, and there abjured.

Persons
days

¶ So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them which during those bitter days, before the coming of *Queen Ann*, either were driven out of the Realm, or were cast out from their Goods and Houses, or brought to open shame by Abjuration. Such Decrees and Injunctions then were set forth by the Bishops, such Laws and Proclamations were provided, such watch and narrow search was used, such ways were taken by force of the Oath, to make one dead; another so feebly, that uneth any good man could, or did escape their hands, but either his name was known, or else his person was taken. Yet nevertheless to mightily the power of Gods Gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence or policy of the adversaries, but rather increased in such sort, as our story almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groined under the same cross of affliction and persecution of those days; of which number were these.

Persons of
twofold
abjured.

Arthur. Geoffrey Lane.

John Tibold, his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his two daughters.

Edmund Tibold, and his wife.

Henry Butcher, and his wife.

William Butcher, and his wife.

George Preston, and his wife.

Joan Smith, Widow.

Robert Smith, her son.

Richard Smith, her son.

Margaret Smith, her daughter.

Elizabeth Smith, her daughter.

Robert Hempstead, and his wife.

Thomas Hempstead, and his wife.

John Hempstead, his son.

Robert Faire. *William Chatwals*.

Joan Smith, Widow, otherwise called *Agnes*, Widow.

John her son. *Thomas* her son.

Christopher, her son.

Alice, her daughter.

Joan, her daughter.

John Wiggen.

Nicholas Holden's wife.

Alice Shipwright.

Henry Brown.

John Craneford.

¶ All these were of the Town of *Burnstead*, who being detected by Sir *Richard Fox* their Curate, and partly by *Tibold*, were brought up to the Bishop of *London*, and all put together in one house, to the number of thirty five, to be examined and abjured by the said Bishop.

Moreover, in other Towns about *Suffolk* and *Essex*, other also were detected, as in the Town of *Bybrook*, these following.

Isabel Choote, widow. *John Choote* her son.

William Choote, her son.

Men and
Women of
Five and
Sixty
troubled for
the Gospel.

¶ Persons Abjured, with their Articles.

Christopher Choote, her son.

Robert Choote, her son.

Margaret Choote, her daughter.

Katharine, her maid.

Thomas Choote, and his wife.

Harvie, and his wife.

Agnes, his daughter. *Thomas*, his son.

Bateman, and his wife.

John Smith, and his wife.

Thomas Butcher, and his wife.

Robert Catlin, a Spoon-maker.

Christmar, and his wife.

William Beckwith, his wife and his two sons.

John Pickas, and his wife.

William Pickas, his brother.

Girling, his wife and his daughter.

Matthew's wife. *Johnson* his wife, and his son.

Thomas Hill. *Roger Tanner*.

Christopher Raven, and his wife.

John Chapman, his servant.

Richard Chapman, his servant, and brother to *John Chapman*.

KING
Edw. 6.

Christopher remaineth yet alive, and hath been of a long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and distress, and received them to his house, as *Tho. Bate*, *Simon Smith*, the Priests wife, *Roger Tanner*, with a number more, which ye may see and read in our first Edition, Page 419.

¶ Touching this *Richard Chapman*, this by the way is to be noted, that as he was in his Coat and Shirt enjoined, bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-legged, to go before the Procdion, and to kneel upon the cold steps in the Church all the Sermon time a little Lad seeing him kneel upon the cold stone with his bare knees, and having pity on him, came to him, and having nothing else to give him, brought him his Cap to kneel upon. For the which the Boy was immediately taken into the Vestry, and there unmercifully beaten for his mercy shewed to the poor penitent.

Beside these, divers other were about *London*, *Colchester*, and other places also, partakers of the same cross and affliction for the like cause of the Gospel, in which number cometh in these which hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, Priest. *John Turke*.

Robert Best. *William Rayland* of *Colchester*.

Henry Rayland, his son.

Marion Matthew, or *Westden*.

Dorothy Long. *Thomas Parker*.

M. Forman, Bachelor of Divinity, Parson of *Hony-lane*.

Robert Nelson.

Katharine Swane.

M. Cowbridge of *Colchester*.

Widow Denly.

Robert Hedil of *Colchester*.

Robert Wigge.

William Bull.

George Cooper.

John Toy of *Saint Faith*,

Richard Foster.

Sebastian Harris, Curate of *Kentington*.

Alice Gardener.

John Tomson.

John Bradley, and

his wife.

John Hubert, of *Esstonland* and his wife.

William Butcher, whose Father's Grandfather was burned for the same Religion.

Abraham Water of *Colchester*.

Ex Regist. Lond.

¶ All these in this Table contained, were troubled and abjured, Anno 1527, and 1528.

John Wily the elder.

Katharine Wily his wife.

Persons ab-
jured.
Anno
1527.

John

¶ Persons Abjured, with their Articles.

John Wily his son.
Christian Wily his wife.
William Wily his son.
Margaret Wily his wife.
Lucy Wily, Agnes Wily two young Girls.

These eight persons were accused Anno 1532. for eating Potage and flesh-meat, five years before, upon St. James Even.

Also another time, upon St. Peter's Even, as Katharine Wily did ly in Child-bed, the other Wives, with the two Girls, were found eating all together of a Broth made with the fore-part of a rack of Mutton.

Item, The foresaid John Wily the elder, had a Primer in English in his house, and other Books.

Also he had a young Daughter of ten years old, which could render by heart the most part of the 24th Chapter of Saint Matthew. Also could rehearse without Book, The disputation between the Clerk and the Friar.

Item, The said John Wily had in his house a Treatise of William Thorpe, and Sir John Oldcastle.

A Note of Richard Bayfield above mentioned.

MENTION was made before of Richard Bayfield Monk of Bury, who in these perilous days, amongst other good Saints of God, suffered death, as ye have heard, but how, and by whom he was detected, hath not been shewed; which now in searching out of Registers, as we have found, so we thought good here to adjoin the same with the words and confession of the same Edmund Peerson, which detected him in manner as followeth.

The Accusation of Edmund Peerson against Bayfield.

THE thirteenth day of September, at four of the clock at afternoon, the year of our Lord 1537. Sir Richard Bayfield said, That my Lord of London's Commissary was a plain Pharisee, wherefore he would speak with him, and by his wholesome Doctrine, be trusted in God, he should make him a perfect Christian man, and me also, for I was a Pharisee as yet, he said.

Also he said, That he cared not if the Commissary and the Chancellor heard him both; for the Chancellor, he said, was also a Pharisee, and he trusted to make him a Christian man.

Also he said, He was intreated by his friends, and in manner constrained to abide in the City against his will, to make the Chancellor, and many more, perfect Christian men, for as yet many were Pharisees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

Also he said, That Master Arthur and Bilney were, and he more pure and more perfect in their loving to God, than was, or is, the Commissary, the Chancellor, my Lord of London, or my Lord Cardinal.

Also he said, That if Arthur and Bilney suffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in, or hold, they shall be Martyrs before God in Heaven.

Also he said, After Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreds of men that should preach the same that they have preached.

Also he said, That he would favour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their living to be so good, for they did wear no Shirts of linnen cloth, but Shirts of hair, and ever were fasting, praying, or doing some other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatsoever he have of money in his Purse, he will distribute it, for the love of God, to poor people.

Also he said, That no man should give laud or praise in any manner of wife, to any creature, or to any Saint in Heaven, but only to God. Soli Deo honor & gloria, that is To God alone be all honour and glory.

Also he said, Ah, good Sir Edmund, ye be far from the knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Pharisee, with many other of your company; but I trust in God, I shall make you, and many other more, good and perfect Christian men, ere I depart from the City, for I purpose to read a common Lecture every day at St. Fosters Church, which Lecture shall be to the edifying of your souls: that be false Pharisees.

Also he said, That Bilney preached nothing at Wileford, but what was true.

Also he said, That Bilney preached true at Wileford, if he said that our Lady's Crown of Wileford, her Rings and Beads that were offered to her, were bestowed amongst Harlots, by the Ministers of Christ's Church; for that I have seen my self, he said, here in London, and that I will abide by.

Also he said, He did not fear to commune and argue in Arthur's and Bilney's Opinions and Articles, and if it were with my Lord Cardinal.

Also he said, That he would hold Arthur's and Bilney's Opinions and Articles, and abide by them, that they were true Opinions, to suffer death therefore; I know them (said he) for so noble and excellent men in learning.

Also he said, If he were before my Lord Cardinal, he would not let to speak to him, and tell him, that he hath done naught in imprisoning Arthur and Bilney, which were better disposed in their livings to God, than my Lord Cardinal, or my Lord of London, as holy as they make themselves.

Also he said, My Lord Cardinal is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandments of God, for Christ (he said) never taught him to follow riches, nor to seek for promotions nor dignities of this world, nor did Christ ever teach him to wear shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearl and precious stones; nor had Christ ever two Crosses of silver, two Axes, nor pillar of silver and gilt.

Also he said, That every Priest might preach the Gospel without licence of the Pope, my Lord Cardinal, my Lord of London, or any other man; and that he would abide by, and thus be verified it, as it is written, Mark 16. Euntes in mundum universum, predicate Evangelium omni creature. Christ commanded every Priest to go forth throughout all the world, and preach the Word of God by the authority of this Gospel; and not to run to the Pope, nor to any other man for licence: And that he would abide by, he said.

Also he said, Well, Sir Edmund, say you what you will, and every man, and my Lord Cardinal also, and yet will I say, and abide by it, my Lord Cardinal doth punish Arthur and Bilney unjustly, for there be no truer Christian men in all the world living than they two be, and that punishment that my Lord Cardinal doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as who would say, This may I do, and this will I do, who shall say nay? but he doth it of no justice.

Also about the fourteenth day of October last past, at three of the clock at afternoon, Sir Richard Bayfield came to St. Edmunds in Lombard Street, where he found me Sir Edmund Peerson, Sir James Smith, and Sir Miles Garner, standing at the uttermost Gate of the Parsonage, and Sir Edmund said to Sir Richard Bayfield, How many Christian men have ye made since ye came to the City? Quoth Sir Richard Bayfield, I came even now to make thee a Christian man, and these two other Gentlemen with thee; for well I know ye be all three Pharisees as yet.

Also he said to Sir Edmund, That Arthur and Bilney were better Christian men than he was, or any of them that did punish Arthur and Bilney.

Per me Edmundum Peerson.

AND thus we have, as in a gross summi compiled together the names and causes, though not of all, yet of a great, and too great a number of good men and good women, which in those sorrowful days (from the year of our Lord 1527, to this present year 1533, that is, till the coming in of Queen Anne) were manifold ways vexed and persecuted under the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome.

Rome. Where again we have to note, That from this present year of our Lord 1533, during the time of the said Queen Ann, we read of no great persecution, nor any Abjuration to have been in the Church of England, save only that the Registers of London make mention of certain Dutchmen counted for Anabaptists, of whom ten were put to death in sundry places of the Realm, Anno 1535, other ten repented and were saved. Where note again, that two also of the said company, albeit the definitive sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the King; which was contrary to the Popes law.

Ten Dutch-
men Anabap-
tists put
to death.
Seyn, Derick,
Zwaan, Reyn,
Derick, De-
mische, De-
wid, Grent-
me, Silke,
Mile.

Ann. 1533
Complaint of the Com-
mons against
the Clergy.
In Rd. Head.
A Parlia-
ment.
Anno 1534

Cruelty of
the Clergy
against the
temporality.

Now to proceed forth in our matter; After that the Bishops and Heads of the Clergy had thus a long time taken their pleasure, exercising their cruel authority against the poor wretched flock of the Lord, and began furthermore to stretch forth their rigour and austerity, to attach and molest also other great persons of the Temporality; so it fell, that in the beginning of the next or second year following, which was Anno 1534, a Parliament was called by the King about the fifteenth day of January. In the which Parliament the Commons renewing their old griefs, complained of the cruelty of the Prelates and Ordinaries, for calling men before them *Ex Officio*. For such was then the usage of the Ordinaries and their Officials, that they would lend for men, and lay accusations to them of Heresie, only declaring to them that they were accused; and would minister Articles to them, but no accuser should be brought forth. Whereby the Commons were grievously annoyed and oppressed; for the party so accused must either abjure or do worse; for purgation he might none make.

As these matters were long debating in the Common-House, at last it was agreed, That the temporal men should put their griefs in writing, and deliver them to the King. Whereupon the eighteenth day of March, the Common Speaker, accompanied with certain Knights and Burgesses of the Common-House, came to the Kings presence, and there declared how the temporal men of his Realm were sore agrieved with the cruel demeanor of the Prelates and Ordinaries, which touched their bodies and goods so near, that they of necessity were enforced to make their humble suit by their Speaker, unto his Grace, to take such order and redress in the case as to his high wisdom might seem most convenient, &c.

Unto this request of the Commons, although the King at that time gave no present grant, but suspended them with a delay; yet notwithstanding, this sufficiently declared the grudging minds of the Temporal men against the Spirituality, lacking nothing but Gods helping hand to work in the Kings heart for Reformation of such things which all they did see to be out of frame. Neither did the Lords Divine Providence fail in time of need, but effusions ministered a ready remedy in time expedient. He saw the pride and cruelty of the spiritual Clergy grown to such an height as was intolerable. He saw again and heard the grudging hearts, the bitter afflictions of his oppressed flock, his truth decayed, his Religion prophaned, the glory of his Son defaced, his Church lamentably wasted. Wherefore it was high time for his high Majesty to look upon the matter (as he did indeed) by a strange and wondrous means, which was through the Kings Divorcement from Lady Katharine Dowager, and marrying with Lady Ann Bullen, in this present year: Which was the first occasion and beginning of all this publick Reformation, which hath followed since in this Church of England to this present day, according as ye shall hear.

Queen Ann
married,
and Lady
Katharine
divorced.

The Marriage between King Henry and Queen Ann Bullen; and Queen Katharine Divorced.

K. Henry
married his
Brothers
Wife.

IN the first entry of the Kings Reign, ye heard before, how after the death of Prince Arthur, the Lady Katharine, Princess Dowager, and Wife to Prince Arthur, by the consent both of her Father and his, and also by the advice of the Nobles of this Realm, to the end her Dowry might remain still within the Realm, was espoused after the decease of her Husband, to his next Brother, which was this King Henry.

This Marriage seemed very strange and hard, for one Brother to marry the Wife of another. But what can be in this earth so hard or difficult, wherewith the Pope, the omnipotent Vicar of Christ, cannot by favour dispence, if it please him? The Pope which then ruled at Rome, was Pope Julius the second, by whose dispensation this Marriage, which neither sense of nature would admit, nor Gods Law would bear, was concluded, approved and ratified, and so continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple, the space near of twenty years, till about the time that a certain doubt began first to be moved by the Spaniards themselves of the Emperors Council, Anno 1523. At what time Charles the Emperor being here in the Spaniards, promised to marry the Lady Mary, Daughter to the King of England. With the which promise, the Spaniards themselves were not well contented, objecting this among many other causes, that the said Lady Mary was begotten of the King of England by his Brothers Wife.

The Spani-
ards first
doubted of
the Kings
Marriage

Whereupon the Emperor, forsaking that Marriage, did couple himself with Lady Isabel, Daughter to King Emanuel of Portugal. Which Marriage was done in the year of our Lord 1526. After this Marriage of the Emperor, the next year following, King Henry, being disappointed thus of the Emperor, entered talk, or rather was laboured to by the French Embassadors, for the said Lady Mary to be married to the French Kings Son, Duke of Orleans. Upon the talk whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put off by a certain doubt of the President of Paris, casting the like objection as the Spaniards had done before, that was, whether the Marriage between the King and the Mother of this Lady Mary, which had been his Brothers Wife before, were good or no. And so the Marriage, twice unluckily attempted, in like sort brake off again, and was rejected; which happened in the year of our Lord 1527.

The second
doubt, whe-
ther the La-
dy Mary was
nighly born,

The King upon the occasion hereof casting many things in his mind, began to consider the cause more deeply, first, with himself, after, with certain of his nearest Council; wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his Conscience, the other concerned the state of his Realm. For if that Marriage with his Brothers Wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his Conscience clear in retaining the Mother, nor yet the state of the Realm firm by succession of the Daughter. It happened the same time that the Cardinal, which was then nearest about the King, had fallen out with the Emperor, for not helping him to the Papacy, as ye before heard; for the which cause he helped to let the matter forward by all practice he might. Thus the King perplexed in his Conscience, and careful for the Commonwealth, and partly also incited by the Cardinal, could not so rest, but enquired further to feel what the Word of God and learning would say unto it. Neither was the cause hated, after it began once to come in publick question, but that by the Word of God, and the judgments of the best learned Clerks, and also by the censure of the chief Universities of all Christendom, to the number of ten and more, it was soon discussed to be unlawful.

Two per-
plexities in
the Kings
mind.

Cardinal
Wolsey
helped of
the Kings
Divorce.

All these Censures, Books and Writings of so many Doctors, Clerks and Universities, sent from all Quarters of Christendom to the Kings, albeit they might suffice to have full resolved, and did indeed resolve the Kings Conscience touching this scruple of his Marriage; yet would he not straightway use that advantage which learning did give him, unless he had withal the assent as well of the Pope, as also the Emperor; wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the Pope, he thought, seeing the Marriage was authorized before by the Dispensation of his Predecessor, would hardly turn his Keys about to undo that which the Pope before him had locked; and much less would he suffer those Keys to be soyled, or to come in any doubt, which was like to come, if that Marriage were proved undispensable by Gods Word, which his predecessor through his plenary power had licensed before. Again, the Emperor he thought would be no less hard for his part, on the other side, forasmuch as the said Lady Katharine was the Emperors near Aunt, and a Spaniard born. Yet nevertheless, his purpose was to prove and feel what they both would say unto it, and therefore

The judg-
ments of
Ten or 12
Universities
against the
Kings Mar-
riage, Orlé-
ance, Paris,
Tolosa, An-
gelo, Bonoy,
Padua.
The faculty
of Theol.
Bourges,
Oxford,
Cambridge.

THE KING therefore sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome to weigh with Pope Clement. To the Emperor was sent Sir Nicholas Harvey Knight, Embassador in the Court of Gaunt. Furi, Pope Clement, not weighing belike the full importance and frquol of the matter, sent Cardinal Campeius (as is said) into England, joyned with the Cardinal of York.

Campeius the Popes Legat.

The Kings perswasion to the Legats.

At the coming of which Legates, the King, first opening unto them the grief of his Conscience, seemed with great reasons and perswasions sufficiently to have drawn the good will of those two Legates to his side. Who also of their own accord pretended no less but to shew a willing inclination to further the Kings cause. But yet the mouths of the common people, and in especial of women, and such other as favoured the Queen, and talked their pleasures, were not stopp'd. Wherefore to satisfie the blind fumes, and foolish communication of these alio, who, seeing the coming of the Cardinals, call out such lewd words, *That the King would for his complaisance have another Wife, with like unbecoming talk*; he therefore, willing that all men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused all his Nobility, Judges and Councillors, with divers other persons, to resort to his Palace of Bridewel, the 8th day of November, Anno 1529, where he openly speaking in his great Chamber, had these words in effect, as followeth.

The Kings Oration to his Subjects.

OUR trusty and welbelov'd Subjects, both you of the Nobility, and you of the meaner sort, it is not unknown unto you, how that We both by Gods provision, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this Realm of England almost the term of twenty years. During which time, We have so ordered Us (blessed be God) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have We invaded any Realm, but We have had victory and honour so that We think that you nor none of your predecessors ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, nor in more estimation under any of Our noble Progenitors. But when We remember Our mortality, and that We must die, then We think that all Our doings in Our life time are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if We leave you in trouble at the time of Our death; for if Our true Heir be not known at the time of Our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succeed to you and to your Children. The experience thereof some of you have seen after the death of Our noble Grandfather, King Edward the fourth, and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this Realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by the which dissention this Realm was like to have been clearly destroyed.

And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send Us a fair Daughter of a noble Woman, and of Me begotten, to Our great comfort and joy, yet it hath been told Us by divers great Clerks, that neither she is Our lawful Daughter, nor her Mother Our lawful Wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery; inasmuch that when our Embassador was last in France and motion was made that the Duke of Orleans should marry Our said Daughter, one of the chief Counsellors to the French King, said, It were well done, to know whether she be the King of England's lawful Daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begot her on his Brothers Wife, which is directly against Gods Law and his Precepts. Think you, my Lords, that these words touch not My Body and Soul? Think you that these things do not daily and hourly trouble my Conscience, and vex my Spirits? Yes, We doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul, and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid unto you. For this only cause I protest before God, and in the word of a Prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest Clerks in Christendom, and for this cause I have sent for this Legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and so to settle my Conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the Queen, if it be adjudged by the Law of God that she is my lawful Wife, there was never thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to

me in My life, both for the discharge and clearing of my Conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble Parentage of the which she is descended (as you well know) she is a Woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness, yea, and of all good qualities appertaining to Nobility, she is without comparison, as I these twenty years almost have had the true experiment; so that if I were to marry again, if the Marriage might be good, I would surely chuse her above all other Women. But if it be determined by judgment, that Our Marriage was against Gods Law, and clearly void, then shall I not only sorrow the departing from so good a Lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in Adultery to Gods great displeasure, and have no true Heir of My body to inherit this Realm. These be the sorres that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my Conscience, and for these griefs I seek remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to Our Subjects: Our mind and intent, according to Our true meaning, and desire them to pray with Us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of Our Conscience, and saving of Our Soul, and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart.

Shortly after this Oration of the King, wherewith he stirred the hearts of a number, then the two Legates, being requested of the King, for discharge of his Conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the Queen lying then in the place of Bridewel, and declared to her, how they were deputed Judges indifferent, between the King and her, to hear and determine, whether the Marriage between them stood with Gods Law or not. When the understood the cause of their coming, being therat something aliened at the first, after a little pausing with her self, thus she began, answering for her self.

The Legates to the Queen.

Ex. R. Italica.

Q. Katharine answers to the Cardinals.

Alas, my Lords, said she, is it now a question whether I be the Kings lawful Wife or no, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and in the mean season never question was made before? Divers Prelates yet being alive, and Lords also, and Privy Counsellors with the King at that time, then adjudged our Marriage lawful and honest, and now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think it great marvel; and in especial when I consider what a wife Prince the Kings Father was, and also the love and natural affection that King Ferdinando my Father bare unto me, I think in my self, that neither of Our Fathers were so uncircumpect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but they forelaw what might follow of Our Marriage; and in especial the King my Father sent to the Court of Rome, and there after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a Licence and Dispensation, that I being the one Brothers Wife, and peradventure carnally known, might without scruple of Conscience, marry with the other Brother lawfully, which Licence under Lead I have yet to shew; which things make me to say, and surely believe, that our Marriage was both lawful, good and godly. But of this trouble I may only thank you, my Lord Cardinal of York. For because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable Lechery, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore of malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroad, and in especial for the great malice that you bear to my Nephew the Emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambition, and make you Pope by force; and therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends, and you have kept him true promise; for all his wars and vexations he may thank you only. And as for me his poor Aunt and Kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth.

The Cardinal of York excused himself, saying, that he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt,

The Cardinal excuseth his Divorce and why.

and

and that it was fore against his will that ever the Marriage should come in question, but he said that by his superior the Bishop of Rome he was deputed as a Judge to hear the cause: which he swore on his profession to hear indifferently. But whatsoever was said, he believed him not; and so the Legates took their leave of her, and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and written by Cardinal Campeius Secretary, which was present; and afterwards by Edward Hall translated into English.

The value
pomp of
the Romish
Legates.
The King
and Queen
sifted be-
fore the Le-
gates.

These four
Bishops
were War-
ren of Can-
terbury, West-
minster, Ely,
and Eborac.
The Queen
appeareth
from the
Cardinals
to the Pope

In the next year ensuing 1530, at the Black-Friers of London was prepared a solemn place for the two Legates: who coming with their Crozies, Pillars, Axes, and all other Romish Ceremonies accordingly, were set in two Chairs covered with cloth of Gold, and Cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the King and the Queen were seated by Dr. Sampson to appear before the said Legates the twenty eighth day of May; where the Communion of the Cardinals first being read, wherein it was appointed by the Court of Rome, That they should be the hearers and judges in the cause between them both) the King was called by name; who appeared by two Proctors: Then the Queen was called, who being accompanied with four Bishops, and other of her Council, and a great company of Ladies, came personally herself before the Legates: who there after her obsequence, with a sad gravity of countenance, having not many words with them, appeared from the Legates, as Judges not competent, to the Court of Rome, and so departed. Notwithstanding this Appeal, the Cardinals sat weekly, and every day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitively was determined.

As the time passed on, in the month of June, the King being desirous to see an end, came to the Court, and the Queen also, where he standing under his cloth of estate, uttered these or like words in effect as followeth.

The Kings
Oration to
the Legates.

MY Lords, Legates of the See Apostolick, which be deputed Judges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only is to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good Christian man knoweth, what pain and what uneasiness he suffereth which hath his conscience grieved. For I assure you on my honour; that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scarcely find any thing which should be profitable for my Realm and people: and to have a quietness in body and soul is my desire and request, and not for any grade that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare say, That for her womanhood, wisdom, Nobility, and gentleness, never Prince had such another: and therefore if I would willingly change I were not wise. Wherefore my suit is to you my Lords at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knoweth.

The Queen
abideth by
her Appeal.

When the King had said, the Queen departed without any thing saying. Then she was called to know whether she would abide by her Appeal, or answer there before the Legates. Her Proctor answered, That she would abide by her Appeal. That notwithstanding, the Counsellors on both sides, every day almost met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at the last the Divines were all of opinion, that the Marriage was against the Law of God, if he were carnally known by the first Brother. Which thing she clearly denied. But to that was answered, That Prince Arthur her Husband confessed the act done, by certain words spoken: which being recorded in other Chronicles, I had rather should there be read, than by me here uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the King was deposed from the Title and Creation of the Prince of Wales almost half a year: which thing could not have been judged, if he had not been carnally known.

Also he herself caused a Bull to be purchased, in the which were these words: *Vel forsam cognitam*, which is as much to say as, peradventure carnally known. Which words were not in the first Bull granted by July at her second Marriage to the King, Which second Bull with that clause was only purchased, to dispense with the second

Matrimony, although there were carnal copulation before: which Bull needed not to have been purchased, if there had been no carnal copulation, for then the first Bull had been sufficient.

Moreover, for the more clear evidence of this matter, that Prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of the said Lady Katharine his wife, it appeareth in a certain Book of Records which we have to shew touching this Marriage: That the same time when Prince Arthur was first married with this Lady Katharine, Daughter to King Ferdinand, certain Embassadors of Ferdinand his Council were then sent hither into England for the said purpose, to see and testify concerning the full consummation of the said Matrimonial conjunction. Which Counsellors here resident, being solemnly sworn, not only did affirm to both their Parents, that the Matrimony was consummate by that act, but also did send over to Spain to her Father such demonstrations of their mutual conjunction, as here I will not name, sparing the reverence of chaste ears. Which demonstrations otherwise, in those Records being named and testified, do sufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and question.

Besides that, in the same Records appeareth that both he and she not only were of such years as were meet and able to expiete the consummation hereof, but also they were and did ly together both here and in Wales by the space of three quarters of a year.

Out of a written Book of Records, containing certain Conferences between the Cardinal and Queen Katharine Amner about this matter, remaining in our custody to be seen.

Thus when the Divines on her side were beaten from the ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three causes. One was, because if it should be broken, the only child of the King should be a Bastard, which were a great mischief to the Realm. Secondly, the separation should be cause of great unkindness between her kindred and this Realm. And the third cause was, That the continuance of so long space had made the Marriage honest. These persuasions, with many other, were set forth by the Queens Council, and in especial by the Bishop of Rochester, which stood stiff in her cause. But yet Gods precept was not answered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, That the Court of Rome had dispensed with this Marriage. To this some Lawyers said, That no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive Law of God.

When the Legates heard the opinions of the Divines, and saw whereunto the end of this question would tend, forasmuch as men began so to dispute of the authority of the Court of Rome, and especially because the Cardinal of York perceived the King to cast favour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought best to wind themselves out of that brake betime; and so Cardinal Campeius, dissembling the matter, conveyed himself home to Rome again; as is partly above touched. The King seeing himself thus to be deferred and deluded by the Cardinals, took it to no little grief; whereupon the fall of the Cardinal of York followed not long after.

This was in the year of our Lord 1530. Shortly after it happened the same year, that the King by his Embassadors was advertised, that the Emperor and the Pope were both together at Bonony. Wherefore he directed Sir Thomas Bullen late created Earl of Wiltshire, and Doctor Stokesley (afterward Bishop of London) and Doctor Lee (afterward Bishop of York) with his message to the Popes Court, where also the Emperor was. Pope Clement understanding the Kings case and request, and fearing what might follow after, if Learning and Scripture here should take place against the authority of their Dispensations, and moreover doubting the Emperors displeasure, bare himself strange off from the matter, answering the Embassadors with this delay, that he presently would not define in the case, but would hear the full matter disputed, when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do justice.

KING
Hen. 8.

Q. Kath-
rine car-
nally
known
by the Kings
Brothers.

Three rea-
sons for Q.
Katharines.

Fisher Bi-
shop of Ro-
chester a
great doer
for Queen
Katharine.

The search-
ing of the
Kings Mat-
riage
brought
more light
to light.

Cardinal
Campeius
fleeth from
the King.

The King
sends to
the Emperor
and the
Pope.

The Pope
answers to
the King.

KING } Although the King owed no such service to the Pope, to
 stand to his arbitrement either in this case, or in any other,
 having both the Scripture to lead him, and his Law in his
 own hands to warrant him, yet for quietness sake, and for
 that he would not rashly break order (which rather was a
 disorder indeed) he bare so long as conveniently he might.
 At length after long delays and much dissembling, when
 he saw no hope of redress, he began somewhat to quicken
 and to look about him, what was best both for his own
 conscience, and the establishment of his Realm to do.

Gods Pro- No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought
 not by mans device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord
 himself, to bring to pass further things, as afterward fol-
 lowed, which his Divine Providence was disposed to work.
 For else as touching the Kings intent and purpose, he never
 meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of
 the Pope, but rather sought all means contrary, how both
 to establish the See of Rome, and also to obtain the good
 will of the same See and Court of Rome, if it might have
 been gotten. And therefore intending to sue his divorce
 from Rome, at the first beginning: his device was by
 Stephen Gardiner his Ambassador at Rome to exalt the Cardinal
 of York, as is before shewed, to be made Pope and
 Universal Bishop, to the end that he ruling that Apostolical
 See, the matter of his unlawful Marriage, which so trou-
 bled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion, with-
 out any further rumor of the world. Which purpose of
 his, if it had taken effect as he had devised it, and the
 English Cardinal had once been made Pope, no doubt but
 the authority of that See had never been exterminate out
 of England. But God being more merciful unto us, took
 a better way than so. For both without, and contrary to
 the Kings expectation, he so brought to pass, that neither
 the Cardinal of York was Pope (which should have been
 an infinite cost to the King) and yet nevertheless the King
 sped of his purpose too, and that much better than he
 looked for. For he was rid by lawful divorcement, not on-
 ly from that unlawful Marriage which clogged his conscience,
 but also from the miserable yoke of the Popes usurped
 dominion, which clogged the whole realm, & all at one time.

Thus Gods holy Providence ruling the matter, as I said,
 when the King could get no favourable grant of the Pope
 touching his cause, being so good and honest, he was en-
 forced to take the redress of his right into his own hands,
 and seeing this Gordian knot would not be loosed at Rome,
 he was driven against his will, as God would, to play the
 Noble Alexander himself, and with the sword of his Prince-
 ly authority knave the knot at one stroke clean asunder,
 looking as it were with one solution infinite questions. For
 where the Doctors and Canonists had long disputed, and
 yet could never thoroughly discuss the largeness and ful-
 ness of the Popes two Swords both Temporal and Spirit-
 ual, the King with one sword did so cut off both his
 Swords, that he dispatched them both clean out of Eng-
 land, as ye shall see more anon. But first the King like a
 prudent Prince, before he would come to the head of the
 sore, thought best to pare away such rank flesh and putrid
 places as were about it, and therefore following his
 own Proverb, like as one, going about to cast down an old
 rotten wall, will not begin with the foundation first, but
 with the stones that lie in the top, so he, to prepare his
 way better unto the Pope, first began with the Cardinal,
 casting him by the Law of Præmunire, out of his Goods
 and Possessions, and so at length by poisoning himself he
 procured his own death; which was in the year 1530.
 This done, shortly after about the year 1532, the King to
 provide betimes against mischief that might come from
 Rome, gave forth efficacious this Proclamation, as followeth.

A restit- **T**HE Kings Higheenes fraitly chargeth and com-
 mends, that no manner of person, what estate, degree,
 or condition forever he or they be of, do purchase or attempt
 to purchase from the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, nor
 use and put in execution, divulge or publish any thing
 heretofore, within this year passed, purchased, or to be pur-
 chased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high
 authority, jurisdiction, and Prerogative Royal of this his
 said Realm, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of
 his Graces noble and vertuous, intended purposes in the
 Premises, upon pain of incurring his Higheenes indignation,

and imprisonment and further punishment of their bodies
 for their so doing, at his Graces pleasure, to the dreadful
 example of all others.

After this was done, the King then proceeding further,
 caused the rest of the Spiritual Lords to be called by pro-
 cess into the Kings Bench to make their appearance, forso-
 much as the whole Clergy of England, in supporting and
 maintaining the power Legantine of the Cardinal, by the
 reason thereof were all intangled likewise in the Præmunire,
 and therefore were called into the Kings Bench to answer.
 But before the day of their appearance, the Prelates to-
 gether in their Convocation concluded among themselves an
 humble submission in writing, and offered the King for a
 Subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good Lord,
 and release them of the Præmunire by Act of Parliament,
 first to be gathered in the Province of Canterbury an hun-
 dred thousand pounds. And in the Province of York, eight-
 teen thousand eight hundred forty pound and ten pence.
 The which offer with much labour was accepted, and their
 pardon promised. In this submission the Clergy called the
 King suprem Head of the Church of England, which
 thing they never confessed before. Whereupon many things
 followed, as after (God willing) ye shall hear.

But first, forasmuch as we are in hand now with the
 matter, we will borrow by the way, a few words of the
 Reader, to speak of this Clergy-money, of 1535, 40 pounds,
 and ten pence, to be levied to the King, as is above touch-
 ed. For the levying of which sum an order was taken a-
 mong the Prelates, that every Bishop in his Dioceses should
 call before him all the Priests, Parsons and Vicars, among
 whom Dr. Stokesley Bishop of London, a man then con-
 sidered to be of some wit and learnings, but of little discretion
 and humanity (which caused him to be out of the favour
 of the common people) called before him all the Priests
 within the City of London, whether they were Curates or
 Stipendiaries, the first day of September being Friday, in
 the Chapter-house of Saint Paul. At which day the Priests
 appeared, and the Bishops policy was to have only six or
 eight Priests together, and by persuasions to have caused
 them to grant some portion toward the payment of the
 foresaid hundred thousand pound. But the number of the
 Priests was so great (for they were six hundred at the least,
 and with them came many temporal men to hear the mat-
 ter) that the Bishop was disappointed of his purpose. For
 when the Bishops Officers called in certain Priests by name
 into the Chapter-house; with that a great number entered,
 for they put the Bishops Officers that kept the door aside.

After this, the Officers got the door shut again. Then
 the Priests without said, We will not be kept without, and
 our fellows be within: we know not what the Bishop
 will do with them. The temporal men being present com-
 forted and encouraged the Priests to enter, so that by force
 they opened the door, and one struck the Bishops Officer
 over the face, and entered the Chapter-house, and many
 temporal men with them, and long it was ere any silence
 could be made. At last when they were appeased, the Bi-
 shop stood up and said, Brethren I marvel not a little why
 you be so heady, and know not what shall be said to you:
 therefore I pray you to keep silence, and to hear me pat-
 ently.

My friends all, you know well that we be men frail of
 condition, and no Angels, and by frailty and lack of wis-
 dom we have misdeigned our selves toward the King
 our Sovereign Lord and his Laws, so that all we of the
 Clergy were in the Præmunire; by reason whereof, all our
 promotions, lands, goods, and catells, were to him forfeit,
 and our bodies ready to be imprisoned; yet his Grace,
 moved with pity and compassion, demanded of us what
 we could say, why he should not extend his Laws upon us.
 Then the Fathers of the Clergy humbly besought his Grace
 of mercy. To whom he answered, That he was ever in-
 clined to mercy. Then for all our great offences we had
 little penance: for where he might by the rigor of his Law
 have taken all our livelode, goods, and catells, he was con-
 tented with one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid
 in five years. And although that this sum be more than we
 may easily bear, yet by the rigor of his Laws we should
 have born the whole burden. Wherefore my Brethren, I
 charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelode
 and salary, toward the payment of this sum granted.

Ex Ed. 1. 1. 1.
 The whole
 Clergy of
 England in
 the Præmu-
 nire.

The Clergy
 gave to the
 King
 1535, 40 l.
 to be releas-
 ed from the
 Præmunire.

The Bishops
 policy with
 the Priests,
 for pay-
 ment of the
 Clergy-money.

The Bishops
 policy with
 the Priests,
 for pay-
 ment of the
 Clergy-money.

The Priests
gainer to the
Bishop.

Then it was shortly said to the Bishop, My Lord, twenty Nobles a year is but bare living for a Priest; for how victual and every thing is so dear, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to say nay. Beside that, my Lord we never offended in the *Premunire*: for we medled never with the Cardinals faculties: let the Bishops and Abbots which have offended pay.

Then the Bishops Officers gave to the Priests high words, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also divers temporal men which were present comforted the Priests, and bad them agree to no payment. In this rumor divers of the Bishops servants were buffeted and stricken, so that the Bishop began to be afraid, and with fair words appeased the noise, and for all things which were done or said there he pardoned them, and gave to them his Blessing, and pray'd them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to hear no more of the matter, but they were deceived: for the Bishop went to Sir Th. More, then being Lord Chancellor (which greatly favoured the Bishop and the Clergy) and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievously. Whereupon commandment was sent to Sir Thomas Pargitor, Mayor of the City, to attach certain Priests and temporal men: and so fifteen Priests, and five temporal men were arrested; of the which some were sent to the *Tower*, some to the *Fleet*, and other Prisons, where they remained long after.

This being done in the year of our Lord 1532, it followeth moreover the same year, that divers Preachings were in the Realm, one contrary to another, concerning the Kings Marriage: and in especial one Thomas Abel Clerk, which was the Queens Chaplain, to please her withal, both preached and also wrote a Book in defence of the said Marriage; whereby divers simple men were perfwaded. Wherefore the King caused to be compiled and reduced into a Book the determination of the Universities, with the judgments of great Clerks: which Book being printed and set abroad did again falsifie all indifferent and reasonable persons, which were not too much wedded to their wills.

Mention was made a little before, of a Parliament begun the 15th day of January, Anno 1533, in the which Parliament the Commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the Clergy in their proceeding *Ex Officio*. This complaint although at the first it seemed not to be greatly tendered of the King, yet in Prorogation of the Parliament the time so wrought withal, that the King having more clear understanding of the abuses and enormities of the Clergy, and in especial of the corrupt authority of the See of Rome, provided certain Acts against the same. First, as concerning the Laws, Decrees, Ordinances and Constitutions made and established by the pretended authority of the Bishops of Rome, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that who do did or spake any thing either against their usurped power, or against the said Laws, Decrees, or Constitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon Holy Scripture, or else being repugnant to the Kings Prerogative Royal, should therefore stand in no danger, nor be impeachable of Heresie. And likewise touching such Constitutions, Ordinances, and Canons Provincial or Synodical, which were made in this Realm in the Convocation of Bishops being either prejudicial to the Kings Prerogative, or not ratified before by the Kings assent, or being otherwise onerous to the King and his subjects, or in any wise repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, they were committed to the judgment of two and thirty persons chosen by the King out of the higher and lower Houle, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogate at their discretions: and further, that all the Clergy of this Realm submitting themselves to the Kings, should and did promise in *verbo Sacerdotii*, never hereafter to presume to assemble in their Convocations without the Kings writ, or to Enact or execute such Constitutions without his Royal assent, &c. *Ex Stat. Hen. 8.*

Further, in the same Parliament was Enacted and Decreed, that in causes and matters happening in contention no person should appeal, provoke, or sue out of the Kings Dominions to the Court of Rome, under pain of provisors, provision, or *Premunire*.

Item, In the same Parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of Annates and first-fruits of Archbishopsricks and Bishopsricks out of this Realm to the See of Rome for any Bulls, Breves or Palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also for the invelling of Archbishops, Bishops, or other of any Ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said Parliament was taken that the King should send a license under the great Seal, with a Letter Mittive to the Prior and Convent, or to the Dean and Chapter of those Cathedral Churches where the See was vacant: by the vertue of which License or Letters Mittive, they within twelve days should choose the said person nominated by the King, and none other, and that Election to stand effectual to all intents. Which Election being done, then the party elect making first his Oath and fealty to the King, if it were a Bishop that was elect, then the King by his Letters Patents to signifye the said Election to the Archbishop of that Province, and two other Bishops, or else to four Bishops within this Realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any Bulls, Breves, or other things from the See of Rome.

Moreover, against all other whatsoever intolerable exactions and great sums of money used to be paid out of this Realm to the Bishop of Rome, in Penions, Censures, *Peter-pence*, Procurations, Fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of Bulls for Archbishops and Bishops, for Delegacies and Rescripts in causes of contentions and Appeals, Jurisdiccions Legative; also for Dispensations, Licenses, Faculties, Grants, Relaxations, Writs called *Perinde valere*, Rehabilitations, Abolutions, Canonizations, and other infinite sorts of Bulls, Breves, and Instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the said Parliament it was ordained That all such uncharitable Usurations, Exactions, Penions, Censures, Portions, and *Peter-pence* used to be paid to the See of Rome, should utterly furcease, and never more be levied: so that the King with his Honourable Council should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of Indulgences, Priviledges, &c. within this Realm.

¶ Where is to be noted by the way, as touching these *Peter-pence* afore said, that the same were first brought in and imposed by King Iva, about the year of our Lord 720. Which Iva King of the West-Saxons caused through all his Dominion, in every house having a Chimney, a penny to be collected and paid to the Bishop of Rome in the name of Saint Peter, and thereof were they called *Peter-pence*. Vide supra. The same likewise did Ofa King of Mercians after him, about the year of our Lord 794. And these *Peter-pence* ever since, or for the most part, have used of a long custom to be gathered and summoned by the Popes Collectors here in England, from the time of Iva afore said, to this Parliament, Anno 1533. *Vide supra.*

Finally, by the authority of the Parliament it was consulted and considered, concerning the Legality of the lawful succession unto the Crown, in ratifying and enabling the Heirs of the Kings Body, and Queen Anne. In the which Parliament moreover the degrees of Marriage plainly and clearly were explained and set forth, such as be expressly prohibited by Gods Laws, as in this Table may appear.

A Table of Degrees prohibited by Gods Law to marry.

The Son not to marry the Mother, nor Step-mother.
The Brother not to marry the Sister.
The Father not to marry his Sons Daughter, nor his Daughters Daughter. *Stat. Hen. 8.*
The Son not to marry his Fathers Daughter, gotten by his Step-mother.
The Son not to marry his Aunt, being either his Fathers or his Mothers Sister.
The Son not to marry his Uncles Wife.
The Father not to marry his Sons Wife.
The Brother not to marry his Brothers Wife.
No man to marry his Wives Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Sons Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Daughters Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Sister.

All these Degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

All

Bishop
Stokeley
complaint
to Sir
Thom. More.

Certain
Priests and
temporal
men com-
mitted to
prison.

Preaching
against the
Kings first
Marriage.

The wicked
Acte of
the
Kings
broken
by the
Statute
25. Hen. 8.

An Act
concerning
the
Popes Law.

Decrees
and Con-
stitutions
Provincial
of this
Realm,
committed
to Exam-
nation.

No man
to appeal
to Rome.
Bromer
in his
Prologue
before De
vera subde-
mia, fifth,
that this re-
vocation cry
off the Pope
count to
as much al-
most as the
Kings re-
vocation.

KING
H. 8.
The statute
of Invealing
by the King.

Peter-pence
stopped
from Rome.

Peter-pence
have they
tome, and
how long
they count-
ued.
Vide supra.

Degrees
prohibited
to marry.

KING All these things thus being defined and determined in this forefaid Parliament, and alfo being in the fame Parliament concluded, That no man of what eftate, degree, or condition foever, hath any power to difpence with Gods Laws, it was therefore by the authority aforefaid, agreeing with the authority of Gods Word, affented, That the Marriage aforetime folemnized between the King and the Lady Katharine, being before wife to Prince Arthur the Kings Brother, and carnally known by him (as is above proved) fhould be abfolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and againft the Law of God, and alfo reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect; and that the feparation thereof by Thomas Cranmer Archbifhop of Canterbury, fhould ftand good and effectfull to all intents: and alfo that the lawful Matrimony between the King and the Lady Anne his wife, fhould be eftablifhed, approved and ratified for good and confonant to the Laws of Almighty God. And further alfo, for the eftablifhing of this Kings lawful fucceffion, it was fully by the faid Parliament adjudged, That the inheritance of the Crown fhould remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the King and Queen Anne his wife.

THE During the time of this Parliament, before the Marriage of Queen Anne, there was one *Temf* in the Common-Houle, which moved the Commons to fue to the King to take the Queen again into his company; declaring certain great miſchiefs like to enſue thereof, as in Baſtardizing the Lady Mary the Kings only child, and divers other inconveniences. Which being reported to the Kings ears, he ſent immediately to Sir Thomas Audley, Speaker then of the Parliament, expreſſing unto him amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the Parliament did fo openly ſpeak of the abſence of the Queen from him, (which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (ſaid he) his foul, and witheld the Matrimony were good, for then had he never been fo vexed in conſcience. But the Doctors of Univerſities (ſaid he) have determined the Marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudge of conſcience (he ſaid) cauſed him to abſtain from her company, and no fooliſh nor wanton appetite. For I am (ſaid he) forty one years old, at which age the lult of man is not fo quick as it is in youth. And faving in Spain and Portugal it hath not been ſeen, that one man hath married two Siſters, the one being carnally known before: but the Brother to marry the Brothers wife, was fo abhorred amongst all Nations, that I never heard it, That any Chriſtian man fo did but my ſelf. Wherefore you fee my conſcience troubled, and fo I pray you report. And fo the Speaker departing, declared to the Commons the Kings faying.

THE Not long after that, the King, belike perceiving the minds of the Clergy not much favouring his Cauſe, ſent for the Speaker again, and twelve of the Common-houle, having with him eight Lords, and ſaid to them, Welbeloved Subjects, We had thought the Clergy of our Realm had been our Subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but half our Subjects, yea and ſcarce our Subjects. For all the Prelates at their Conſecration make an Oath to the Pope, clean contrary to the Oath that they make unto us, fo that they ſeem to be his Subjects, and not ours: and fo the King, delivering to them the Copy of both the Oaths, required them to invent ſome order that he might not thus be deluded of his Spiritual ſubjects. The Speaker thus departed, and cauſed the Oaths to be read in the Common-houle, the very tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Oath of the Clergy to the Pope.

I John Biſhop or Abbot of A. from this hour forward ſhall be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope, and alſo his Succeſſors Canonically entering. I ſhall not be of counſel nor conſent, that they ſhall loſe either life or member, or ſhall be taken or ſuffer any violence, or any wrong by any means. Their counſel to me credited by them, their Meſſengers or Letters I ſhall not willingly diſcover to any perſon. The Popedom of Rome, the rules of the Holy Fathers, and Regulations of Saint Peter, I ſhall help and retain, and defend againſt all men. The Legate of the

See Apoſtolick going and coming, I ſhall honourably invocate. The rights, honours, privileges, authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his Succeſſors, I ſhall cauſe to be conſerved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I ſhall not be in counſel, treaty, or any aſs, in the which any thing ſhall be imagined againſt him or the Church of Rome, their rights, ſtates, honours or powers: and if I know any ſuch to be moved or compoſed, I ſhall reſiſt it to my power, and as ſoon as I can, I ſhall advertiſe him, or ſuch as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, ſentences, diſpoſitions, reſervations, proviſions and commandments Apoſtolick, to my power I ſhall keep and cauſe to be kept of oſber. Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Rebels to our holy Father and his Succeſſors, I ſhall reſiſt and perſecute to my power. I ſhall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonical impediment. The lights of the Apoſtles I ſhall viſit perſonally, or by my Deputy. I ſhall not alim or ſell my poſſeſſions without the Popes Council. So God me help, and the holy Evangelifts.

¶ This Oath of the Clergy-men, which they were wont to make to the Biſhop of Rome (now Pope *quondam*) was aboliſhed and made void by Statute, and a new Oath miniſtered and confirmed for the ſame, wherein they acknowledged the King to be the Supreme Head under Chriſt in this Church of England, as by tenour thereof may appear hereunder enſuing.

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

I John B. of A. utterly renounce and clearly forſake all ſuch clauſes, words, ſentences and grants which I have or ſhall have hereafter of the Popes Holineſs, of and for the Biſhoprick of A. that in any wiſe hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your Highneſs, your heirs, ſucceſſors, dignity, privilege or eſtate royal: and alſo I do ſwear that I ſhall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I ſhall bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your heirs Kings of the ſame, of life and limb, and earthly worſhip above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours againſt all people's, and diligently I ſhall be attendant to all your needs and buſineſs, after my wit and power: and your counſel I ſhall keep and hold: knowledging my ſelf to hold my Biſhoprick of you only; beſeeching you of reſtitution of the Temporalities of the ſame: promiſing (as before) that I ſhall be faithful, true, and obediently ſubject unto your ſaid Highneſs, heirs, and ſucceſſors, during my life, and the ſervices and other things due to your Highneſs, for the reſtitution of the Temporalities of ſame Biſhoprick, I ſhall truly do, and obediently perform. So God me help and all Saints.

Theſe Oaths thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occaſion that the Pope loſt all his intereſt and juriſdiction here in England within ſhort while after. Upon the occaſion and reaſon whereof, the matter falling out more and more againſt the Pope, Sir Thomas More, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the Pope, and a heavy troubler of Chriſts people, and now not liking well of this Oath, by Gods good work was enforced to reſign up his Chanceryſhip, and to deliver up the Great Seal of England into the Kings hands. After whom ſucceeded Sir Thomas Audley, Keeper of the Great Seal, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no leſs incomparable, than alſo for his godly diſpoſed mind, and favourable inclination to Chriſts Religion, worthy of much commendation.

Theſe things being done in the Parliament, the King within ſhort time after proceeded to the Marriage of the foreſaid Lady Anne Bullen, Mother to our moſt noble Queen now, who without all controverſie was a ſpecial comforter and aider of all the Profeſſors of Chriſts Goſpel, as well of the learned as the unlearned; her life being alſo directed according to the ſame; ſhe weekly alms did manifeſtly declare; who beſides the ordinary of a hundred Crowns, and other apparel that ſhe gave weekly; a year before

Pope quondam

The Oath of the Clergy to the King

Sir Thomas More

The Audley guide Lord Chancellor

The Marriage of Q. Anne

The great alms of Q. Anne

a year before

before she was Crowned, both to men and women, gave also wonderful much privy alms to widows and other poor householders continually till she was apprehended, and she ever gave three or four pound at a time to the poor people, to buy them kine withal, and sent her Subarmer to the Towns about where she lay, that the Parishioners should make a Bill of all the poor householders in their Parish, and some Towns received seven, eight, or ten pound to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poor in the Towns were. She also maintained many learned men in Cambridge. Likewise did the Earl of *Wiltshire* her Father, and the Lord *Rockford* her Brother, and by them these men were brought in favour with the King: of whom some are yet alive and can testify the same; which would to God they were now as great professors of the Gospel of Christ, as then they appeared to be: which were Doctor *Heath*, and Doctor *Thirley*; with whom was joined the Lord *Peget*, who at that present was an earnest Protestant, and gave unto one *Reynold West Luthers* Books, and other Books of the Germans, as *Francis Lambert, de Sectis*, and at that time he read *Melancthon* Rhetorick openly in *Trinity-Hall* in Cambridge, and was with his Master *Gardiner* a maintainer of Doctor *Barnes*, and all the Protestants that were then in Cambridge, and help many Religious persons out of their Cowles.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible persons which were about this Queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and bountiful distribution to the poor, how her Grace carried ever about her a certain little purse out of the which she was wont daily to scatter abroad some alms to the needy, thinking no day well spent wherein some man had not fared the better by some benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certain noble Personages which were the chief and principal of her waiting Maids about her, specially the Dutches of *Richmond* by name.

Also concerning the order of her Ladies and Gentlewomen about her, one that was her Silkwoman, a Gentlewoman not now alive, but of great credit and also of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time she never saw better order among the Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Court, than was in this good Queens days, who kept her Maids and such as were about her so occupied in sowing and working of shirts and smocks for the poor, that neither was there seen any idleness then among them, nor any leisure to follow such pastimes as daily are seen now adays to reign in Princes Courts.

Thus the King being divorced from the Lady Dowager his Brothers wife, married this gracious Lady, making a prosperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the foresaid Princess, and also from the Pope, both at one time. Notwithstanding, as good and godly purposes are never without some incommmodity or trouble following, so it happened in this divorcement, that the said Princess procuring from *Rome* the Popes Curse, caused both the King and the Realm to be Interdicted: whereof more is hereafter to be spoken.

In the mean time Queen *Anne* shortly after her Marriage being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the first divorcement publicly proclaimed, was Crowned with high solemnity at *Westminster*: and not long after her Coronation, the seventh day of September, she was brought to Bed, and delivered of a fair Lady: for whose good deliverance *Te Deum* was sung in all places, and great preparation made for the Christening.

The Mayor and his Brethren with forty of the chief Citizens were commanded to be present, with all the Nobles and Gentlemen. The Kings Palace, and all the walls between that and the *Friers* Church, was hanged with Arras, and the *Friers* Church. Also the Font was of Silver, and stood in the middle of the Church, three steps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers Gentlemen, with Aprons and Towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the Font hung a fair Canopy of Crimfon Satten fringed with Gold. About it was a Rail covered with Say. Between the Quire and the Body of the Church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the Hall, and then every man set forward.

First the Citizens, two and two: then the Gentlemen, Elquires, and Chaplains. Next after followed the Aldermen, and the Mayor alone. Next the Mayor followed the Kings Council. Then the Kings Chappel. Then Barons, Bishops, and Earls. Then came the Earl of *Essex*, bearing the covered Basons gilt. After him the Marques of *Essex*, with the Taper of Virgin-wax. Next him the Marques of *Dorset*, bearing the Salt. Behind him the Lady *Mary of Norfolk*, bearing the Chrysome, which was very rich of Pearl and Stone. The old Dutches of *Norfolk* bear the child in a Mantle of purple Velvet, with a long Train furred with Ermin. The Duke of *Norfolk* with his Marshal-Rod, went on the right hand of the said Dutches, and the Duke of *Suffolk* on the left hand. Before them went the Officers of Armes. The Countess of *Kent* bear the long Train of the Childs Mantle. Between the Countess and the child, went the Earl of *Wiltshire* on the right hand, and the Earl of *Dorby* on the left hand, supporting the said Train. In the midst over the Child, was borne a Canopy by the Lord *Rockford*, the Lord *Hulsey*, the Lord *William Howard*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* the Elder. In this order they came unto the Church-door, where the Bishop of *London* met it, with divers Abbots and Bishops, and began the observances of the Sacrament. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Godfather, and the old Dutches of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness of *Dorset*, Widows, were Godmothers, and the Child was named *Elizabeth*.

After all things were done at the Church-door, the Child was brought to the Font and Christened. This done, Garter, the chief King at Armes, cried aloud, *God of his infinite goodness, send prosperous life and long, to the High and Mighty Princess of England, ELIZABETH*. Then the Trumpets blew, and the Child was brought up to the Altar, and immediately confirmed by the Archbishop, the Marchioness of *Essex* being Godmother. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave the Princess a standing Cup of Gold. The Dutches of *Norfolk* gave her a standing Cup of Gold, fretted with Pearl. The Marchioness of *Dorset*, three gilt Bowls pounced, with a Cover. The Marchioness of *Essex* three standing Bowls gilt and graven, with a Cover. And so after a solemn Banquet ended with Hypocras, Waters, and such like in great plenty, they returned in like order again unto the Court with the Princess, and so departed.

At the Marriage of this Noble Lady, as there was no small joy unto all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to Gods true Religion: so in like manner, on the contrary part, the Papists wanted not their malicious and secret attempts, as by the false hypocrite and feigned holiness of a false feigned hypocrite, this year being espied and found out, may sufficiently appear what their Devilish devices and purposes were. For certain Monks, Friars, and other evil disposed persons, of a Devilish intent, had put into the heads of many of the Kings subjects, That they had a revelation of God and his Saints, that he was highly displeased with King *Henry* for the Divorcement of the Lady *Katharine*: and furnished among other things, That God had revealed to a Nun, named *Elizabeth Barton*, whom they called the holy Maid of *Kent*, That in case the King proceeded in the said Divorce, he should not be King of this Realm one month after, and in the reputation of God not one day nor hour. This *Elizabeth Barton* by false dissimulation practised and shewed to the people marvelous alteration of her visage, and other parts of her body, as if she had been wrapt or in a trance, and in those feigned trances, by false hypocrite (as though she had been inspired of God) she spake many words in rebuking of him, and reproving the Gospel, which she called Heresie; and among them uttered divers things to the great reproach of the King and Queen, and to the establishing of Idolatry, Pilgrimage, and the derogation of Gods glory. Which her naughtiness being espied out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Cromwel*, and Master *Hugh Latimer*, she was condemned and put to death, with certain of her affinity and counsel, in the month of April, Anno 1539. The names of which Conspirators with her were these, *Edward Becking*, Monk of *Canterbury*, *Richard Malfers*, Parson

Heath, Thirley, & Peget.

Lord Peget, a maintainer of Dr. Barnes.

The grace of Q. Anne. The name of this Gentlewoman was M. Wiltshire. The good order of the Court in Q. Annes time.

The King divorced from Lady Katharine, and from the Pope, both at one time.

Anno 1533. Q. Anne Crowned. Q. Elizabeth born.

KING Head.

Cromwel Godfather to Queen Elizabeth.

The Maid of Kent with her false feigned hypocrite, Elizabeth Barton with her false Conspirators.

KING'S Parson of Aldington, John Dering, Monk of Canterbury, Hugh Rich Frier, Warden of the Gray Friars of Canterbury, Richard Risky, Henry Gold, Bachelor of Divinity, and Parson of Aldermar, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, John Adelson Priest, his Chaplain, Thomas Lawrence, the Bishops Register of Canterbury, Edward Thwaites, Thomas Abel. Of the which persons, the said Elizabeth Barton, Henry Gold, Richard Master, Edward Backing, John Dering, Hugh Rich, Richard Risky, were attainted of Treason by Act of Parliament, and put to execution.

The residue, as Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Tho. Lawrence, Edward Thwaites, John Adelson, Tho. Abel, being convicted and attainted of Misprision, were condemned to Prison, and forfeited their Goods and Possessions to the King. *Ex Statut. An. 25. Reg. Hen. 8.*

Edward Hall, a Writer of our English Stories, making mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforesaid, adjoineth next in his Book the narration of one Pavier, or Pavy, a notorious enemy (no doubt) to Gods Truth. This Pavier being the Town-Clerk of the City of London, was a man (saith he) that in no case could abide to hear that the Gospel should be in English: inasmuch that the said Hall himself heard him once say unto him, and to other by swearing a great Oath, that if he thought the Kings Highness would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his Authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his own Throat; but he broke promise, saith Hall, for he did not cut his Throat with a Knife, but with a Halter did hang himself. Of what mind, and intent he so did, God judge.

My information further addeth this, touching the said Pavier or Pavy, that he was a bitter enemy, very busy at the burning of Richard Bainham above mentioned. Who hearing the said Bainham at the stake speaking against Purgatory and Transubstantiation; set here, saith he, to this Heretic, and burn him. And as the Train of Gunpowder came toward the Martyr, he lifted up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, saying to Pavier, God forgive thee, and shew thee more mercy than thou doest to me. The Lord forgive Sir Thomas More, and pray for me all good people, and so continued he praying, till the Fire took his Bowels and his Head, &c.

After whose Martyrdom, the next year following, this Pavier the Town-Clerk of the City, went and bought Ropes. Which done, he went up to an high Garret in his house to Pray, as he was wont to do, to a Rood which he had there, before whom he bitterly wept: and as his own Maid coming up found him so doing, he had her take the rusty Sword and go make it clean, and trouble him no more, and immediately he tied up the Rope, and hung himself. The Maids heart still throbb'd, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then she having no power to help him, ran crying to the Church to her Mistis to fetch her home. His Servants and Clerks he had sent out before to Finsbury, and to Master Edney, Sergeant to the Lord Mayor, dwelling over Bishops-Gate, to tarry for him at Finsbury Court till he came: But he had dispatched himself before, so that they might long look for him before he could come. Which was, Anno 1533.

To this Story of Pavier, may also be added the like terrible example of Doctor Foxford, Chancellor to the Bishop of London, a cruel Persecutor, and a common Butcher of the good Saints of God: who was the condemnor of all those aforesaid, which were put to death, troubled or abjured under Bishop Stokesley through all the Dioceses of London. This Foxford dyed about this present year and time: Of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed, by such as were of right good credit, unto certain persons, of whom some be yet alive, that he dyed suddenly sitting in his Chair, his belly being burst, and his Guts falling out before him.

About the same time dyed also William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury: In whose Room succeeded Thomas Crommer, which was the Kings Chaplain, and a great disputer against the unlawful Marriage of Lady Katherine, Princes Dowager, being then so called by Act of Parliament.

Ye head before, how the Parliament had enacted that no person after a certain day, should appeal to Rome for any cause. Notwithstanding which Act, the Queen, now called Princes Dowager, had appealed to the Court of Rome before that Act made: So that it was doubted, whether that Appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in the Parliament House, but much better in the Convocation House, and yet in both Houses it was alledged, yea, and by Books shewed, that in the Councils of Chalcedon, Africk, Toletane, and divers other famous Councils in the Primitive Church, yea, in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one Province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the Patriarch of Constantinople should meddle in causes moved in the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch, nor any Bishop should intermeddle within anothers Province or County: Which things were so Clerically opened, and so cunningly let forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the Truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly see, that all Appeals made to Rome were clearly void, and of none effect. Which Doctrines and Councils were shewed to the Lady Katherine Princes Dowager: but the (as women love to lose no dignity) ever continued in her old Song, trusting more to the Popes partiality, than to the determination of Christs verity.

Whereupon the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranner above named, accompanied with the Bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and divers other great Clerks in a great number rode to Dunstable, which is fix miles from Ampthill, where the Princes Dowager lay: And thereby a Doctor, called Dr. Lee, she was aiged to appear before the said Archbishop, in cause of Matrimony, in the said Town of Dunstable: And at the day of appearance she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day Fifteen days together, and at the last, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there being present, the Lady Katherine was divorced from the King, and their Marriage declared to be void and of none effect: Which sentence given, the Archbishop, and all the other returned back again.

Where note, that although their divorce following after the new Marriage needed not at all to be made, the first Marriage being no Marriage at all before God, yet to satisfy the voice of the people, more than for any necessity, the King was contented, through the persuasions of some, so to do. For else as touching God and Conscience, what great need was there of any divorce, where before God no Marriage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous and detestable Adultery, as the Act of Parliament doth term it? But to our matter again.

After the dissolution of this first Marriage made between the King and the Lady Princes Dowager, the nevertheless bearing a stout mind, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the Universities, nor to the sentence of the Clergy, nor of the whole Realm; but following the Counsel rather of a few Spaniards, to molest the King and the Realm by force, and means made to the Pope, procured certain Writings, first of monition and aggravation, then of Excommunication and Interdiction to be sent down from Rome, wherein the Pope had Interdicted both the King and the whole Realm. But the Popes Curser being not the hardest man, belike, that ever shewed his Head, thought it much more sure for him to discharge his Popish carriage without the Kings reach, and so keeping himself a loof (like a prey man) let up his writings in the Town of Dunkirk in Flanders. In the which Town, first upon the North door of the Church was set up a monition, that the King of England should forsake the state of Divorce; the which John Butler, Clerk, then Commissary of Calice, by Commandment, took down in a Night.

After that, before Whitsunweek, there was set up in the same place an Excommunication, Aggravation, Re-agggravation, and Interdiction. For the which also, the said Butler by commandment was sent to Dunkirk to take it down. And because the Council of Calice would be certified of his diligence therein, they sent a Servant of the

Queen Katherine, who, by Councils of the primitive Church, that none should Appeal out of their Province.

Lady Katherine, by the sentence of the King.

Writings set up as Dunkirk against the King, King Henry and the Realm Interdicted by the Pope.

A marvelous judgment of God against Pavier an open enemy to his Word.

Pavier a bitter enemy against Richard Bainham.

Pavier a persecutor hanged himself.

The terrible end of Foxford, Chancellor of the Bishop of London.

The death of William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Crommer Princes Dowager, being then so called by Act of Parliament.

the Lord *Lisle*, then Deputy of *Calice*, whose name was *Granvel*; and upon *Wednesday* in *Whitsun* week, at seven of the Clock in the morning, he took it down whole, and brought it with him, and delivered the same to the Lord Deputy aforesaid: which was about the year, 1533.

This being known and certified to the King, he was motioned by his Council, That such as were about her, and moved her thereto, should be put from her. And therefore the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to *Dogden*, beside *Huntingdon*, where the said Lady *Katherine* lay: who perceiving he stomach to continue froward still, in answering him with high words, and suddenly so in a fury to part from him into her privy Chamber, and shut the door, brake up the order of her Court, and discharged a great sort of her household Servants, and yet left her a convenient number to serve her like a Princess. They that remained still were sworn to serve her as Princess only, and not as Queen: of whom some said, they were once sworn to serve her as Queen, and otherwise would not serve, and so were dismissed. The other which were sworn to serve her as Princess, the utterly refused for her Servants, and so the remained with the fewer, living after this about the space of two years.

The Lady
Katherine
Court dis-
charged.

The abolishing of the Pope out of England.

These things thus finished and dispatched concerning the Marriage of Queen *Ann*, and Divorce of Lady *Katherine* Dowager, next followeth the year, 1534. In the which was assembled the high Court of Parliament again, after many Prorogations, Upon the third day of *February*; wherein was made an Act of Succession, for the more surety of the Crown; to the which every person being of lawful age should be sworn. During this Parliament time, every Sunday preached at *Pauls Cross* a Bishop, which declared the Pope not to be head of the Church.

Preaching
against the
Pope.

After this, Communion was sent over all *England*, to take the Oath of all men and women to the Act of Succession. At which few repined, except Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas More*, late Lord Chancellor, and Doctor *Nicholas Wilson*, Parson of *Saint Thomas Apostles* in *London*. Wherefore these three Persons, after long exhortation to them made by the Bishop of *Cambridge* at *Lambeth*, refusing to be sworn, were sent to the *Tower*, where they remained, and were oftentimes motioned to be sworn: But the Bishop and Sir *Thomas More* excused them by their Writings, in which they said, That they had written before the said Lady *Katherine* to be Queen, and therefore could not well go from that which they had written. Likewise the Doctor excused, that he in preaching had called her Queen, and therefore now could not well unlay it again. Howbeit at length he was well contented to dissemble the matter, and so escaped: but the other two stood against all the Realm in their opinion.

Fr. Ed.
Hall.

The Bishop
of Rochester,
and Sir
Thomas More
sent to the
Tower.

Fisher Bp.
tho he refused
to be sworn.

From the month of *March* this Parliament furthermore was Prorogued to the third day of *November* aforesaid. At what time, amongst divers other Statutes, with his Pardons and Indulgences, which so long had clogged this Realm of *England*, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which never could be removed away before, was now abolished, eradicated and exploded out of this Land, and sent home again to their own Country of *Rome*, from whence they came. God be everlastingly praised therefore, Amen.

Act concerning the the Kings Highness to be the supreme head of the Church of *England*, and to have authority to reform and redress all Errors, Heresies and abuses in the same. Cap. 1.

KING,
H. 8.

Albeit the Kings Majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of *England*, and so is recognized by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of vertue in Christs Religion within this Realm of *England*, and to repress and extirp all Errors, Heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in Earth of the Church of *England*, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, prebeminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme Head of the same Church belonging and appertaining. And that our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be; which by any manner of Spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue in Christs Religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this Realm; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

The Kings Proclamation for the abolishing of the usurped power of the Pope.

Trusty and Wellbelovéd, we Greet you well. And whereas not only upon good and just and vertuous grounds and respects, edited upon the Laws of holy Scripture, by due consultation, deliberation, advisement, and consent, as well of all other our Nobles and Commons Temporal, as also Spiritual, assembled in our High Court of Parliament, and by authority of the same, we have by good and wholesome Laws and Statutes, made for this purpose, extirped, abolished, separated, and secluded out of this our Realm, the abuses of the Bishop of *Rome*, his authority and jurisdiction of long time usurped, as well upon us and our Realm, as upon all other Kings and Princes and their Realms (like as they themselves have confessed and affirmed) but also so much as our said Nobles and Commons, both Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in our high Court of Parliament, have upon good, lawful and vertuous grounds, and for the publick weal of this our Realm, by one whole assent, granted, annexed, knit, and united to the Crown Imperial of the same, the title, dignity, and stile of supreme Head or Governour in Earth, immediately under God, of the Church of *England*, as we be, and undoubtedly have hitherto been: Which title and stile both the Bishops and Clergy of this Realm have no only in Convocation Assembled, Consented, Recognized, and approved lawfully and justly to appertain unto us, but also by Word, Oath, Profession, and writing under their Signs and Seals, have confessed, Ratified, Corroborated and confirmed the same, utterly renouncing all other Oaths and Obedience to any other foreign Potentates, and all foreign jurisdictions and powers, as well of the said Bishop of *Rome*, as of all other whatsoever they be, as by their said professions and writings Corroborated with the subscription of their names, and appention of their Seals more plainly appeareth: we let you to wit, that calling to our remembrance the power, charge, and commission given unto us of Almighty God, and upon

The Kings
Procla-
mation a-
gainst the
Pope.

The stile of
suprem
annexed to
the Crown
of *England*.

KING upon a vehement love and affection toward our loving and faithful Subjects, perceiving right well what great rest, quietness, and tranquillity of Conscience, and manifold other commodities might infuse and arise unto them, if that the said Bishops and other of the Clergy of this our Realm should set forth, declare and preach to them the true and sincere Word of God, and without all manner of colour, diffimulation, and hypocritie, manifest and publish the great and innumerable enormities, and abuses which the said Bishop of Rome, as well in the title and stile, as also in authority and jurisdiction of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us and our Progenitors, and also other Christian Princes; have therefore addressed our Letters unto the Bishop of the Diocess, straightly charging and commanding him in the same, that not only he in his own proper person, shall declare, teach and preach unto the people forthwith upon the receipt of our said Letters unto him directed, every Sunday and other high Feasts through the year, the true, meet and sincere Word of God; and that the same title, stile, and jurisdiction of supreme head appertaineth only to our Crown and dignity Royal, likewise, as the said Bishop and all other the Bishops of our Realm have by Oath affirmed and confirmed by subscription of their names, and setting to their Seals, but also gave warning, monition, and charge, to all manner Abbats, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Ecclesiastical persons, within his said Diocess, as well to teach, preach, publish, and declare in all manner Churches our aforesaid just title, stile, and jurisdiction, every Sunday and high Feast through the year, and further to monition and command all other Schoolmasters within his said Diocess, to instruct and teach the same unto the Children committed unto them, as also to cause all manner Prayers, Orisons, Rubricks, Canons of Mass Books, and all other Books in the Churches, wherein the said Bishop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicate and rased out, and his name and memory to be never more (except to his contumely and reproach) remembered, but perpetually suppressed and obscured: and finally, to desist and leave out all such Articles as be in the general sentence, which is usually accustomed to be read four times in the year, and do tend to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of Rome, his name, title, and jurisdiction.

The Popes name and memory abolished.

Whereupon we see esteeming and reputing you to be of such singular and vehement zeal and affection toward the Glory of Almighty God, and of so faithful, loving and obedient heart towards us, as you will not only do and accomplish with all Power, Wisdom, Diligence, and labour, whatsoever should or might be to the preferment and setting forward of Gods Word, but also practise, study, and endeavour your self, with all your policy, wit, power, and good will, to amplify, defend, and maintain all such interest, right, title, stile, jurisdiction, and authority, as is in any wise appertaining unto us, our dignity and prerogative, and Crown Imperial of this our Realm: have thought good and expedient, not only to signify unto you by these our Letters the particulars of the charge, monition, and commandment given by us unto the said Bishop, as before is specified, but also to require, and straightly charge and command you, upon pain of your Allegiance, and as ye shall avoid our high indignation and displeasure at your uttermost peril, laying apart all vain affections, respects, or other carnal considerations, and setting only before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignity of your Sovereign Lord and King, and the great concord and unity, and inestimable profit and utility, that shall by the due execution of the premises issue to your self and all other faithful and loving Subjects, ye make or cause to be made diligent search and wait, and especially in every place of your Shirewicks, whether the said Bishop do truly, and sincerely, and without all manner colour, colour, or diffimulation, execute, and accomplish Our Will and Commandment, as is aforesaid. And in case ye shall hear, perceive, and approvingly understand, and know that the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical person within his Diocess, do omit and leave undone any part or parcel of the Premises, or else in the execution and setting

forth of the same, do coldly and feignedly use any manner of sinister addition, wrong interpretation, or painted colour: then we straightly charge and command you, that forthwith upon any such default, negligence, or diffimulation of the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical person of his Diocess, contrary to the true tenour, meaning and effect of the said charge by us to him appointed aforesaid, ye do make immediately, and with all speed and diligence, declaration and advertisement to us and our Council, of the said default, and of the behaviour, manner, and fashion of the same.

And forasmuch as we upon singular trust, and assured confidence which we have in you, and for the special love and zeal we suppose and think ye bear toward us and the publick and Commonwealth, unity and tranquillity of this our Realm, have specially elected and chosen you among so many, for this purpose, have repaid you such men, as unto whose wisdom, discretion, truth and fidelity, we might commit a matter of such great weight, moment, and importance as whereupon the unity and tranquillity of our Realm doth consist: If ye should contrary to our expectation and trust which we have in you, and against your Duty and Allegiance towards us, neglect or omit to do with all your diligence and wisdom, whatsoever shall be in your power for the due performance of our mind and pleasure to you before declared in this behalf, or halt, or flumble at any part or speciality of the same, be ye assured that we like a Prince of justice will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the World besides shall take by you example, and beware, contrary to their Allegiance, to disobey the Lawful commandment of their Sovereign Lord and Prince in such things, as by the faithful execution whereof, ye shall not only advance the honour of Almighty God, and set forth the Majesty and Imperial dignity of your Sovereign Lord, but also bring an inestimable Weal, Profit, and Commodity, Unity and Tranquillity to all the Common State of this our Realm, whereunto both by the Laws of God, Nature, and Man, ye be utterly bound.

Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the 5th day of June.

Furthermore, That no man shall Cavil or Surmise this fatal fall and ruine of the Pope to have come rashly upon the Kings own partial affection, or by any sensual temerity of a few, and not by the grave and advised judgment, approbation, and consent, generally and publickly, as well of the Nobles and Commons Temporal, as also upon substantial grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the Discussion and Consultation of the Spiritual and most learned persons in this Realm: it shall be requisite moreover to these Premises to adjoin the Words and Testimonies also of the Bishops own Oaths and Profession made to the King, yielding and rendering unto him only the stile of Supreme head next under Christ of the Church of England, all other service, subjection, and obedience to be given to any other foreign Potentate, which should be prejudicial to the Kings Highness in this behalf, being excluded, and that both Frankly and Freely, of their own voluntary motion, and also upon the Faith and Fidelity of their Priesthood, as by their own words and hand-writing may appear, in form as hereunder followeth.

The Oath of Stephen Gardener to the King.

The Oath of Stephen Gardener to the King.

E Go Stephanus Wintoniæ, Episcopus, fidei, sponte, & absolute, in verbo pontificis, professor ac spondeo Illustrissimæ vestræ Regiæ Majestati, singulari ac summo Domino meo, & patræ, Henrico Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, atque in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediatè sub Christo capiti, quod posthac nulli externo Imperatori, Regi, Principi aut Prælati, nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem & obedien-

In English.

I Stephen Bishop of Winchester do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Princely Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, Henry the Eighth by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth of the Church of England supreme Head immediately under Christ, that from this day forward I shall Swear, Promise, Give, or cause to be Given to no foreign Potentate, Emperor, King, Prince, or Prelat, nor yet to the Bishop of Rome, whom they call Pope, any Oath or Fealty, directly or indirectly, either by word or writing; but at all times, and in every case and condition I shall Observe, Hold, and Maintain, to all effects and intents, the quarrel and cause of your Royal Majesty and your Successors, and to the uttermost of my power shall defend the same against all manner of persons whomsoever I shall know or suspect to be adversaries to your Majesty, or to your Successors; and shall give my Faith, Truth, and Obedience, Sincerely, and with my very heart, only to your Royal Majesty, as to my supreme Prince. I profess the Papacy of Rome not to be ordained of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirm, and openly declare, and shall declare it, to be set up only by man, and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any Treaty with any person or persons either privily or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the Bishop of Rome shall have or exercise here any authority or jurisdiction, or is to be restored to any jurisdiction hereafter.

Stephen
Gardener
abrenunciavit
omni Loe
Pape.

Furthermore, that the said Bishop of Rome now being, or any that shall succeed him hereafter in the said See is not to be called Pope nor Supreme Bishop or Universal Bishop, nor most holy Lord, but only ought to be called Bishop of Rome, and fellow Brother (as the old manner of the most ancient Bishops hath been;) this I shall to my power openly maintain and defend.

And I shall firmly Observe and cause to be Observed of other, to the uttermost of my cunning, wit, and power, all such Laws and Acts of this Realm, how and whatsoever, as have been enacted and established for the extirpation and suppression of the Papacy, and of the authority and jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Rome. Neither shall I appeal hereafter to the said Bishop of Rome, nor ever content to any person that shall appeal to him; neither shall I attempt, prosecute, or follow any suite in the Court of Rome, for any cause of right or justice to be had, or shall make answer to any Plea or Action, nor shall take upon me the person and office either of the Plaintiff or Defendant in the said Court. And if the said Bishop by his Messenger or by his Letters shall make any means or signification unto me, of any matter whatsoever it be, I shall with all speed and diligence make declaration and advertisement thereof, or cause the same to be signified either to your Princely Majesty, or to some of your secret Council, or to your Successors, or any of their Privy Council. Neither shall I send or cause to be sent at any time any writing, nor Messenger to the said Bishop or to his Court, without the knowledge and consent of your Majesty or your Successors willing me to send writing or Messenger unto him. Neither shall I procure, or give Counsel to any person to procure Bulls, Briefs, or Rescripts whatsoever, either for me or any other, from the said Bishop of Rome or his Court. And if any such shall be procured against my will and knowledge, either in general or in special, or else howsoever they shall be granted unto them, I shall utter and disclose the same, and not consent therunto, nor use them in any case, and shall cause them to be brought to your Majesty, or your Successors.

Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof I give my Faith and Truth by firm promise, and in the Faith of a Bishop, that against this my foresaid profession and promise made, I shall defend my self by no dispensation, exemption, nor any remedy or caveat of Law or example, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I have done or made any profession in prejudice of this my profession and promise here made; the same I do revoke at this

present, and for ever hereafter, and here utterly do renounce, by these presents. Whereunto I have subscribed and underwritten the name both of my self and of my Bishoprick, with my proper Hand, and thereto also have put my Seal, in perpetual and undoubted testimony of the Premises.

Given the Tenth day of February, An. 1534, and of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth, twenty sixth.

Stephen Winton.

¶ The like Oath of John Stokelly Bishop of London.

I John Bishop of London do purely and of mine own The Oath of Bishopry.
voluntary accord, and absolutely in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Princely Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, Henry the Eighth by the grace of God King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth of the same Church of England supreme head immediately under Christ, &c. Like to the Oath before.

Joan. London.

¶ The like Oath and hand-writing of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York.

I Edward by the permission of God Archbishop of York, The Oath of Lee, Archbishop of York.
do purely of my own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Royal Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, &c. In like form to the Oath before.

Edwardus Eborac.

The like Oath and hand-writing of Cuthbert Bishop of Durham.

I Cuthbert, By the permission of God Bishop of Du- The Oath of Cuthbert of Durham.
rham, do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Royal Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, &c. As before.

Per me Cuthbertum Dunelm.

And so likewise all the other Bishops after the same order and form of Oath were obliged and bound to the King, as to the supreme head of the Church of England immediately under Christ, renouncing and abjuring utterly and voluntarily the Popes too long usurped jurisdiction in this Realm, testifying moreover the same both with their own Hand, and also with their Seal.

Besides these confirmations and Testimonials of the Bishops aforesaid, ye shall hear yet moreover the Decree and publick sentence of the university of Cambridge, written likewise and subscribed, and signed with the publick Seal of their University, the tenour of which their Letter here followeth.

A Letter of the University of Cambridge against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome.

Universi Sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filii, ad quos præsentis literæ perventura sunt, cunctis omnis regentium & non regentium Academia Cantabrigiensi, salutem in omnium salvatore Jesu Christo. Cum de Romani Pontificis potestate, &c.

In English.

TO all and singular Children of the Holy Mother Church, to whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of Regents and not Regents of the University of Cambridge, sendeth greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

A Letter of the University of Cambridge.

Whereas

[KING.] Whereas now of late it hath risen up in question among us, concerning the power of the Bishop of Rome, which he doth both claim to himself by the holy Scripture over all Provinces and Nations in *Christendom*, and hath now of long time exercised in this Realm of *England*: and forasmuch as our censure concerning the cause is required, to wit, Whether the Bishop of Rome hath any power or authority in this Kingdom of *England* allotted to him by God in the Scripture, more than any other foreign Bishop, or no: We thought it therefore good reason, and our duty for the searching out of the verity of the said question, that we should employ therein our whole endeavour and study, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and censure is touching the premises. For therefore we suppose, that Universities were first provided and instituted of Princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might in the Law of God be instructed, and also that false errors, if any did rise, might through the vigilant care and industry of learned Divines be diffused, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For the which cause we in our assemblies and Convocations (after our accustomed manner) resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesaid, and studiously debating and deliberating with our selves how and by what order we might best proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length chusing out certain of the best learned Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and other Masters, have committed to them in charge, studiously to inquire and peruse the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certify us what is to be said to the question propounded.

The censure of the University of Cambridge against the Popes supremacy.

Forasmuch therefore, as we having heard, and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open disputations, what may be said on both parts of the foresaid question, those reasons and arguments do appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and founding much more near to the pure and native sense of Scriptures, which do deny the Bishop of Rome to have any such power given him of God in the Scripture. By reason and force of which arguments we being persuaded, and conjoyning thereto in one opinion, have with our selves thus decreed to answer unto the question aforesaid, and in these writings thus resolutely do answer in the name of the whole University, and for a conclusion undoubted do affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the Bishop of Rome hath no more State, authority, and jurisdiction given him of God in the Scriptures, over this Realm of *England*, than any other extem Bishop hath. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common Seal to be put to these our foresaid Letters accordingly.

At Cambridge in our recent house: Anno Dom. 1534.

Steph. Wint. *De vera obedientia.*

Steph. Wint. against the marriage of the King with his Brother, Write in his Book, *De vera obedientia.*

YOU have heard before of Stephen Gardener, of Lee, of *Tonstai*, and of *Stokesley*, how of their voluntary mind they made their profession unto the King, every one severally, taking and accepting a corporal Oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reject the usurped superiority of the Bishop of Rome. Now for a further testimony and declaration of their judgments and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, ye shall hear over and beside their Oaths, what the foresaid Bishops in their own Books, Prologues, and Sermons do write, and publish abroad in Print, touching the said cause of the Popes Supremacy.

And first, God willing, to begin with Stephen Gardener's Book *De vera obedientia*, we will briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein with great Scriptures and good deliberation he not only confuteth the Popes usurped authority, but also proveth the Marriage between the King and Queen Katherine his Brothers Wife not to be good nor lawful, in these words.

Of the which moral precepts in the old Law, to speak of some (for to rehearse all it needs not) the Levitical precepts touching forbidden and incestuous Marriages, as far as they concern chaste and pure wedlock, wherein original of mans increase consisteth, are always to be reputed of such sort, that although they were first given to the Jews, yet because they appertain to the Law of Nature, and expound the same more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtless, both the voice of nature and Gods Commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and divers from the one and from the other. And amongst these, such there is commandment that a man shall not marry his Brothers Wife, what could the Kings excellent Majesty do otherwise, than he did by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his Church, that is, to be divorced from unlawful Marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, call off her, whom neither Law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chaste and lawful Marriage? Wherein although the sentence of Gods word (whereunto all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed; yet his Majesty was content to have the assisting consents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the most famous Universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see he did both that he might do, and ought to do uprightly, seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto; shewing therein such obedience as Gods Word requireth of every good and godly man; so as it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly. Of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speak.

Steph. Wint. against the marriage with his Brother's Wife.

Winchesters Reasons against the Popes Supremacy.

MOREOVER, the said Gardener in the forenamed Book *De vera obedientia*, what constancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pitifully he disputeth on the Kings side against the usurped state of the Bishop of Rome's authority, by the words of his Book it may appear: whereof a brief Collection here followeth.

IN the procees of his foresaid Book, he alledging the old distinction of the Papists, wherein they give to the Prince the regiment of things temporal and to the Church of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater Light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the sword of the Church to extend no farther, than to teaching and Excommunication, and referreth all preeminence to the sword of the Prince: alledging for this the second Psalm; *And now you Kings be wise, and be learned ye that judge the Earth*, &c.

The Sword of the Church how far it extendeth.

Also the example of Solomon, who being a King, according to his Fathers appointment ordained the Officers of the Priests in their ministeries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thanks, and minister before the Priests, after the order of every-day, and Porters in their divisions gate by gate.

And speaking more of the said Solomon, he saith: *Exodus* For so commanded the man of God, neither did the Priests nor Levites omit any thing of all that he had commanded, &c.

Beside this, he alledgeth also the Example of King *Ezechi*, *1 Reges* *chiar*, *2 Paralip.* 28. He alledgeth moreover the example and fact of *Jusufin*, which made laws touching the Faith, Bishops, Clerks, Heretics and such other.

Adam (saith he) obeyed *Moses*. Solomon gave sentence upon *Abiathar* the High Priest.

Alexander the King, in the first of *Machabees* writeth thus to *Jonathan*; *Now we have made thee this day the High-priest of thy people*, &c. So did *Demetrius* to *Simon*.

1 Machi
101.
1 Machi
14.

Then coming to the words of Christ spoken to Peter, Mat. 16. *Matthew 16*, upon which words the Pope pretendeth to build all his authority: To this he answereth, That if Christ by those words had limited to Peter any such special state or preeminency above all Princes, then were it not true that is written; *Capit. Jesus docere & facere*: forasmuch as the words of Christ should then be contrary to his own facts and example, who in all his life never usurped either to himself any such domination above Princes, shewing himself rather subject unto Princes: nor yet did ever permit in his Apostles any such example of ambition to be seen; but rather rebuked them for seeking any manner of majority amongst them.

And where he reasoneth of the Kings stile and title, being called King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and supreme head in Earth of the Church of England immediately under Christ, &c. Thus he addeth his mind and censure, saying, that he seeth no cause in this Title, why any man should be offended, that the King is called head of the Church of England, rather than of the Realm of England; and addeth his reason thereto saying, If the Prince and King of England be the head of his Kingdom, that is, of all English men that be his Subjects, is there any cause why the same English Subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this respect because they are Christians, that is to say, for the title of godliness, as though that God, which is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of Rebellion?

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation saying; To lay (saith he) that a King is the head of the Kingdom, and not of the Church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this?

And further, adding for example the subjection of the Servant and Wife: If the Servant (saith he) be subject to his Master, or Wife to her Husband, being Infidels, doth their conversion afterward, or name of Christians, make them less Subjects than they were before? As Religion therefore doth not alter the authority of the Master over the Servant, nor of the Husband over the Wife; no more (saith he) doth it between the Prince and Subject.

Paul making no exception nor distinction of subjection, save only of that which belongeth to God, willett all men to obey their Princes; And what Princes? Those Princes which bear the Sword. And although we are bound by the Scripture to obey our Bishops and spiritual Pastors of the Church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing, the chief and head authority that ought to be given to the Prince, no more than the obedience of the Servant to his Master, or of the Wife to her Husband exempteth them from subjection due to their superior powers.

And herewithal he inferreth a principle of the Law: Divers jurisdictions (saith he) proceeding from one person do not mar nor hinder themselves, but rather do confirm and fortifie one another.

Again, whereas the Bishop of Rome under the name of Peter doth appropriate to himself the highest place in the Church, for that he is the Successor of Peter: thereunto he answereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough, and to the full: I would (saith he) he were; for so in very deed he might well exceed and pass all Kings and Princes, if not in preeminency of Dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of Vertue. In which kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his Apostles and Ministers to go before all Kings and Emperors in the whole world.

After this, in prosecuting the argument of Peters confession, he argueth thus and saith; That as flesh and blood did not reveal to Peter that confession, so neither was that Prerogative given to the flesh and blood of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the spirit of Peter, which is to mean, in respect of the spiritual confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnal place or person, &c.

Item, If the Scholer ought not to be above the Master, how then could either Peter take that upon him, which Christ his Master so constantly did refuse; or how can the Bishop of Rome now claim that by Succession, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his Predecessor before him? for so we read in *Exe. 36*, both of Peter, James, and John, that they did

arrogate no such primacy unto them, but were content that James, furnished *Justus*, should be the Bishop of the Apostles.

And as for the name and signification of the word *Primatus*, i. Primacy, if it be taken for the first nomination, or the first place given, so he granteth that Peter had the preferment of the first name and place in the order of the Apostles. But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had also a Kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an impery upon his brethren; for so were they not his brethren, but his Subjects.

That Peter was *Primus*, that is, first or chief in the number of them which confessed Christ, it is not to be denied. For first he confessed, first he taught the *Jews*, first he stood in defence of the verity, and was the first and chief prolocutor among them; but yet that maketh not, that he should therefore vindicate a general primacy and rule over all other states, and potentates of the World, no more than *Apelles*, because he is noted the first and chief of all Painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all Painters; or because the University of Paris is nominate for the first and chief of other Universities, shall therefore the French King, and all other Princes in their public administration, wherein they are set of God, become subjects and underlings to that University?

Thus after many other reasons and persuasions contained in said Book *De Obedientia* (for I do but superficially skim over the top only of his probations and arguments) Finally in the end, of his probation, he concludeth the whole summe of his mind, in this effect; first, denying that the Bishop of Rome had ever any such extern jurisdiction assigned to him absolutely from God, to reign over Kings and Princes. For the probation whereof he hath alleged sufficiently, as he saith, the examples and doings of Christ himself, which ought to be to us all a sufficient document.

And as concerning the term of Primacy, albeit it is used sometime of the Fathers, yet the matter being well considered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the Bishop of Rome, which now he doth usurpe.

Also as for the Prerogatives granted unto Peter, by the which Prerogatives, our Saviour would Crown his own gifts given unto him, crowning not the flesh and blood of Peter, but the marvellous testimony of his confession, all this maketh nothing for the Popes purpose.

Likewise as concerning the local succession of Peter, the Pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be Successor of Peter, he must succeed him in Faith, Doctrine, and conditions; and in so doing, he neither will, neither yet shall need to seek for honour, but shall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man should be; and that much more than he being a good man would require.

And thus Stephen Winchester taking his leave and bidding the Pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth. The light of the Gospel, saith he, so spreadeth his beams in all mens eyes, that the works of the Gospel be known, the mysteries of Christs Doctrine are opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women being Englishmen born, do see and perceive, that they have nothing to do with Rome, nor with the Bishop of Rome, but that every Prince in his own dominion is to be taken and accepted as a Vicar of God, and Vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds. And therefore seeing this order is taken of God, and one in the Church should bear the Office of teaching, another should bear the Office of ruling (which Office is only limited to Princes) he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to follow the same, wherein consisteth our true and special obedience, &c.

To this Book of Stephen Winchester *De Obedientia* we will adjoin for good fellowship the Preface also of *Edm. Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leicester*, prefixed before the same, to the intent that the Reader seeing the judgments of these men as they were then, and again the sudden mutation afterward of the said parties of the contrary opinion, may learn thereby what vain glory and pompe of this world can work in the frail nature of man, where Gods grace lacketh to sustain. The Preface of Bonner,

The Kings stile and title approved by Synod. Winchester.

The King is as well the head of the Church, as of his Kingdom.

A rule of the Law.

Winchester with that the Pope over Peter Successors.

Argument. The Prerogative was given to him which confessed. Flesh and blood in Peter did not confess Christ. Peter, the Predecessor was not given to the flesh and blood of Peter.

KING, James, furnished Justus, should be the Bishop of the Apostles.

Primatus or Primacy, what it signifies.

He saith confirm thy brethren, but not thy Subjects.

Primus Primatus, First Primacy, means as much as the first standing in vocable, and is the name of vertue, and not of power.

Succession of Peter.

Steph. Winchester, taking his leave and bidding the Pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth.

The Office of teaching. The Office of ruling.

KING'S Bonner, before the said Book of Winchester, De obedientia, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth:

The Preface of Edmund Bonner, Arch-deacon of Launcester, prefixed before Stephen Gardners Book, De vera obedientia.

Bonner's **Preface** **before** **Winchester's** **Book** **of** **Obedience**.
Quoniam Jam
FOrasmuch as some there be no doubt (as the judgments of Men be always variable) which think the controversy which is between the Kings Royal Majesty, and the Bishop of Rome, consisteth in this point, for that his Majesty hath taken the most excellent and most vertuous Lady Ann to Wife, which in very deed is far otherwise, and nothing so: to the intent therefore that all true hearty favourers of the Gospel of Christ, which hate not, but love the Truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned Bishops, with all the Nobles and Commons of England, not only in that cause of Matrimony, but also in defending the Doctrine of the Gospel: here shall be published the Oration of the Bishop of Winchester (a Man excellently learned in all kind of Learning) entitled De vera obedientia; that is, concerning true obedience. But as touching this Bishops worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are truth and in infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christians, then becometh me here to make rehearsal. And as for the Oration it self (which as it is most learned, so it is most elegant) to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it traileth it self enough, and seeing good Wine needeth no Taverner-Bush to utter it? But yet in this Oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle Reader, thou shalt beside other matters see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance, and how invincible the power and excellency of Gods Truth is, which as it may now and then be pressed of the Enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened after such sort, but it sheweth it self again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching Obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of Mens traditions, which for the most part be most repugnant against the truth of Gods Law. And there by the way, he speaketh of the Kings said Highness Marriage, which by the ripe Judgment, Authority, and Priviledge of the most and principal Universities of the World, and then with the consent of the whole Church of England, be contracted with the most Excellent, and most Noble Lady Queen Ann. After that, touching the Kings Majesties Title, as pertaining to the Supreme head of the Church of England. Last of all, of the false pretended Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in the Realm of England most justly abrogated: and how all other Bishops being fellow-like to him in their function, yea and in some points above him within their own Provinces, were before-time bound to the King by their Oath.

Mens **Traditions**.
The **Contents** **of** **Winchester** **Book**.
De **vera** **Obedientia**.
The **Kings** **Marriage** **with** **Queen** **Ann**.
Supreme **head**.
The **Bishop** **of** **Rome** **pretended** **Supremacy**.
Bonner **keere** **well** **what** **most** **fit** **would** **best** **please** **his** **Father** **of** **Rome**, **and** **that** **Money** **and** **Gibes** **would** **flap** **his** **mouth**.
Seeing **thou** **knowest** **well** **the** **Doctrin** **to** **be** **such** **a** **croell** **Tyranny**, **why** **then** **wouldst** **thou** **accuse** **thi** **Lord**, **where** **he** **came** **from** **his** **laughter** **Man**.

But be thou most surely persuaded of this, good Reader, That the Bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but only this Marriage, would easily content himself, specially having some good morsel or other given him to chew upon. But when he seeth so mighty a King, being a right vertuous and a great learned Prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the Gospel of Christ, and perceiving the yearly and great prey (yea so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the Kings Revenues) snatched out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his Tyranny in the Kings Majesties Realm (as alas heretofore too cruel and bitter) nor make Laws, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the Majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past; under the title of the Catholick Church, and the Authority of Peter and Paul (when notwithstanding he was a very ravening Wolf, dressed in Sheeps clothing, calling himself the Servant of Servants) to the great damage of the Christian Common-wealth: here, here began all the mischief, thereof rose these discords, these diadly malices, and so great and terrible brawling: For

if it were not thus, could any Man believe that this Jupiter of Olympus, (which falsely hath arrogated unto himself an absolute power without controulment) would have wrought so diligently by all means possible, to stir up all other Kings and Princes so traiterously against this so good and godly and so true Gospel-like Prince, as he hath done? Neither let it move thee (gentle Reader) that Winchester did not before now apply to this Opinion: for he himself in this Oration sheweth the cause why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a Man to suspend his judgment, and not to be too rash in giving of Sentence. It is an old said saw; Mary Magdalen profited us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt. A Man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his advised taking of leisure restored the matter. Albeit I speak not thus as if Winchester had not looked out this matter secretly with himself before hand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago) but that running fast and lightly he would first with his painful study pluck the matter out of the dark, although of it self it was clear enough, but by reason of sundry Opinions it was lapped up in darkness, and then did he debate it wittily to and fro: and so at last after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, he would resolutely with his learned and confirmed judgment confirm it.

Thou shouldest, gentle Reader, esteem his censure and authority to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly and at all adventures, but with judgment (as thou seest) and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, seeing that not only this Man, but many Men oftentimes, yea and right great learned Men afore now, have done the same even in writing, whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleights, falsehood, frauds and deceitful wyles openly known to the World. Therefore if thou at any time heretofore have doubted either of true obedience, or of the Kings Majesties Marriage, or Title, or else of the Bishop of Rome: false pretended Supremacy, as if thou hadst a good smelling Nose, and a sound Judgment, I think thou didst not: yet having read this Oration, (which, if thou favour the Truth, and hate the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and his fanatical fraudulent falsehood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee) forsake thine Error, and acknowledge the Truth now freely offered thee at length, confiding with thy self, that it is better late for to do so, than never to repent. Fare thou heartily well, most gentle Reader, and not only love this most valiant King of England and of France, who undoubtedly was by the Providence of God born to defend the Gospel, but also honour him and serve him most obediently. As for this Winchester, who was long ago without doubt reputed among the greatest learned Men, give him thy good word, with highest commendation.

The end of Bishop Bonner's Prologue

What Man reading and advising this Book of Winchester, De vera Obedientia, with Bonners Preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so work in Mans heart, to make these Men thus to turn the Cat (as they say) in the Pan, and to start so suddenly from the Truth so manifestly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed? If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and swore unto: what perjury most execrable was it before God and Man? If they meant good Faith, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindness is this so suddenly fallen upon them, to make that false now, which was true before, or that to be now true, which before was false? Thus to fay and unfay, and then to fay again, to do and undo, and as a Man would say to play fast or loose with truth, truly a Man may say is

Winchester
verleth
advise
judgment

No new
matter
verite
against
the
Bishop
of
Rome

Note:
The Incon-
sistency
of
Winchester
and Bonner

the

not the doing of a Man which is in any case to be trusted, whatsoever he doth or saith. But here a Man may see what Man is of himself, when Gods good humble Spirit lacketh to be his guide.

The Sermon of Tonsal before the King, made on Palm-Sunday.

Furthermore, to add unto them the judgment also and argument of Tonsal Bishop of Duresme, let us see how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth them, in his Sermon made before King Henry upon Palm-Sunday, remaining yet in Print: in the which Sermon disputing against the wrongful Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, he proves by manifest grounds most effectually, both out of the Scripture, ancient Doctors, and of Councils, not only that the Bishop of Rome hath no such Authority by the Word of God committed to him, as he doth challenge; but also in requiring and challenging the same he reproveth and condemneth him with great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer, disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him, contrary to Christ and Peter: and finally, in raising up War against us for the same, he therefore rebuketh and defeth him, as a most detestable fower of discord, and a murderer of Christian Men.

That Popes and Bishops ought to be subject to their Sovereigns.

First by the Scripture he reasoneth thus, and proveth, That all good Men ought to obey the Potestates and Governors of the World, as Emperors, Kings, and Princes of all sorts, what name soever the said supreme powers do bear or use for their Countries in which they be; for so 1 Pet. 2. doth plainly teach us, 1 Pet. 2. saying, *Be ye subject to every human creature for Gods cause, whether it be King, as chief head, or Dukes or Governors, &c.* So that St. Peter in his Epistle commandeth all worldly Princes in their office to be obeyed as the Ministers of God, by all Christian Men: and according unto the same, St. Paul, Rom. 13. saith, *Let every living man be subject to the high powers; for the high powers be of God, and whosoever resisteth the high powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth thereby to himself damnation.*

And in the same place of Tonsal it followeth. And lest Men should forget their duty of obedience to their Princes, it is thrice repeated, *That they be the Ministers of God*, whose place in their governance they represent: to that unto them all Men must obey, Apostles, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and all of the Clergy, &c. And therefore, saith he, the Bishop of Rome, oweth to his Sovereign and Superior like subjection by the Word of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other Bishops do to their Princes, under whom they be, &c.

Also, an other expresse Commandment we have of Christ, Luke 22. who upon the occasion of his Disciples striving for superiority, discuteth the matter, saying on this Luke 22. wife, *The Kings of the people and Nations have dominion over them, and those that have power over them be called gracious Lords; but so it shall not be amongst you: but whosoever amongst you is the greater, shall be as the younger; and whosoever amongst you shall be chief, shall be as a servant and a Minister, &c.*

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his Kingdom, John 18. declareth that his Kingdom is not of this World, and therefore saith Tonsal, those that go about to make of Christs Spiritual Kingdom a Wordly Kingdom, do fall into the Error of some Hereticks that look that Christ, after the Day of Judgment, shall reign with all his Saints here in the Earth carnally in Jerusalem; the Jews do believe that Messiah is yet to come, and when he shall come, he shall Reign worldly in Jerusalem.

By these and such other places it may well appear, That Christ neither before his Incarnation, (as Tonsal saith) nor after his Incarnation, did ever alter the Authority of Wordly Kings and Princes, but by his own Word commanded them still to be obeyed of their subjects, as they had been in the ancient time before, &c. and for example of the same he alledgeth first the example of Christ himself, Matth. 22. who being asked of the Jews, Whether they should give tribute to Caesar or no, he bade them give to Caesar those things that be his, and to God those things that be his: signifying, that Tribute was due to Caesar, and that their Souls were due to God, &c.

Mat. 22. Examples of Christs humble subjection.

Also in the seventeenth of Matthew it appeareth that Christ bade Peter pay tribute for him and his Disciples, when it was demanded of him. And why? Because he would not change the order of obedience to Wordly Princes due by their Subjects, &c.

Another example of Christ he citeth out of the 6th of John 6. John, where after Christ had fed five thousand and more, with a few Loaves, and fewer Fishes, and that the Jews would have taken him and made him their King, he fled from them, and would not consent unto them: For the Kingdom, saith he, that he came to set here in Earth, was not a Wordly and Temporal Kingdom, but an Heavenly and Spiritual Kingdom; that is, to reign Spiritually by Grace and Faith in the hearts of all Christian and Faithful people, of what degree, or of what nature soever they be, and to turn all People and Nations, which at his coming were carnal and lived after the lusts of the Flesh, to be Spiritual, and to live after the lusts of the Spirit, that Christ with his Father of Heaven might reign in the hearts of all Men, &c.

And here in these examples of Christs humility farther is to be noted, how Christ the Son of God did submit himself not only to the rulers and powers of this World, but also dejected himself, and in a manner became servant to his own Apostles: so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of Wordly honour: for so it appeared in him, not only by walking the Feet of his Apostles, but also the same time a little before his Passion, when the Apostles fell at contention among themselves, who among them should be superior, he setting before them the example of his own subjection asketh this question: *Who is superior; he that sitteth at the Table, or he that serveth at the Table? Is not he Superior that sitteth? but I am amongst you, as he that minstreth, and serveth, &c.*

The like examples Tonsal also inferreth of Peter's Humility. For where we read in the Acts, how the Centurion, a Noble Man of great Age, did prostrate himself upon the ground at the feet of Peter; then Peter, not suffering that, eschewed him up and bade him rise, saying, *I am also a man as thou art.*

So likewise did the Angel, Apocalypse 19. and the 22d, Apoc. to whom when John would have fallen down to have adored him which shewed him those Visions, the Angel said unto him: *See thou do not so; for I am the servant of God, as thou art, &c.*

Again, in the foresaid Peter, what an example of reverent Humility is to be seen in this, that notwithstanding he with other Apostles having his Commission to go over all the World, yet nevertheless he being at Joppa, and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go unto him, without the Vision of a Sheet let down from Heaven, by the which Vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles: or else he knew in himself no such Primacy over all people and places given unto him, nor no such Commission so large above the other, &c.

Furthermore, the said Peter, being rebuked of Paul his fellow Brother, took no scorn thereof, but was content, submitting himself to due correction.

But here saith Tonsal, steppeth in the Bishop of Rome and saith, That Peter had Authority given him above all the residue of the Apostles, and alledgeth the words of Christ spoken to him, Matth. the 16th. *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and will give to thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon Earth, shall be bound in Heaven.* This said Christ, saith the Pope, and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am, and ought to rule the Church, as Peter did, and to be Porter of Heavengates, as Peter was, &c.

And Christ said also to Peter after his Resurrection, John 21. *Feed my sheep;* which he sake to him only, so that thereby he had Authority over all that be of Christs flock; and I, as his successor have the same. And therefore who so will not obey me, King or Prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his Kingdom of Signiory: for all power is given to me that Christ hath, and I am his Vicar-General as Peter was here in Earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in Heaven.

1 KING 1. 1. He 8. 1. Mat. 17.

Luke 22.

Examples of Peter's subjection. Acts 10.

The Popes objections. Mat. 16.

The ambitious pride of the Pope.

KING 1. This ambitious and pompous objection, faith *Tonsil*, of the Pope and his adherents, hath of late years much troubled the World, and made dissension, debate, and open War in all parts of Christendom, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture. Who if he would take those places after the right sense of them, as both the Apostles themselves taught us, and all the ancient best learned Interpreters do expound them, the matter were soon at a point. But otherwise, sith they pervert the Scripture, and preach another Gospel in that point to us, than ever the Apostles preached, we have therein a general rule to follow: *That though an Angel came from Heaven, and would tell us such new expositions of those places, as are now made, to turn the words, which were spoken for Spiritual authority of preaching the Word of God and ministring of the Sacraments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him: as St. Paul willeth us, Galat. 1.*

Gal. 1.

The place of Math. 16. expounded.

Rom. 10.

Peter the first confessor of Christ. The Church builded upon the confession of Peter, not upon the Person of Peter.

1 Cor. 3.

What is the Primacy of Peter, and how it cometh.

The honourable names of Peter in the old Doctors, how and wherefore they be given.

First, *St. Paul, Gal. 2.* plainly declareth the same, saying, *That as the Apostleship of the Circumcision, that is, of the Jews, was given by Christ to Peter, so was the Apostleship of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles.* Herby it appeareth that *Paul* knew no Primacy of *Peter* concerning people and places, but among the Jews. And thereof *St. Ambrose*, expounding that place faith thus: The Primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to *Peter*, albeit *James* and *John* were joyned with him; as the Primacy of the Gentiles was given to *Paul*, albeit *Barnabas* was joyned with him: so that *Peter* had no rule over all.

Gal. 2. The Authority of the Apostles all alike.

Ambrose.

Acts 10.

Ephes. 2.

The Church founded not only, but of the Apostles.

Apoc. 21

Cyprian lib. De simplici Preslat.

Every Christian hath his part wholly to himself.

Aug. 10. Joh. 17. Trid. 20.

Cyprian lib. De simplici Preslat.

Peter says, I have nothing for the Pope or Universal Ecclesiastical.

Acts 20.

Milete, faith to them, Take heed to your selves, and to the flock, in which the Holy-Ghost hath put you to be governors, &c.

And Peter himself likewise, 1 Peter chapter 5, faith, Ye that be Priests feed the flock of God among you, &c.

So that by these Scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither the sixteenth Chapter of *Matthew*, nor the one and twentieth of *John*, do prove that *Peter* had power, authority, or dignity given him of Christ over all the other, that they should be under him: And yet notwithstanding his Primacy, in that he hath called the Apostles confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God (with the which confession all the other Apostles did consent,

Alfo in the *Acts* 10. when *Peter* was sent for to *Corneilius* a Gentile, he durst not go to him without a special Vision given him from Heaven by the Lord.

Item, That all the Apostles had like Dignity and Authority, it appeareth by *St. Paul, Ephes. 2.* where he faith, *Now ye are not strangers nor Foreigners, but ye be Citizens with the Saints, and of the household of Almighty God, builded (faith he) upon the foundations of the Apostles and the Prophets, Christ being the corner-stone upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an Holy Temple in our Lord, &c.* Here he faith that they be builded not upon the Foundation of *Peter* only, but upon the Foundation of the Apostles, so that all they be in the Foundation set upon Christ the very Rock, whereupon standeth the whole Church.

In the 21st Chapter also of the *Apocalypse*, the new City, and the Heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God is described of the Holy Ghost, not with one Foundation only of *Peter*, but with *twelve foundations*, after the number of the Apostles.

S. Cyprian, lib. de simplici Preslat. giveth Record likewise to the same, that the Apostles had equal Power and Dignity given to them by Christ: and because all should preach one thing, therefore the beginning thereof first came by one, which was *Peter*, who confessed for them all, *That Christ was the Son of the living God.* Saying further, That in the Church there is one office of all the Bishops, whereof every Man hath a part allowed wholly unto him. Now, if the Bishop of *Rome* may meddle over all, where he will, then every Man hath not wholly his part, for the Bishop of *Rome* may also meddle in his part jointly with him; so that now he hath it not wholly: which is against *Cyprian*.

S. Austen likewise expounding the Gospel of *John*, in the fiftieth Treaty, speaketh there of the Keys of *Peter*, which he faith were given of Christ to *Peter*, not for himself alone, but for the whole Church.

Cyrillus expounding the last Chapter of *John*, and there *Cyprian* in speaking of the Words of Christ spoken unto *Peter*, *Feed my sheep, &c.* thus understandeth the same: That because *Peter* had Thrice denied Christ, whereby he thought himself he had lost his Apostleship, Christ to comfort him again, and to restore him to his Office that he had lost, asked him thrice whether he loved him, and he restored him again to his Office, which else he durst not have presumed unto; saying unto him, *Feed my sheep, &c.* With which exposition the ancient Holy Expositors of that place do likewise agree. So that by these words of feeding Christs Sheep, the Bishop of *Rome* can take no advantage to maintain his Universal Pastoralty over all Christian Dominions.

Again, whereas the Bishop of *Rome* faith, that *Peter* by these words of Christ spoken to him hath a preeminency above the other, *S. Paul, Acts 20.* proveth the contrary, where he, speaking to the Bishops assembled at *Milete*, faith to them, *Take heed to your selves, and to the flock, in which the Holy-Ghost hath put you to be governors, &c.*

And *Peter* himself likewise, 1 Peter chapter 5, faith, *Ye that be Priests feed the flock of God among you, &c.*

So that by these Scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither the sixteenth Chapter of *Matthew*, nor the one and twentieth of *John*, do prove that *Peter* had power, authority, or dignity given him of Christ over all the other, that they should be under him: And yet notwithstanding his Primacy, in that he hath called the Apostles confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God (with the which confession all the other Apostles did consent,

and

and also preached the same) standeth still. Which confession first by Peter made, all other that will be saved must follow also, and be taught to confess the same. And thus the Bishops of Rome power over all, which he would prove by those places wrongfully alledged for his purpose, utterly quailth, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and Doctors.

Now further proceeding in this matter, the said Tonsal cometh to Councils, and Examples of the Primitive Church, as followeth:

Examples of the Primitive Church against the Popes Supremacy.

The Supremacy of Rome reproved by the Council of Nice.

The Council of Nice testified by Paulinus the Pope's Legate.

The sixth Article of Nice's Council. The four chief Patriarchs equal in power.

Pope Agatho subscribed to the Emperor.

Pope Vitalianus subscribed to the Emperor. 62. Dis. Agatho. 62. Dis. cum longo.

Bishop Tonsal as a right Lutheran.

Fausinus, Legate to the Bishop of Rome, in the sixth Council of Carthage, alledged that the Bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters in all places by his Supreme Authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to make for it) but alledged for him, and that truly, the first Council of Nice to make for his purpose. After this, when the Book was brought forth, and no such Article found in it, but the contrary, yet the Council at that time sent to *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, where the Patriarchal Sees were, to have the true Copy of the Council of Nice, which was sent unto them. And another Copy also was sent from Rome, whither also they sent for the same purpose.

After that the Copy was brought to them, and no such Article found in it, but in the fifth Chapter thereof the contrary, that all causes Ecclesiastical should either be determined within the Diocess, or else, if any were grieved, then to appeal to the Council provincial, and there the matter to take full end, so that for no such causes Men should go out of their Provinces; the whole Council of Carthage wrote to *Celestine*, at that time being Bishop of Rome, That since the Council of Nice had no such Article in it, as was truly alledged by *Fausinus*, but the contrary, they desired him to obtain hereafter to make any more such demand, denouncing unto him that they would not suffer any cause great or small, to be brought by Appeal out of their Country; and thereupon made a Law, That no Man should Appeal out of the Country of *Africa*, upon pain to be denounced accursed. Where-with the Bishop of Rome ever after held him content, and made no more business with them, seeing he had nought to say for himself to the contrary. And at this Council *St. Augustine* was present, and subscribed his hand. Read more hereof before.

It was determined also in the sixth Article of the said Council of Nice, That in the Orient the Bishop of *Antioch* should be chief; in *Egypt* the Bishop of *Alexandria*; about Rome the Bishop of Rome; and likewise in other Countries the Metropolitan should have their prebeminence: so that the Bishop of Rome never had meddling in those Countries.

And in the next Article following, the Bishop of *Jerusalem* (which City before had been destroyed, and almost desolate) was restored to his old Prerogative, to be the chief in *Palestine* and in the Country of *Jury*.

By this ye see how the Patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the Primitive Church, had no such Primacy prebeminence above other Patriarchs, much less over Kings and Emperors, as may appear by *Agatho* Bishop of Rome long after that, in whole time was the sixth Council General. Which *Agatho* after his Election sent to the Emperor, then being at *Constantinople*, to have his Election allowed, before he would be Consecrate, after the old custom at the time used.

In like sort, another Bishop of Rome called *Vitalianus* did the same, as it is written in the Decrees, *Distin. 63.*

Cap. Agatho.

The like did *St. Ambrose* and *St. Gregory* before them, as it is written in the Chapter *cum longo*, in the same Distinction. During all which time the Bishops of Rome followed well the Doctrine of Saint Peter and *St. Paul*, left unto them, to be subjects, and to obey their Princes.

Thus after that Bishop Tonsal, playing the earnest Lutheran, both by Scriptures and ancient Doctors, also by examples sufficient of the Primitive Church, hath proved and declared, how the Bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every Creature in this World to obey; now let us likewise see how the said Bishop Ton-

sal describeth unto us his Disobedience intolerable, his Pride incomparable, and his malignant Malice most execrable.

And first speaking of the Disobedience of Adam and Eve, then of the Pride of *Nabuchodonosor*, and of *Lucifer*, at length he compareth the Bishops of Rome to them all. Who first for Disobedience refuse to obey Gods Commandment, and contrary to his Word will be above their Governours, in refusing to obey them.

Secondly, Besides this rebellious Disobedience in these Bishops of Rome, not sufferable, their Pride moreover so far exceedeth all measure, that they will have their Princes, to whom they owe subjection, prostrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the Earth; and to kiss their Feet, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched Men, and yet they look that their Princes should do it unto them, and also all other Christian-men, owing them no subjection, should do the same.

And who be these I pray you, that Men may know them? Surely (saith he) the Bishops of Rome be these whom I do mean, who following the Pride of *Lucifer* their Father, make themselves fellows to God, and do exalt their Seat above the Stars of God, and do ascend above the Clouds, and will be like to Almighty God. By the Stars of God be meant the Angels of Heaven; for as Stars do shew unto us in part the light of Heaven, so do Angels shew unto Men, shew the Heavenly Light of the grace of God to those to whom they be sent. And the Clouds signified in the Old Testament the Prophets, and in the New do signify the Apostles and Preachers of the Word of God. For as the Clouds do connect and gather in the Sky moisture, which they after pour down upon the Ground to make it thereby more fruitful; so the Prophets in the Old Testament, and the Apostles and Preachers in the New, do pour into our Ears the moisture of the Heavenly Doctrine of the Word of God, to make therewith by Grace our Souls, being fear and dry, to bring forth fruit of the Spirit. Thus do all ancient Expolitors, and amongst them *St. Augustine*, interpret to be meant in Scripture, Stars and Clouds, in the Expolition of the Five and fortieth Psalm.

But *St. John* the Evangelist writeth in the Nineteenth Chapter of the *Apocalypse*, and in the Two and twentieth also, that when he would have fallen down at the Angels Feet, that did shew him those Visions there written, to have adored him with godly worship, the Angel said unto him: See thou do not so, for I am the servant of God, as thou art: give adoration and godly worship to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth, that the Bishops of Rome suffering all Men prostrate before them to kiss their Feet (yea the same Princes, to whom they owe subjection) do climb up above the Stars and Angels too, offering their Feet to be kissed, with Shoes and all. For so I saw my self being present Four and thirty years ago, when *Julius*, then Bishop of Rome stood on his Feet, and one of his Chamberlains held up his skirt, because it stood not (as he thought) with his Dignity, that he should do it himself, that his Shoe might appear, whilst a Noble Man of great Age, did prostrate himself upon the Ground, and kissed his Shoe: which he faintly suffered to be done, as of duty. Where me think I saw *Cornelius* the Centurion, Captain of the Italian Band, spoken of in the Tenth Chapter of the *Acts*, submitting himself to Peter, and much honouring him: but I saw not Peter there to take him up, and to bid him rise, saying, I am a man as thou art, as *St. Peter* did say to *Cornelius*: so that the Bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration due unto God, do climb above the Heavenly Clouds; that is to say, above the Apostles sent into the World by Christ, to Water the Earthly and Carnal hearts of Men, by their Heavenly Doctrine of the Word of God.

Thus Bishop Tonsal having described the passing Pride of the Pope, surmounting like *Lucifer* above Bishops, Apostles, Angels and Stars of Heaven, proceeding then further, to the later end of his Sermon, cometh to speak of his rage and malice most furious and pefilant, in that he being justly put from his Kingdom here to wreak his spiteful malice, stirreth up War against us, and bloweth the Horn of mischief in giving our Land for a spoil and prey to all, whosoever at his setting

The disobedience, the pride, and the malice of the Pope described.

The pride of the Pope so defiled.

The Pope called above the Clouds and the Stars of Heaven.

Apoc. 19. 22.

The Pope exalted above Angels.

The Pope climbeth above the Apostles.

The Pope stirreth up War against England.

KING ou will come and invade us. But let us hear his own words preaching to the King and all *Englishmen*, touching both the Popes Malice, and the Treason of Cardinal Pool.

Now, faith he, because he can no longer in this Realm wrongfully use his Usurped power in all things (as he was wont to do) and suck out of this Realm by avarice insatiable, innumerable sums of Money yearly, to the great exhausting of the fame: he therefore, moved and repleat with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all Christian Nations, that will give ears to his Devilish enchantments, to move War against this Realm of *England*, giving it in prey to all those, that by his instigation will invade it.

The Pope
giveth
England
away for
a prey.

And here Expounding these foresaid words (*To give in prey*) he declareth what great mischief they contain, and willett every true *Englishman* well to mark the same. First to make this Realm, faith he, a prey to all venturers, all spoilers, all unspaurious, all scorn hopes, all cornorants, all ravengers of the World, that will invade this Realm, is to say, Thou possessor of any Lands of this Realm, of what degree soever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy Lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves: and thou shalt be sure to be slain, for they will not suffer thee, nor none of thy progeny to live to make any claim afterward, or to be revenged, for that were their unfeigny. Thy Wife shall be abused before thy face: thy Daughter likewise defoured before thee: thy Children slain before thine eyes: thy House spoiled: thy Cartel driven away and fold before thy visage: Thy Plate, thy Money by force taken from thee; all thy Goods, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy Children, ravens, broken and distributed in thy presence, that every ravener may have his share. Thou Merchant art sure to be slain, for thou hast either Money or Ware, or both, which they search for. Thou Bishop or Priest, whatsoever thou be, shalt never escape, because thou wouldst not take the Bishop of *Rome* part, and rebel against God and thy Prince, as he doth. If thou shalt flee and escape for a season, whatsoever thou be, thou shalt see and hear of so much misery and abomination, that thou shalt judge them happy that be dead before: for sure it is, thou shalt not finally escape: for, to take the whole Realm in prey, is to kill the whole People, and to take the place for themselves, as they will do if they can.

Cardinal
Pool traitor
to England.

And the Bishop of *Rome* now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this Realm, *Reginald Pool*, comen of a Noble blood, and thereby the more errant Traitor, to go about from Prince to Prince, and from Country to Country, to stir them to War against this Realm, and to destroy the same, being his Native Country: whose pestilent purpose, the Princes that he breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the Bishop of *Rome*, (who being a Bishop should procure Peace) is a stirrer of War, and because this most errant and unkind Traitor is his minister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the Country that he was born in, which any Heathen Man would abhor to do.

The Popes
name and
memory
abolished.

And so continuing in his Discourse against Cardinal Pool and the Bishop of *Rome* for stirring the People to War and Mischief, he further faith, and faith truly, That for these many years past, little War hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the Bishop of *Rome* either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as *St. Paul* faith, *That God is not the God of dissension, but of peace*, who commandeth by his Word, Peace alway to be kept; we are sure that all those that go about to break Peace between Realms, and to bring them to War, are the Children of the Devil, what holy names soever they pretend to cloak their pestilent malice withal; which cloaking under Hypocrisy is double devilishness, and of Christ most detested, because under his blessed name they do play the Devils part.

Ezekiel 39.

And in the later end of his Sermon, concluding with the thirty ninth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, where the Prophet speaketh against *Gog* and *Magog*, going about to destroy the People of God, and prophesieth against them, That

the People of God shall vanquish and overthrow them on the Mountains of *Israel*, that none of them shall escape, but their Carcasses shall there be devoured of Wolves and Crows, and Birds of the Air; so likewise faith he of these our Enemies, wilhing, that if they shall persist in their pestilent malice to make Invasion into this Realm, then their great Captain *Gog* (the Bishop of *Rome* he meaneth) may come with them to drink with them of the same Cup, which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for us, that the People of God might after live quietly in Peace.

The Pope
compared
to Gog.

We have heard hitherto the Oaths, Censures, and Judgments of certain particular Bishops, of *Tork*, of *Winchester*, of *London*: of *Durresme*, and also of *Edmund Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leicester*, against the Popes unlawful Usurpation. Now for the more fortification of the matter, and satisfying of the Reader, it shall not be much out of purpose, besides the content and approbation of these aforesaid, to inter also the publick and general agreement of the whole Clergy of *England*, as in a total sum together, confirmed and ratified in their own publick Book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called then *The Bishops Book*. In the which Book, although many things were very slender and imperfect, yet as touching this cause of the Bishop of *Romes* Regality, we will hear (God willing) what their whole Opinion and Provincial determination did conclude, according as by their own words in the same Book is to be seen word for word, as followeth, subscribed also with their own names; the Catalogue of whom, under their own confession, shall appear.

WE think it convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain Men do imagine and affirm, That Christ should give unto the Bishop of *Rome* Power and Authority, not only to be Head and Governor of all Priests and Bishops in Christs Church, but also to have and occupy the whole Monarchy of the World in his hands, and that he may thereby Lawfully Depose Kings and Princes from their Realms, Dominions and Seigniories, and to transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, That is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto *St. Peter*, or unto any of the Apostles, or their successors, any such Authority. And the Apostles, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, do teach and command, That all Christian people, as well Priests and Bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the Princes and Potentates of the World, although they were Infidels.

Testified
out of the
Bishops
Books, against the
Popes supremacy.

And as for the Bishop of *Rome*, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any Primacy or Governance above any other Bishops, out of his Province in *Italy*: since the which time he hath ever Usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the Emperors, Kings and Princes, and by the consent also of the Clergy in General Councils assembled: yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvelous subtilty and craft, and especially by colluding with great Kings and Princes, sometime training them into his Devotion by pretence and colour of Holiness and Sanctimony, and sometime constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said Bishops of *Rome* aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be Heads, and to put Laws by their own Authority, not only unto all other Bishops

How the
Bishop of
Rome took
by subtilty
and craft.

Concluded
verum
Contra-
martyr
as.

within Christendom, but also unto the Emperors, Kings, and other the Princes and Lords of the World, and that under the pretence of the Authority committed unto them by the Gospel. Wherein the said Bishops of *Rome* do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christs Word; but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the Primitive Church; and so do manifestly violate, as well the Holy Canons made in the Church immediately after the time of the Apostles,

First the General Council of Nice Decreed, That the Patriarchs of Alexandria, and Antiochia, should have like power over the countries as about those Cities, as the Bishops of *Rome* had over the Countries about *Rome*.

In the Council of Milev: taken, it was Decreed, That if a clerk of Africa would Appeal out of Africa unto any Bishop beyond the Sea, he should be taken as a person Excommunicate.

as also the Decrees and Constitutions made in that behalf by the Holy Fathers of the Catholick Church, assembled in the first General Councils. And finally, they do transgress their own profession, made in their Creation. For all the Bishops of Rome always, when they be Consecrated and made Bishops of that See, do make a solemn Profession and Vow, That they shall inviolably observe and keep all the Ordinances made in the eight first General Councils: among the which it is specially provided and enacted, That all Causes shall be finished and determined within the Province where the same begun, and that by the Bishops of the same Province, and that no Bishop shall exercise any Jurisdiction out of his own Diocess or Province; and divers such other Canons were then made and confirmed by the

said Councils to repress and take away out of the Church all such Primacy and Jurisdiction over Kings and Bishops, as the Bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good Fathers, Bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea, and abhor (as a thing cleau contrary to the Gospel, and the Decrees of the Church) that any Bishop of Rome, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him the title and name of the Universal Bishop, or of the Head of all Priests, or of the Highest Priest, or any such like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, neither in Scripture, nor in the Writings of any Autherical Doctor or Author of the Church, being within the time of the Apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the pre-eminence of Power, Order, or Jurisdiction, between the Apostles themselves, or between the Bishops themselves, but that they were all equal in Power, Order, Authority and Jurisdiction. And that there is now, and since the time of the Apostles, any such diversity, or difference among the Bishops, it was devised by the ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church for the conservation of good Order and Unity of the Catholick Church, and that either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the Princes, and Civil Powers for the time Ruling, &c.

And shortly after followeth; And for the better confirmation of this part, we think it also convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their Spiritual charge, that Christ did by express words prohibit, that none of his Apostles, nor any of their Successors should, under the pretence of the Authority given unto them by Christ, take upon them the Authority of the Sword; that is to say, the Authority of Kings, or of any Civil Power in this World, yea, or any Authority to make Laws or Ordinances in Causes appertaining unto Civil Powers. Truth it is, the Priests and Bishops may execute all such Temporal Power and Jurisdiction, as is committed unto them by the Ordinance and Authority of Kings, or other Civil Powers, and by the consent of the people (as Officers and Ministers under the said Kings and Powers) so long as it shall please the said Kings and People to permit and suffer them so to use and execute the same. Notwithstanding, if any Bishop of what Estate or Dignity soever he be, be he Bishop of Rome, or of any other City, Province, or Diocess, do presume to take upon him Authority or Jurisdiction in Causes or Matters which appertain unto Kings, and the Civil Powers and their Courts, and will maintain or think that he may so do by the Authority of Christ and his Gospel, although the Kings and Princes would not permit and suffer him so to do; no doubt, that Bishop is not worthy to be called a Bishop, but rather a Tyrant, and an Usurper of other Mens rights, contrary to the Laws of God, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwise, than he that goeth about to subvert the Kingdom of Christ. For the Kingdom of Christ in his Church is a Spiritual, and not a Carnal Kingdom of the World; that is to say, the very Kingdom that Christ by himself, or by his Apostles and Disciples sought here in this World, was to bring all Nations from the Carnal Kingdom of the Prince of Darkness unto

the Light of his Spiritual Kingdom, and so himself to reign in the hearts of the People, by Grace, Faith, Hope, and Charity. And therefore, such Christ did never seek nor exercise any Worldly Kingdom or Dominion in this World, but rather, refusing and flying from the same, did leave the said Worldly governance of Kingdoms, Realms, and Nations, to be governed by Princes and Potentates, (in like manner as he did find them) and commanded also his Apostles and Disciples to do the semblable, as it was said before; whatsoever Priest, or Bishop will arrogate or presume to take upon him any such Authority, and will pretend the Authority of the Gospel for his defence therein, he doth nothing else but (in a manner as you would say) Crowne Christ again with a Crown of Thorns, and traducheth and bringeth him forth again with his Mantle of Purple upon his Back, to be mocked and scorned of the World, as the Jews did to their own damnation.

This Doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the Witnesses and Testimony of these Bishops and other learned Men, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the Bishops Book before named.

Testes.

Thomas Cantuariensis.
 Eboracensis.
 Johannes Londoniensis.
 Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.
 Stephanus Wintoniensis.
 Robertus Carliolensis.
 Johannes Exoniensis.
 Johannes Lincolnienensis.
 Johannes Bathoniensis.
 Rolandus Coventrie & Lichfield.
 Thomas Eliensis.
 Nicolaus Sarum.
 Johannes Bangor.
 Eboracensis Herefordiensis.
 Hugo Wigorniensis.
 Johannes Rossensis.
 Richardus Cestreensis.
 Gulielmus Menevensis.
 Robertus Asserensis.
 Robertus Landavensis.
 Guil. Norwicensis.
 Richardus Wolman, Archidiacon.
 Sudbur.
 Gulielmus Knight, Archidiacon.
 can. Richmond.
 Johannes Bel, Archidiacon.
 Gloucester.
 Edmundus Bonner, Archidiacon.
 Leicester.
 Gulielmus Skippe, Archidiacon.
 Dorset.
 Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon.
 Stafford.
 Cuthbertus Marshal, Archidiacon.
 Nottingham.
 Richardus Curwen, Archidiacon.
 Oxon.
 Gulielmus Glife.
 Galfridus Donnes.
 Robertus Oking.
 Radulphus Bradford.
 Richardus Smith.
 Simon Matheu.
 Johannes Prin.
 Gulielmus Buckmaster.
 Gulielmus May.
 Nicolaus Watson.
 Richardus Cox.
 Johannes Edmunds.
 Thomas Robertson.
 Johannes Baker.
 Thomas Barret.
 Johannes Hafe.
 Johannes Tyson.

These were Doctors of Divinity, and of both Laws.

Judge

In the General Council of Constantinople the first, it was likewise decreed, That every cause between any persons, should be determined within the Provinces where the matters did lie: and that no Bishop should exercise any power out of his own Diocess or Province, and this was also the mind of Holy S. Cyprian, and of other holy Men of Africa.

To conclude therefore, the Pope hath no such Primacy given him, either by the words of Scripture, or by any General Council, or by common consent of the holy Catholick Church.

Cyprianus lib. 4. Epistolarum ad Ursinum 13. Epist. 13.

The Bishop of Rome judged robe a Tyrant and Usurper

Tr Whimston of Bishops and Doctors of England against the Pope.

KING
Hen. 8.The Bishops
of England
then good
Lutherans

Judge now thy self, loving Reader, per *confessata & allegata*; that is, by these things heretofore confessed, alledged, allowed, proved and confirmed, by Pen set forth, by Words defended, and by Oath subscribed by these Bishops and Doctors, if either *Martin Luther* himself, or any *Lutheran* else could or did ever say more against the proud usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, than these Men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply, speaking so pithily? If they meant as they spake, who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so thorowly as these Men did? But because these things we write for edification of other, rather then for commendation of them, let us mark therefore their reasons, and let the persons go.

The Epistle
of Tonstal
and Stokely
to Peter.

And although the said proofs and arguments heretofore alledged, might suffice to the full discution of this matter against the Popes usurped Primacy; yet because many do yet remain, which will not be satisfied, to refel therefore and confute this Popish Article of the Popes vain and proud Primacy, with as much matter and furniture of reasons and allegations, as the writings and testimonies of these Bishops and others do minister unto us; we mind (the Lord willing) to annex to these former confirmations of the Bishops aforesaid, another supplement also of a certain Epistle sent by Bishop *Tonsal*, and by *John Stokely* Bishop of London, to Cardinal Pool, for a more ample confutation of the usurped Power. Concerning the argument of which Epistle, here is first to be understood, that about this time, or not much after, Cardinal Pool, Brother to the Lord *Mounague*, was attained of high Treason, and fled away unto Rome, where, within a short time after, he was made Cardinal of Saint *Mary Cosmedin*: Of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of Queen *Mary*. In the mean time he remaining at Rome, there was directed unto him a certain Epistle exhortatory by *Stokely*, Bishop of London, and *Tonsal*, Bishop of *Duresme*, perswading him to relinquish and abandon the Supremacy of the Pope, and to conform himself to the Religion of his King. The Copy of which Epistle, for the reasons and arguments therein contained about the same matter, we thought here not unworthy to be put in, or unprofitable to be read. The Tenor whereof here followeth.

¶ The true Copy of a certain Letter written by Cuthbert Tonsal Bishop of Duresme, and John Stokely Bishop of London, to Cardinal Pool; proving the Bishop of Rome to have no special superiority over other Bishops.

This Letter
was testified
by Cuthbert
Tonsal to
Matthew
Archbishop
of Canterbury
and others
to be his own,
about 14
days before
his death.
Read his
traytorous
Oration to
the Emperor
in his
Book intituled,
De Sceleris
Concordia,
moving him
to seek the
destruction
of King
Henry and
the whole
Realm of
England.

For the good will that we have born unto you in times past, as long as you continued the Kings true Subject, we cannot a little lament and mourn, that you neither regarding the Inestimable kindnes of the Kings Highnes heretofore shewed unto you in your bringing up, nor the honour of the House that you be come of, nor the wealth of the Countrey that you were born in, should so decline from your Duty to your Prince, that you should be seduced by fair words and vain promises of the Bishop of Rome, to wind with him, going about by all means to him possible, to pull down and put under Foot your natural Prince and Master, to the destruction of the Countrey that hath brought you up, and for a Vain-glory of a red Hat to make your self an Instrument to fortenth his Malice, who hath stirred up, by all means that he could, all figh Christian Princes as would give ears unto him, to depose the Kings Highnes from his Kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for them that should execute his malice, and to stir, if he could, his Subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing Rebellions in his Realm, where the Office and Duty of all good Christian Men, and namely of us that be Priests, should be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to

quiemes, all discord to concord; and in doing contrary, we do shew our selves to be but the Ministers of Satan, and not of Christ, who ordained all us that be Priests to use in all places the Legation of Peace, and not of discord. But since that cannot be undone that is done, second it is to make amends, and to follow the doing of the prodigal Son spoken of in the Gospel, who returned home to his Father, and was well accepted; as no doubt you might be, if you will say as he said in acknowledging your folly, and do as he did, in returning home again from your wandering abroad in service of them, who little care what come of you, so that their purpose by you be served. And if you be moved by your conscience, that you cannot take the King your Master as Supreme head of the Church of England, because the Bishop Rome hath heretofore many years usurped that name Universally over all the Church, under pretence of the Gospel of Saint *Matthew*, saying, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church*: Surely that Text many of the most holy and ancient Expositors wholly do take to be meant of the Faith, then first confessed by the mouth of *Peter*; upon which Faith, confessing Christ to be the Son of God, the Church is builded, Christ being the very lowest foundation Stone, whereupon both the Apostles themselves, and also the whole Faith of the Church of Christ, by them preached through the World, is founded and builded; and other foundation none can be, but that only, as Saint *Paul* saith, No other foundation can any Man lay beside that which is laid, which is *Christ Jesus*.

And where you think that the Gospel of *Luke* proveth the same authority of the Bishop of Rome, saying: *Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith shall not fail*: and thou being once converted, confirm thy Brethren. Surely that speaketh only of the fall of *Peter*, known to Christ by his godly preience, wherof he gave an inkling, that after the time of his fall, he should not despair, but return again, and confirm his Brethren, as he ever being most fervent of them, was wont to do. The place doth plainly open it self that it cannot be otherwise taken, but this to be the very meaning of it, and not to be spoken but to *Peter*: for else his successors must first fail in the Faith, and then convert, and so confirm their Brethren. And whereas you think that this place of the Gospel of *John*, Feed my Sheep, was spoken only to *Peter*, and that those words make him Shepherd over all, and above all; Saint *Peter* himself testifieth the contrary in his Canonical Epistle, where he saith to all Priests, Feed the flock of Christ which is among you, which he had them do by the authority that Christ had put them in as followeth: And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive the incorruptible Crown of eternal glory. The same likewise Saint *Paul* in the *Acts* testifieth, saying, Give heed to your selves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath set you to govern the Church of God. Where, in the original Text, the word signifying *Regere*, to govern, *νομαζειν* is the same that was spoken to *Peter*, *Πασκ*, Feed; for it signifieth both in the Scripture. And that by these words he was not continue a Shepherd over all, it is very plain by the Fact of Saint *Peter*, which durst not enterprise much conversation among the *Gentiles*, but eschewed it as a thing unlawful, and much rather prohibited than commanded by Gods Law, until he was admonished by the revelation of the Sheet full of divers Vians, mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apostles; where if Christ by these words, Feed my Sheep, had given such an universal Governance to *Peter*, then *Peter*, being more fervent than other of the Apostles to execute Christs commandment, would of his own courage have gone, without any such new admonition, to *Cornelius*: except peradventure you would say, that *Peter* did not understand the said words of Christ, for lack of the Light which the later Men have obtained to perceive, and thereby understand the words of Christ to *Peter*, better than *Peter* himself did. And strange also it were to condemn *Peter* as an high Traitor to his Master after his Ascension: as he indeed were worthy, if his Master had signified unto him, that the Bishops of Rome, by his dying there, should be heads of all the Church;

Ezek. 15.

Matth. 16.
The place
of Matthew,
The 16 Verse
expounded.

1 Cor. 9.

Ezek. 29.
The place
of Luke 22
expounded.The place
of John 21
expounded.

1 Peter 5.

Acts 20.

Acts 27.

B b

and he knowing the same by these words *Feed my sheep*, yet notwithstanding his Masters high legacy and commandment, would flee as he did from *Rome*, until his Master, encountering him by the way, with terrible words caused him to return.

And because this History peradventure cannot weigh against an obdurate mind to the contrary; What shall we say to the words of Saint *Ambrose*, declaring and affirming that as great and as ample Primacy was given to *Paul*, as to *Peter*? Upon these words of *Paul*, He that wrought by *Peter*, &c. thus he writeth; *Petrus solum nominat & sibi comparat, quia primum ipse acceperat ad fundandam Ecclesiam; se quoque pari modo electum ut primum habeat in fundandis Ecclesiis Gentium, &c.* That is to say, He nameth *Peter* only, and compareth him to himself, because he received a Primacy to build a Church; and that he in like sort was chosen himself to have a Primacy in building the Churches of the *Gentiles*. And shortly after it followeth; Of those (that is to say of the Apostles) which were the chiefest, his gift, he saith, was allowed, which he had received of God; so that he was found worthy to have the Primacy of preaching to the *Gentiles*, as *Peter* had in preaching to the *Jews*. And as he assigned to *Peter* for his companions those which were of the chiefest Men amongst the Apostles, even so also did he take to himself *Barnabas*, who was joynt unto him by Gods judgment; and yet did he challenge to himself alone the Prerogative or Primacy which God had given him, as to *Peter* alone it was granted among the other Apostles. So that the Apostles of the circumcision gave their Hands to the Apostles of the *Gentiles*; to declare their concord in fellowship, that either of them should know that they had received the perfection of the Spirit in the preaching of the Gospel, and so should not need either other in any matter. And shortly after saith *S. Ambrose*, who durst resist *Peter* the chief Apostle? But another such a one, which by the confidence of his election might know himself to be no less, and so might reprove boldly that thing which he confidently had done.

This equality of dignity which Saint *Ambrose* affirmeth by Scripture to be equally given to *Peter* and *Paul*, Saint *Cyprian* and Saint *Hierom* do extend to all the Apostles. *Cyprian* saying thus; *Hec erant utique & ceteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio pradii, & honoris & potestatis*; all the rest of the Apostles were the same, that *Peter* was, being ended with like equality of honour and power. And Saint *Hierom* thus, *Concili Apostoli claves regni calorum acceperunt & ex aequo super eos Ecclesie fortitudo fundatur*: All the Apostles received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and upon them, as indifferently and equally, is the strength of the Church grounded and established. Which Saint *Hierom* also, as in his Epistle to *Euagrius*, sheweth that these Primacies long after Christs Ascension were made by the devise of Men, whereas before by the common agreement and consent of the Clergy every of the Churches were governed, yea the Patriarchal Churches.

The words of Saint *Jerom* be these; *Sciant ergo Episcopi se magis ex consuetudine, quam dispensationis Dominica veritate, presbyteris esse majores*: Let the Bishops understand, that they be greater than other Priests, rather of custom, than by the virtue and verity of the Lords Ordinance. And in his said Epistle to *Euagrius* he hath the like sentence, and addeth thereunto, *Ubiqueque fuerit Episcopus, sive Roma, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, &c.* Wheresoever a Bishop be, either at *Rome*, or at *Eugubium*, or at *Constantinople*, he is of all one worthiness, and of all one Priesthood. And that one was elected which should be preferred before other, it was devised for the Redress of Schisms, lest any one, challenging too much to himself, should rent the Church of Christ. These words only of Saint *Jerom* be sufficient to prove that Christ by none of these three Texts (which be all that you and others do alledge for your opinion) gave to *Peter* any such superiority, as the Bishop of *Rome* by them usurpeth, and that *Peter*, nor no other of the chief Apostles, did vindicate such Primacy or superiority, but utterly refused it, and therefore gave Preheminence above them-

selves to one, that thought he be sometimes called an Apostle, yet he was none of the Twelve, as *Eusebius* in the beginning of his second Book, called *Historia Ecclesiastica*, doth testify, alledging for him the great and ancient Clerk *Clement Alexandrinus*, saying thus, *Petrus, Jacobus, ac Johannes, post assumptionem Salvatoris, quamvis ab ipso fuerant omnibus pene Prælati, tamen non sibi vindicant gloriam, sed Jacobum, qui dicebatur Justus, Apostolorum Episcopum statuum. Peter, James, and John, after Christs Ascension into Heaven, although they were by him preferred almost before all other, yet they challenged not that glory to themselves, but decreed that James, who was called Justus should be chief Bishop of the Apostles. By these words it is clear, that James was the Bishop of the Apostles, not because, as some Men do glofe, he was elected by the Apostles, but because he had thereby the Primacy and Honour of a Bishop in Jerusalem, above the rest of the Apostles.*

And one thing is especially to be noted, and also marvelled at, that the Bishops of *Rome* do challenge this Primacy only by *Peter*, and yet Saint *Paul*, who was his equal, or rather superior by Scripture in his Apostleship amongst the *Gentiles*, wherof *Rome* was the principal, suffered at *Rome* where *Peter* died, and is commonly in all the *Roman* Church joynted with *Peter* in all appellations and titles of Preheminence, and both be called *Principes Apostolorum*, The chief of the Apostles. Upon both is equally founded the Church of *Rome*. The accounting of the Bishops of *Rome* many years agreeeth thereto. For *Eusebius* saith, that *Clement tertius post Paulum & Petrum pontificatum tenebat*, *Clement* was the third Bishop after Saint *Paul* and *Peter*, reckoning them both as Bishops of *Rome*, and yet therein preferring Saint *Paul*'s with like words, saying of *Alexander* Bishop of *Rome*, that *Quinto successione post Petrum atque Paulum plebis gubernaculo sortitus est*. *Alexander* obtained the governance of the people by succession, the fifth Bishop after *Peter* and *Paul*. *Trenus* also saith, as *Eusebius* reciteth, that *Fundata & edificata Ecclesia, beati Apostoli Linus officium Episcopatus in-* *Epsebid. 1. cap. 24.*

jungunt. After the Church was once founded and builded, the holy Apostles charged *Linus* with the Bishoprick. Whereby appeareth, that they both joyntly constituted him Bishop of *Rome*, and received only their Apostleship injoynted to them by Christ. And therefore if the Bishops of *Rome* challenge any Preheminence of authority by *Peter*, they should as well, or rather challenge the same by *Paul*, because they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there suffered, resigning first that Bishoprick to *Linus* and all at once.

And if you will peradventure lean to the former preaching there by *Peter*, which by Scripture cannot be proved, yet then at least Saint *Paul* and his successors in *Ephesus*, should have like Primacy, because he founded first that Church, though Saint *John* after that, did build it, as witnesseth *Eusebius*, saying, *Ecclesia quæ est apud Ephesum, a Paulo quidem fundata est, a Joanne vero edificata*. The Church which is at *Ephesus*, was founded of *Paul*, but it was built of Saint *John*. And so *Peter* should have no other Primacy in *Rome*, but as *Paul* had in *Ephesus*; that is to say, to be counted as the first Preacher and converter of the people there to the Faith of Christ; and as well might all the Bishops of *Ephesus* challenge Primacy of all Nations, both *Gentiles* and *Jews*, by Saint *Paul* the Apostle of the *Gentiles* their Founder, as the Bishop of *Rome* by Saint *Peter* the Apostle only of the circumcision, in case he were the first Founder, challenging Primacy over all. But undoubtedly, this Primacy over all, that the Bishops of *Rome* of late do challenge, was not allowed, nor yet known nor heard of amongst the ancient Fathers, though they had their Church of *Rome* in high estimation, as well for the notable virtuous deeds that the Clergy did there shew and exercise abundantly to their Neighbours (as witnesseth the said *Eusebius*, alledging there the Epistle that *Dionysius Alexandrinus* wrote to *Soter*, Bishop of *Rome*, testifying the same) as for that the City of *Rome* was the most ample and chief City of the World, witnesseth Saint *Cyprian*, saying, *Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine sua antebeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora & graviora commisit*: Certainly, because that *Rome* ought

Of this saying away of *Peter* from *Rome* read before.

As great Primacy given to St. Paul, as to Peter.

Equality of degree among the Apostles.

Cyprian, De singulorum electione.

Contra Iovinianum.

Cap. 1. super Titum.

betwixt Bishops and Priests how he is come.

RING. Hæ. 8. 5.

James the first made the Bishop of the Apostles.

Seeing Paul was chief Primacy of the Apostles, it is against reason that the Romans should challenge the Primacy by Peter.

Lik. 3. c. 21.

Lik. 3. c. 6.

Epsebid. 1. cap. 24.

The first foundation of a Church maketh no Primacy.

Lik. 4. c. 26.

Cyp. Lik. 3. ad Cyprian.

Idem

for the greatness thereof to excel *Carthage*, there *Novatus* committed the greater and more grievous offences. Which *Saint Cyprian* also, when he had ordained and appointed certain Decrees and Statutes unto the Bishop of *Rome*, he did not submit them to his reformation or judgment, but only signified his own sentence to like him also; and yet adding thereunto, that if any Bishops (meaning as well of *Rome* as of others) which were of the contrary opinions to him, would otherwise think or do, he would not then that his sentence should be to them prejudicial, neither would he thereby compel them to any thing, but would that they should follow their own minds and customs: partly for that every one of the Bishops hath liberty of his own will, and partly for that every Governor shall make an account to God of his own deed, as it appeareth plainly in his Epistle to *Stephanus* and *Tulianus*. And in the third Epistle to *Cornelius*, towards the end, speaking of the appeal that one *Felicissimus* a *Novatian*, after his condemnation in *Africa*, made to *Rome*, he impugneth such appeals, saying; *Quia singulis pastoribus portio gregis est ascripta, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus, &c.* For as much as every Pastor hath his own flock committed unto him, which every one ought to rule and govern, and must give account to the Lord of his administration, it is decreed of us all, and we think it both meet and just, that every Mans cause and plea should there be heard, where the crime is committed. This holy and excellent Clerk and Martyr *Saint Cyprian* would never either have impugned their appeal to *Rome* from their own Primacies, or so earnestly having maintained his determinations in the Councils of *Africa* contrary to the opinion of the Bishops of *Rome* and to their customs, without any submision by word or writing, if the Primacy over all, which the Bishops of *Rome* do challenge and usurp, had been grounded upon the plain Scriptures, as you with some others do think: And it is to be supposed also, that he would in all his Epistles have called them *Patres*, or *Dominos*, Fathers or Lords, as superiors, and not always *Frates & Collegas*, Brothers and Fellows in office, as but only his equals.

Appeal to
Rome for-
bidden.

Cyprian, 3.
Epistle and Cor-
nelian.

Council, 4.
Synod.
Aug. 406.

Vide deus
Epistolam ad
Bonifacium
pap. to com-
munionem.
fol. 907.
368.

Dilecti, 16.
p. 16.

first Mother City of our Faith, and where Christ himself first founded the Faith; and also *Alexandria*, being recited to the third, fourth and fifth places, because at that time they were not in so high estimation in the World, though in the Faith of Christ all they were Antients, and some of them Mothers to *Rome*.

Truth it is, that the Bishops of the Orient, for debates in matters of the Faith amongst themselves, made sutes to the Bishop of *Rome*; but that was not for the superiority of jurisdiction over them, but because they were greatly divided, and those Countries, as well Bishops as others, much infected with the Heresies of the *Arrians*, whereof the *West* was in a manner clear; and among them of the Orient, none were counted indifferent to decide those matters, but were all suspected of affection for one cause or other. Wherefore they desired the opinions of the Bishops of the *West*, as indifferent, and not intangled with affections of any of those parts, neither corrupted with any of the *Arrians*, as appeareth by the Epistles of *Saint Basil*, written in all their names for the said purpose. In the which also it is especially to be noted, that their sute was not made to the Bishop of *Rome* singularly, or by name, but (as the Titles do shew) to the whole Congregation of the Bishops of *Italy* and *France*, or of the whole *West*, and sometime preferring the *French* and *Italian* Bishops, saying, *Gallis & Italici*, and never naming the *Romans*. And for a clear proof that the ancient Fathers knew not this Primacy of one above all, we need none other testimony but their determination in the Council of *Nice*, that *Alexandria*, and *Antiochia*, and Universally all other Primates, should have the whole governance of their confine Countries, like as the Bishop of *Rome* had of those that Inhabited within his Suburbs. This determination proveth also, that your three Scriptures meant nothing less than this Primacy over all. For God forbid that we should suspect that Council as ignorant of those plain Scriptures, to which since that time all Christendom hath leaned, as the Anchor of our Faith. And if you like to read the ancient Ecclesiastical Histories, there you may see, that *Arbanasius*, and other Patriarchs did execute that Primacy, as in making, consecrating, and ordering of Churches, Bishops and Clerks, in their Countries *East* and *South*, as the Bishops of *Rome* in that time did in the *West* and *North*.

And if you would yet any thing object against any of these witnesses, then to chafe contention, and for a final Conclusion, let the Bishop of *Rome* stand to his own confession made many years past by his Predecessor *Agatho*, to the Emperors, *Constantine*, *Heraclius*, and *Tiberius*, in his Epistle written to them in his name, and in the name of all the Synod which he thought to be under the See Apostolick: wherein, soon after the beginning of the Epistle, he comprehendeth them all under the name of the Bishops dwelling in the *North* and *West* parts of their Empire; so that there in his own Epistle he confesseth all his subjects and obedientiaries to be only of the *North* and *West*. And so it appeareth evidently by his own confession, that neither by Gods Law nor Mans Law he had to do with any person of the *East* or *South*. And this his high Sovereignty over all, challenged (as you and others lay) by Scripture, as by his own confession doth appear is brought, into a little and straight Angle. And this *Agatho* was not a Man unlearned, as appeareth by the Acts of the sixth Synod of *Constantinople*, in the fourth Act, wherein is written at large and expressed the said Epistle and Confession. And the Primacy of *Peter*, which ancient Doctors speak of, which was only in preaching and teaching the Faith of Christ, which he first among all the Apostles, and first of all mortal Men, did express with his mouth, did after so adhere to his own person, that it was never derived either to any successor, or to any other Apostle, but chiefly to himself; for all other afterwards professing the same, spake it according unto him who had professed it before. Moreover, all the Apostles (as *Saint John* saith) be foundations in the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, and not *Peter* only. Also *Cyprian* affirmeth, (as is aforesaid) that all the Apostles were of equal Dignity and Power; which all ancient Authors likewise do affirm. For Christ

The old Fa-
thers never
knew the
Primacy of
the Church
of Rome.

In the time
of Pope A-
gatho, the
See of Rome
and no rule
over the
East and
South
Churches.
Peters Pri-
macy hath
no success-
ors.

April 27.

gave the Apostles like power in the Gospel, saying; *Go, and teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.* And Saint Paul (as is said before) knew no other Primacy given to Peter to preach in any place but among the *Jews*, as he himself had amongst the *Gentiles*, as he writeth to the *Galathians*. Whereupon Saint Ambrose writing (as is aforesaid) affirmeth the same. And that the Mother of all Churches is *Jerusalem* (as is aforesaid) and not *Rome*, the Scripture is plain, both in the Prophet *Isay*; Out of *Sion* shall the Law proceed, and the Word of the Lord out of *Jerusalem*: Upon the which place Saint Jerome faith; *In Hierusalem primum fundata Ecclesia totius orbis Ecclesiarum seminavit*: Out of the Church being first founded in *Jerusalem*, sprung all other Churches of the whole World: and also in the Gospel which Christ before his Ascension commanded his Apostles to preach throughout all the World, beginning first at *Jerusalem*; so that the Bishop of *Rome* Universal power by him claimed over all cannot by any Scripture be justified: as if you have read the ancient Fathers explications of the said Scriptures (as we suppose you have, since your Letters sent hither concerning this matter) and would give more credence to their humble and plain speaking, than to the later contentious and ambitious Writers of that high, and above the *Ideas* of *Plato*s subtilty (which passeth, as you write, the Lawyers learning and capacity) we doubt not but that you perceive and think the same.

And where you think that the King cannot be taken as supreme head of the Church, because he cannot exercise the chief Office of the Church in preaching and ministering of the Sacraments; it is not requisite in every Body natural, that the Head should exercise either all manner of Offices of the Body, or the chief Office of the same. For albeit the Head is the highest and chief Member of the natural Body, yet the distribution of life to all the Members of the Body, as well to the Head as to other Members, cometh from the Heart, and it is the Minister of life to the whole Body, as the chief act of the Body.

Neither yet hath this similitude his full place in a mystical Body, that a King should have the chief Office of Administration in the same: and yet notwithstanding, the Scripture speaking of King *Saul*, faith, I made thee head amongst the Tribes of *Israel*. And if a King amongst the *Jews* were the head in the Tribes of *Israel*, in the time of the Law, much more is a Christian King head in the Tribes of spiritual *Israel*, that is, of such as by true Faith see Christ who is the end of the Law. The Office deputed to the Bishops in the mystical Body, is to be as eyes to the whole Body, as Almighty God faith to the Prophet *Ezekiel*; *I have made thee an overseer over the house of *Israel**. And what Bishop soever refuseth to use the Office of an eye in the mystical Body, to shew unto the Body the right way of believing and living, which appertaineth to the spiritual eye to do, shall shew himself to be a blind eye; and if he shall take any other Office in hand, than appertaineth to the right eye, he shall make a confusion in the Body, taking upon him an other Office than is given him of God. Wherefore if the eye will not take upon him the Office of the whole head, it may be answered, it cannot so do, for it lacketh brain. And Examples shew likewise that it is not necessary alway that the head should have the faculty or chief Office of Administration, as you may see in a Navy by Sea; where the Admiral, who is a Captain over all, doth not meddle with steering or governing of every Ship, but every particular Master must direct the Ship to pass the Sea in breaking the Waves by his steering and governance, which the Admiral the head of all doth not himself, nor yet hath the faculty to do, but commandeth the Masters of the Ship to do it. And likewise many a Captain of great Armies, which is not able, nor never could peradventure shoot, or break a Spear by his own strength, yet by his wisdom and commandment only achieveth the Wars, and attaineth the Victory.

And where you think that Unity standeth not only in the agreeing in one Faith and Doctrine of the Church, but also in agreeing in one head; if you mean the very and only head over all the Church our Saviour Christ, whom the Father hath set over all the Church, which is his Body, wherein all good Christian Men do agree, therein you say

truth. But if you mean of any one mortal Man to be the head over all the Church, and that to be the Bishop of *Rome*, we do not agree with you. For you do there err in the true understanding of the Scripture; or else you must say that the said Council of *Nice*, and other most ancient did err, which divided the Administration of Churches, the Orient from the Occident, and the *South* from the *North*, as is before expressed; and that Christ the Universal head is present in every Church, the Gospel sheweth, Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. And in another place, Behold, I am with you until the end of the world. By which it may appear Christ the Universal head every where to be with his mystical Body the Church; who by his Spirit worketh in all places (how far soever they be distant) the unity and concord of the same. And as for any other Universal head to be over all, than Christ himself, Scripture proveth not, as it is shewed before. And yet for a further proof, to take away the scruples that peradventure do to your appearance rise of certain words in some ancient Authors, and specially in Saint Cyprian's Epistles, as that the Unity of the Church stood in the Unity with the Bishop of *Rome*, though they never call him supreme head; if you will weigh and consider all their sayings together, you shall perceive that they (neither spake nor meant otherwise; but when the Bishop of *Rome* was once lawfully elected and enthroned, if then any other would by faction, might, force, or otherwise (the other living and doing his Office) enterprise to put him down, and usurp the same Bishoprick, or exercise the others Office himself, as *Novatians* did attempt in the time of *Cornelius*; then the said Fathers reckoned them Catholics that did Communicate with him that was so lawfully elected: and the custom was, one Primacy to have to do with another, by congratulatory Letters, soon after the certainty of their Election was known, to keep the Unity of the Church; and all they that did take part with, or maintain the Usurper, to be Schismatics, because that Usurper was a Schismatick: *Quia non sit fas in eadem Ecclesia, duas simul Episcopos esse, nec priorem legitimum Episcopum sine sua culpa deponi*: Because it was not lawful for two Bishops to be at once together in one Church, neither the former Bishop being lawful, to be deposed without his fault were proved. And this is not a Privilege of the Church of *Rome*, more than of any other Cathedral, special, Patriarchal, or Metropolitan Church, as appeareth in the third Epistle of the first Book, and in the eighth of the second, and of the fourth Book of Saint Cyprian to *Cornelius*. Whole words and reasons, although peradventure they might seem to include the Unity of the Church in the Unity of the Bishop of *Rome*, because they were all written to him in his own case, may as well be written unto any other Bishop lawfully chosen, who percase should be likewise disturbed as the Bishops of *Rome* then were by any Factions of ambitious Hereticks.

And where you think the name of supreme head under Christ, given and attributed to the Kings Majesty, maketh an innovation in the Church, and perturbation of the Order of the same: it cannot be any innovation or trouble to the Church to use the room that God hath called him to, which good Christian Princes did use in the beginning, when Faith was most pure, as Saint Augustine, *Ad Gloriam & Eleusum* faith; *Sic enim quidam, non debuit Episcopus pro consulari iudicio purgari, &c.* One there is which faith, that a Bishop ought not to have been put to his purgation before the Judgment Seat of the Deputy, as though he himself procured it, and not rather the Emperor himself caused this inquiry to be made, to whole jurisdiction (for the which he must answer to God) that cause did specially pertain. *Chrysostome* writeth of that Imperial authority thus: *Lacus est qui non habet parem ullam super terram*: He is offended that hath no Peer at all upon the Earth, for he is the highest Potentate, and the head of all Men upon Earth. And *Tertullian* ad *Scapulam* faith, *Colimus ergo & Imperatorem sic, quomodo & nobis licet*: & ipsi expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum, &c. We honour and reverence the Emperor in such wise, as is lawful to us and expedient to him, that is to say, as a Man next

Memb. 21.

Esfy 2.

A Prince may be head of his Church, and yet not preach nor minister Sacraments.

1 Reg. 15.

Each. 5.
A King is head of his Church, but not the head of the mystical Body.

The office of a head stands not in doing, but in commanding.

Unity, what it is, and wherein it consisteth.

KING, 87

Memb. 18.

Memb. 20.

Answer to St. Cyprian.

The Church of Rome hath no more prerogative than any other Church.

The Unity of the Church standeth not on the Unity of the Bishop of Rome.

August. Epist. 162.

The Imperial authority is next under God.

KING and the second to God, from whom he hath received all the power he hath, and also inferior to God alone, whose pleasure it is to have it : for thus he is greater than all Men, whilst he is inferior but to God alone.

Tertul. in **Apologet.** And the said *Tertullian* in his Book *Apologetical* speaking of the Emperors, saith, *Sciatis quis illis dederit imperium, &c.* They know who hath given to them their government ; they know that God is he alone, under whose only power they be, and take themselves as second to God, after whom they be chief above all other.

Theophil. in **Rom.** *Theophilact* also to the *Romans* upon this place, *Omnis anima potestatis sublimioribus subdita sit*, saith, The Apostle there teacheth every Man, *Sicce Sacerdos ille sit, five Monachus, five Apostolus, ut se Principibus subdat*: That whether he be a Priest, or a Monk, or an Apostle, he should subject himself to Princes : That is, although thou be an Apostle, an Evangelist, a Prophet, or whatsoever thou art, be subject. *Non enim, faith he, subvertit pietatem hæc subjectio* ; For this subjection overthrows not godliness : And the Apostle saith not only, Let him obey, but let him be subject.

And if the Apostles be subject to Princes, much more all Bishops and Patriarchs, yea the Bishops of *Rome* and all other.

It is written also in the *Chronicles*, *David* said to *Salomon*, behold the Priests and Levites divided in Companies, to do all manner of service that pertaineth to the House of God. Also *David* did appoint chiefly to thank the Lord, *Asaph* and his Brethren, &c. and *Jehosaphat* the King did constitute Levites and Priests, and the ancient Families of *Israel* for the judgment and cause of the Lord towards all the Inhabitants of the Earth ; and he charged them saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of the Lord, faithfully and in a perfect heart.

Furthermore *Ezechias* appointed the Priests and the Levites in their Order, to wait by course every Man according to his Office. And it followeth, *Ezechias* gave commandment to the people dwelling in *Jerusalem*, that they should give their portions unto their Priests and Levites, that they might attend to the Law of the Lord. Where it followeth also, that by the Precept of *Ezechias* the King, and of *Asarias* the Bishop of the House of the Lord, all things were done, to whom pertained all the dispensation of the House of the Lord. And in the end it is said, *Ezechias* did these things in all *Jury* ; he wrought that which was good, right and true before his Lord God in all the furniture of the ministry of the House of the Lord, according to the Law and Ceremonies, delicious to feed his Lord God with all his heart, as he did and prospered therein. *Jofias* also did ordain Priests in their Offices, and commanded many things.

By all which it may appear, that Christian Kings be Sovereigns over the Priests, as over all other their Subjects, and may command the Priests to do their Offices, as well as they do others ; and ought by their supreme Office to see that all Men of all degrees do the Duties, whereunto they be called either by God or by the King ; and those Kings that so do chiefly do execute well their Office. So that the Kings Highness taken upon him, as Supreme head of the Church of *England*, to see that as well spiritual Men as temporal do their Duties, doth neither make innovation in the Church, nor yet trouble the Order thereof ; but doth as the chief and best of the Kings of *Israel* did, and as all good Christian Kings ought to do. Which Office good Christian Emperors always took upon them, in calling the Universal Councils of all Countries in one place and at one time, to assemble together, to the intent that all Heresies troubling the Church might there be extirped ; calling and commanding as well the Bishop *Rome*, as other Patriarchs and all Primates, as well of the *East* as of the *West*, of the *South* as of the *North*, to come to the said Councils. As *Martianus* the Emperor did in calling the great Council of *Chalcedon*, one of the four chief and first general Councils, commanding *Leo* then Bishop of *Rome* to come unto the same. And albeit *Leo* neither liked the time, which he would for a season should have been deferred ; nor yet the place, for he would have had it in *Italy*, whereas the Emperor by his own commandment had called it to *Chalcedon* in *Asia* : yet he answered

the Emperor, that he would gladly obey his commandment, and sent thither his Agents to appear there for him, as doth appear in the Epistles of *Leo* to *Martian* then Emperor ; Forty first, Forty seventh, Forty eighth, and in the Forty ninth Epistle to *Pulcheria* the Emperess. And likewise directeth *Theodosius* the Emperor to command a Council of Bishops to be called in *Italy*, for taking away such contentions and troubles, as at that time troubled the quietness of the Churches. And in many more Epistles of the same *Leo* it doth manifestly appear, That the Emperors always assembled general Councils by their commandments : And in the Sixth general Council it appeareth very plainly, that at that time the Bishops of *Rome* made no claim nor used any title to call themselves heads Universal over all the Catholic Church, as it doth appear in the superscription or salutation of the foresaid Synodical Preamble, which is this, word for word.

To the most godly Lords and most noble Victors and Conquerors, the welbeloved Children of God and our Lord *Jesus Christ*, *Constantine* the great Emperor, and *Heraclius* and *Ishyrius*, *Cæsars* : Bishop *Agatho* the Servant of the Servants of God, with all the convocations subject to the Council of the See Apostolick, sendeth greeting. And he expresseth what Countries he reckoned and comprehended in that superscription or salutation ; for it followeth, that those were under his assembly, which were in the *North* and *East* parts, so that at that time the Bishop of *Rome* made no such pretence to be over and above all, as he now doth by usurpation, vindicating to himself the spiritual Kingdom of *Christ*, by which he reigneth in the hearts of all faithful People, and then chaungeth it to a temporal Kingdom over and above all Kings, to depose them for his pleasure, preaching thereby the Fleish for the Spirit, and an Earthly Kingdom for an Heavenly, to his own Damnation, if he repent not : whereas he ought to obey his Prince by the Doctrine of Saint *Peter* in his first Epistle, saying, *Be ye subject to every ordinance of Man, for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as to the chief, or unto Governours, as sent of him to the punishment of the evil doers, and to the praise of the good.* Again, Saint *Paul*, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.* With other things before alledged. So that this his pretended usurpation to be above all Kings is directly against the Scriptures, given to the Church by the Apostles, whose Doctrine whatsoever overturneth, can be neither the Head, nor yet the least Member of the Church.

Wherefore, albeit ye have hitherto sticked to the said wrongfully usurped Power, moved thereto, as ye write, by your conscience ; yet thence now ye see further, if ye list to regard the meer truth, and such ancient Authors as have been written to you of in times past, we would exhort you, for the wealth of your soul, to surrender in to the Bishop of *Rome* hands your red Hat, by which he seduced you, trusting so to make you, being come of a Noble Blood, an instrument to advance his Vain-glory ; whereof by the said Hat he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpose.

In which doing ye shall return to the truth from which ye have erred, do your duty to your Sovereign Lord from whom ye have declined, and please thereby Almighty God, whose Laws ye have transgressed : and in not so doing ye shall remain in error, offending both Almighty God, and your natural Sovereign Lord, whom chiefly ye ought to seek to please. Which thing, for the good mind that we heretofore have born you, We pray Almighty God of his infinite mercy that you do not.

Amen.

When all other the Kings Subjects, and the learned of the Realm had taken and accepted the Oath of the Kings Supremacy, only *Fisher* the Bishop of *Rockester* and Sir *Thomas More* refused (as is aforesaid) to be sworn : who therefore falling into the danger of the Law, were committed into the Tower, and executed for the same, *An. 1535*. This *John Fisher* aforesaid had written before against *Oecolampadius* whose Book is yet extant, and afterward against *Luiter*.

Also amongst other his Acts he had been a great enemy and persecutor of *John Priib*, the godly and learned Martyr of *Jesus Christ*, whom he and Sir *Thomas More*

caused to be burned a year and half before: and shortly after the said Fisher, to his confusion, was charged with *Elizabeth Barton* (called the holy Maid of Kent) and found guilty by Act of Parliament, as is above recorded. For his learning and other vertues of life this Bishop was, well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented of some. But whatsoever his learning was pity it was that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so far drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had to such cruelty as he did. But this commonly we see come to pass, as the Lord saith, *That who so striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword*, and they that stain their hands with blood seldom do bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of bloody Tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christs poor Members. In the number of whom was this Bishop and Sir Thomas More, by whom good *John Frith*, *Tewkesbury*, *Thomas Hytten*, *Bayfield*, with divers other good Saints of God were brought to their death. It was said, That the Pope, to recompence Bishop Fisher for his faithful service, had elected him Cardinal, and sent him a Cardinals Hat as far as *Calice*; but the head that it should stand upon was as high as *London Bridge*, ere ever the Popes Hat could come to him. Thus Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, which were before had put *John Frith* to death for Heresie against the Pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for Treason against the King, the one the 22d of June, the other the 6th of July Anno 1535.

Blood re-
venged with
Blood.

Bishop Fi-
sher and Sir
Tho. More
persecutors.

Bishop Fi-
sher and Sir
Tho. More
beheaded.

The lying
Books of Sir
Tho. More.

M. More a
persecutor.

M. More a
scotter unto
his death.

Of Sir Thomas More something hath been touched before, who was also recounted a Man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was beside, a bitter Persecutor he was of good Men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the Gospel, as by his Books left behind him may appear, wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Tindal*, *Frith*, *Barnes*, *Bayfield*, *Bainham*, *Tewkesbury*, falsly belying their Articles and Doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

Briefly, as he was a fore Persecutor of them that stood in defence of the Gospel, so again on the other side such a blind devotion he bare to the Pope-holy See of *Rome*, and so wilfully stood in the Popes quarrel against his own Prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the Scaffold of the *Tower-Hill*, with the Axe and all upon his own neck.

Edward Hall in his Chronicle, writing of the death and manners of this Sir Thomas More, seemeth to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wife Man, or a wife foolish Man. For as by nature he was endued with a great Wit, so the same again was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mockings, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had mingled some mock in the Communication; in so much as at his coming to the Tower, one of the Officers demanding his upper Garment for his Fee, meaning his Gown, he answered that he should have it, and took him his Cap, saying it was the uppermost Garment that he had. Likewise even going to his death, at the Tower Gate, a poor Woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certain Evidences of hers in the time that he was in Office (which after he was apprehended he could not come by) and that he would intreat that the might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered; Good Woman, have patience a little while, for the King is so good to me, that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himself. Also when he went up the Stairs of the Scaffold, he desired one of the Sheriffs Officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, When I come down again, let me shift for my self so well as I can. Also the Hang-man kneeled down to him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is. To whom he answered, I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honour of the striking off my Head, my neck is so short. Also even when he should lay down his neck on the block, he having a great gray Beard, striked out his Beard, and said to the Hang-man, I pray you let me lay my Beard over the

block, lest you should cut it; thus with a mock he ended his life.

There is no doubt but that the Popes Holynes hath hallowed and dignified these two persons long since for Catholick Martyrs. Neither is it to be doubted, but after an hundred years expired, they shall be also shrined and portified, dying as they did in the quarrel of the Church of *Rome*, that is, in taking the Bishop of *Rome*s part, against their own ordinary and natural Prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long Discourse, and a peculiar Tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with Cope my Friend. This briefly for a Memorandum may suffice; That if the causes of true Martyrdom ought to be pondered, and not to be numbered, and if the end of Martyrs is to be weighed by judgment, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrel of these Men standing as it doth, and being tried by Gods Word, perhaps in the Popes Kingdom they may go for Martyrs, in whose Cause they died; but Certes in Christs Kingdom their Cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselves.

The like also is to be said of the three Monks of the Charter-house, *Ermen*, *Middlemore*, and *Nadigate*, who the same year in the month of June were likewise attached and arraigned at *Westminster*, for speaking certain Traiterous words against the Kings Crown and Dignity; for the which they were Hanged, drawn, and Quartered at *Tiburn*: whom also, because Cope my good Friend doth repute and accept in the number of holy Catholick Martyrs, here would be asked of him a Question; What Martyrs be they, which standing before the Judge, deny their own words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these *Carthusians* did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have flood nor have died in that Cause, as they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore if my Friend Cope had been so well advised in setting out his Martyrs, as God might have made him, he would first have seen the true records, and been sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controll-eth others.

In the same cause and quarrel of Treason also, the same year, a little before these aforesaid, in the month of May were executed with the like punishment *John Houghton*, Prior of the Charter-house in *London*, *Robert Laurence*, Prior of the Charter-house of *Beke*, *Anthon Webster*, Prior of the Charter-house of *Exham*.

Beside and with these Priors suffered likewise the same time, two other Priests, one called *Regnold*, Brother of *Sion*, the other named *John Haile* Vicar of *Thistleworth*.

Divers other Charter-house Monks also of *London* were then put in prison, to the number of Nine or ten, and in the same prison died, for whom we will, the Kings Lord willing, reserve another place hereafter to intreat of more at large.

In the mean time, for so much as the foresaid Cope in his doctryne Dialogues, speaking of these nine Worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three Priors above rected, here by the way I would desire Master Cope simply and directly to answer me to a thing or two that I would put to him, and first of this *John Houghton* that angelical Prior of the Charterhouse, his old companion and acquaintance, of whom thus he writeth; *Atqui cum Johanne illum Houghtonem cepito, non tam hominem quam Angelum in humana forme intrinseco videro, cujus eminentes virtutes, divinas dotes, & hereticam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satis pro dignitate explicare, &c.* By these his own words it must needs be confessed, that the Author of these Dialogues, whosoever he was, had well seen and considered the form and personable stature, proportion and shape of his excellent Body, with such admiration of his personage, that, as he saith, as oft as he calleth the said *John Houghton* to mind, it seemeth to him even as though he saw an Angel in the shape and form of a Man. Whole eminent vertues moreover, whose divine gifts, and heretical celsitude of mind, no Man saith he, may sufficiently expresse, &c. And how old was this Master Cope then would I know, when he saw and discerned all this? For as I understand, Master Cope being yet at this present

(KING
1535.)

Rochester,
More, Er-
men, Middlemore,
Nadigate, executed
for Treason.

Erasmus
Terminus
Falsche
John of Reg-
nold. B.

Nine Car-
thusians
died in pri-
son refusing
the Kings
Supremacy.

M. Cope
nine Wor-
thies.

Cope in
Dialog. 91
p. 242. 255.

THE KING sent scarce come to the age of Forty years, he could not then be above Nine years old (the other suffering Anno 1535) ha the which age in my mind, Master Cope had small discretion to judge either of any such angelical proportion of this Mans personage, or of his Divine qualities, and Heroical celtitude of his mind, and yet he remembereth him in his Dialogues. Which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to suspect that these Dialogues Printed in *Amurper*, Anno 1564, were brought over by Master Cope thence to be Printed, but were penned and framed by another *Pseudocopus*, whatsoever, or in what Fleet forever he was, unless my marks do greatly fail me. But as the case is of no great weight, lo I let it pass; returning to other matters of more importance.

Cope Dialogues failed not to be his own.

Shortly after the overthrow of the Pope, consequently began by little and little to follow the ruine of Abbies and religious Houses in England, in a right order and method by Gods divine Providence. For neither could the fall of Monasteries have followed after, unless that suppression of the Pope had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the Church have been attempted, unless the subversion of those superstitious Houses had been joyned withal.

Whereupon, the same year in the Month of October, the King having then *Thomas Cromwel* of his Council, sent Doctor *Lee* to visit the Abbies, Priors, and Nunneries in all England, and to set at liberty all such religious Persons desired to be free, and all other that were under the age of four and twenty years; providing withal, that such Monks, Canons, and Friars, as were disinclined, should have given them by the Abbot or Prior, in stead of their habite, a Secular Priests Gown, and forty Shillings of Money. And likewise the Nuns to have such apparel as Secular Women did then commonly use, and suffered to go where they would. At which time also from the said Abbies and Monasteries were taken their chief Jewels and Reliques.

Suppression of Abbies first begun in England. Religious men under age let out of Monasteries.

The King first beginneth with the Jewels of Abbies.

ANNO 1536. When the King had thus established his supremacy, and all things were quiet within the Realm, he like a wise Prince, and having wise Counsel about him, forescaking with himself what foreign dangers might fall unto him by other Countries about, which all were yet in subjection to the Bishop of Rome, save only a few German Princes, and murthering the malice of the Pope, to provide therefore betime for perils that might ensue, thought good to keep in by all means possible with other Princes.

A solemn Procession in London for joy of the French Kings health.

And first to entertain the favour of the French King, who had been sick a little before, and now was lately recovered to health, in signification of publick joy and friendship, the King commanded a solemn and famous Procession to be ordained through the City of London, with the Waits and Children of the Grammar Schools, with the Masters and Ullers in their Array: then followed the Orders of the Friars and Canons, and the Priors with their pomp of Copes, Crosses, Candlesticks, and Vergers before them. After these, followed the next Pageant of Clerks and Priests of London, all in Copes likewise. Then the Monks of Westminster and other Abbies, with their glorious gardevance of Crosses, Candlesticks, and Vergers before them in like sort. Last of all came the Quire of Pauls with their Residentiaries, the Bishop of London and the Abbots following after in their Pontificalibus. After these courses of the Clergy went the Companies of the City, with the Lord Maior and Aldermen in their best Apparel, after their degrees. And let it might be thought this Procession of the Church of London to make but a small or beggerly shew, the furniture of the grey Copes there worn, was counted to the number of seven hundred and fourteen. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this Procession, and for the more high service to Almighty God, besides the singing Quires, and chanting of the Priests, there lacked no Musick withall, to pipe at the Processions. Briefly here lacked nothing else but only the Ordinance to shoot off also. But because that is used in the Processions at Rome, therefore for difference-like the same is reserved only for the Popes own Processions, and for none other in the month of October.

A piping Procession.

This grand Procession was appointed for a triumph or a thanksgiving for the late recovery of the French Kings health, as is aforesaid.

Over and besides this, the Kings, to nourish and retain Amity with Kings and Princes, left the Pope, being exiled now out of England, should incite them to War against him, directed sundry Embassadors and Messengers with Letters and Instructions. To the Emperor was sent Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, to the French King Sir *Francis Brian*, and Doctor *Edward Fox*, who was also sent to the Princes of Germany; to the Scottish King was sent Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber.

Embassadors to divers Christian Kings.

In Scotland the same time were cast abroad divers railing Ballets and slanderous Rimes against the King of England, for calling of the Lady Dowager, and for abolishing the Pope: for the which cause the foresaid Sir *Ralph Sadler* being sent into Scotland, with Letters and Instructions how to address himself accordingly, after he had obtained access unto the King, and audience to be heard, thrust declareth the effectuous and hearty commendations from the Kings Majesty his Graces Uncle, and withall delivered his Letters of Credence. Which done, after a few words of Courtly entertainment, as occasion served him to speak, the said Sir *Ralph Sadler* obtaining audience, thus began in the King his Masters behalf to declare, as followeth.

Sir Ralph Sadler Ambassador to the Scottish King.

The Oration of the Kings Ambassador.

Whereas there is nothing after the glory of Almighty God in this World so much to be tendered by Kings, Princes, or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended, as their Honour, Estimation, good Fame and Name, which whatsoever neglecteth is to be esteemed unnatural: and unless a man labour to avoid and extinguish the false Reports, Slander, and Diffamations made of him by malicious persons, he may well be suspected in conscience to condemn himself: the King your Uncle considering the same, and hearing of sundry Ballets, Criminations, and infamous Labels made and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his Grace, by your Graces Subjects, not only upon trust to find with your Grace such natural Affection, Friendship, and Amity, as the nearness of blood between Uncle and Nephew, necessitude of Reverence, promiscuity both of kin and dominions together doth require; but also upon assurance that your Grace and Wisdom will consider how these Slanders and Diffamations, although they were but against a private person, whatsoever he were, most commonly rebound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate: as the diffamation of Kings toucheth Kings, and so of other Degrees and Dignities: doth send at this time to your Grace, his Nephew (other he might have sent more worthy, but me at this time, for lack of a better, hath he sent) to desire, pray, and require your Grace, according as the nearness of Blood, connexion of Estate, and other things before expressed, of right and justice do require: beseeching your Grace, gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder the malice of these said Slanders, and to call in again all the said diffamatory Ballets, Labels, and other Writings, punishing the Authors and Setters forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cause open Proclamations to be made through your Realm, that none of your Inhabitants there shall in any manner wise so misuse himself hereafter upon such great pain and punishment as to your Grace and your Council shall be thought convenient for the transgression thereof: so that other by their correction, and by the fearful example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time coming.

The Oration of Sir Ralph Sadler to the Scottish King.

The example of such Slanders is very pernicious to all Kings: for by such Slanders of other Princes, the Slanders take boldness; so to deal afterward with their own King as they have done with other, and the next step from such slanderous words is to attempt deeds, and so to fall to Sedition: of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

Evil example a pernicious thing in a common wealth.

Wherefore your Grace, at the contemplation of your dear Uncle, in tendering his proceedings, shall do well to follow therein the loving steps of his good Brother and Alley the French King, who hath already at Rome and sundry places else, caused certain Slanderous Preachers to be fore punished; and further directed Commissions through his Realm for repressing the same. As also other Princes shall

shall be ready (his Majesty trusteth) to do the like in their Dominions, if like occasion shall be given to require the same of them. In which so doing, your Grace may be assured in this your gentle dealing in that part, to win your Uncles most sincere and kind hearts, to the increase of your Amity and Alliance, which as to you shall be most honourable, so shall it be no less profitable unto him.

The second point.

And thus to conclude with the first part of my Narration, concerning the slanderous and diffamatory Libels, lest I should seem with proximity of matter more than needs to abuse your Graces silence; I will now descend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your Grace, as touching the Popes Nuncio or Messenger. Of whose late arrival the Kings Majesty your Uncle having partly Intelligence, but not certainly knowing the special cause of his coming from Rome, and yet hearing by the common Brui and talk of your Subjects, what his Errand should be, that is to practise some annoyance by his pretended Censures against the Kings Majesty your Uncle: he therefore remonishing your Grace before, as fearing the worst, most justly maketh his complaint thereof unto your Grace his Nephew, requiring you, that forasmuch as the foresaid Brui and Reports are slanderous to his Majesty, and seeing that neither the Emperor nor the French King, nor any other Princes have consented thereto, or understood thereof, the Kings Majesty therefore your Uncle, willing to stop those Brui and talks, desireth and most heartily prayeth your Grace, at his instant request to vouchsafe to consider and weigh,

Supremacy of Princes.

First, The Supremacy of Princes by the holy Scripture granted unto him and other Princes in Earth under Christ upon their Churches.

Secondly, To weigh what the Gospel and Gods Word calleth a Church.

Also what Superstitions, Idolatries, and blind abuses have crept into all Realms, to the high displeasure of Almighty God by reason thereof.

Fourthly, What is to be understood by the true Censure or Excommunication of the Church, and how no such can be in the power of the Bishop of Rome, or of any other man, against his Majesty or any other Prince, having so just ground to avoid from the root, and to abolish that execrable authority, which the Bishop of Rome hath usurped and doth usurp upon all Princes, to their great detriment and damage.

As touching the consideration of which four Points, although the Kings Majesty your Uncle doubteth not your Grace to be furnished and provided with sufficient knowledge, rightly to discern and judge upon the same; yet if it shall so please your Grace further to know your Uncles mind touching the said Points, I assure your Highness in the behalf of your foresaid Uncle his Majesty, that he will not stick to send unto you such learned, wise, and discreet men, as shall amply inform you thereof, and of such other things at your Grace having once a smack thereof, shall think most worthy for a Prince to know.

His request therefore to your Highness is, that you will consider of what moment and importance it shall be unto your Grace (having the Scots your Subjects so evilly instructed in the premisses) for you to assent and agree to any such Censure, and so by such example to give such an upper-hand over your self and other Princes to that Usurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Christendom, whereever the true declaration of the Truth and Word of God shall have free course, to scourge them, unless they will adore, worship, and kiss the Feet of that corrupt Holiness, which desireth nothing else but pride and the universal thrall of Christendom under Romes Yoke.

Remedyes

But because the Censures of that Nuncio be not yet opened, but lie secret and uncertain under muttering, I shall cease further to proceed therein, till further occasion shall minister to me more certain matter to say and to judge. In the mean time for so much as it is most certainly come to the Intelligence of the Kings Majesty, that the Abbot of Artois should be chosen of late and elected to be a Cardinal in this your Realm of Scotland, his Majesty therefore for the good love and hearty good will be beareth unto your Grace, as the Uncle is bound unto the Nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive

The Abbot of Artois chosen Cardinal of Scotland.

not so well the hypocrite and deceitful guile and malice of the Romans and their practises, as he himself doth by his long experience; could not but hearing thereof advertise your Grace, that his advice is, you should not suffer any of your Subjects to take upon him that red Hat of pride, whereby he shall incontinently, the same being received (unless he be of a contrary nature to any man that ever was yet of that sort) not only be in manner discharged of his Obedience, and become the Bishop of Romes true lieg-man; but also shall presume of his Cardinalship to be your Fellow, and to have the rule as well as you. Then should the Bishop of Rome creep into your own very bosom, know all your secrets, and at last, unless you will be yoked and serve their pleasure in all points, your Grace is like to smart for it. The thing perchance in the beginning shall seem to your Grace very honourable and pleasant; but wisdom it is to beware of the snail, which is very black and bitter.

His Majesties Father, and Grandfather to your Grace, had a Cardinal, whereof he was weary, and never admitted other after his decease, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner also his Highness by the experience of one, hath utterly determined to avoid all the sort: so well his Grace hath known and experienced their mischief, joke, and thralldom that thereby is laid upon Princes. By reason whereof, as his Highness is the more able by his own experience to inform your Grace, so of good will and meer propinquity of heart, caused partly by nature and kin; partly by conjunction and vicinity of Dominions adjoining so near together, he is no less ready to forswear your Grace before, wishing that God will so work in your Princely heart and noble stomach, that his Majesties monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a sincere affection and tender care of his part unto his Nephew, so it may prevail and take place in your mind, that your Grace wisely inweighing with your self, what supreme Right Princes have and ought to have upon their Churches and Lands where they govern, and what little cause the Bishop of Rome hath thereto, to proceed by unjust Censures against them: your Grace may therein not only stand to the just defence of your dear Uncle, but also may endeavour to follow his steps therein, and to take his counsel, which be doubteth not, but shall redound not only to your Graces honour, to the benefit, weal, and profit of your Realm and Subjects, but especially to the Glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true Religion.

And thus have I expounded unto your Grace, the sum of my Errand and Message from the Kings Majesty your Uncle, who as he would be glad to be advertised by answer, of your Graces purpose, mind, and intention in this behalf, so for my part, according to my charge and duty, I shall be preit and ready with all diligence to give mine attendance upon your pleasure for the same accordingly.

The sum and effect of the Kings Message sent to the French King in defence of his proceedings.

The King considering the present state of his Marriage, which was not yet well digested nor accepted in the Courts of other Princes; and also having Intelligence of the straight Amity intended by the marriages between the Emperor and the French King, and also of the Popes inclination to pleasure the Emperor, and further understanding of the order and meaning of the French Kings Counsel, not greatly favouring his Purposes, sent therefore into France for his Ambassador Edward Fox Doctor of Divinity, his Chaplain and Councillor, with Instructions and Admonitions how to frame and attemper himself in those the Kings Affairs. The contents of which his Instructions came to this effect: That the said Edward Fox, first declaring to the French King the most affectuous Commendations made on the Kings behalf, with Declaration of the Kings most intire and hearty good will to understand of his Prosperity, and the good success of his Affairs, which his Majesty

{KING} no less desired than his own: and also after the Kings Letters being delivered to him and to other Personages of his Council, then, after his access made unto the King, he should utter and inimate unto the King his Matters mind and intent in these three special Points following.

Three cases to be declared in the Kings defence.

The first was, to declare the justness of the Kings cause concerning the late marriage with Queen Anne, and divorcement of the King from his Brothers Wife.

The second to signify and expresse the injuries done by the Pope, as afterward shall be declared.

The third was, to win and allure to the Kings devotion the Chancellor of France.

And as touching the Declaration of the justness of the Kings cause, first he taking with him certain Books printed, containing the determinations of Universities in that behalf, with reasons and authorities confirming the same, should distribute the said Books to the Bishop of Saint Line, and to other Bishops, to Monsieur de Langey, and other of the Kings Council more, and to prove after the best fashion, to obtain their approbations of the same Books, and with dexterity to assay whether he could induce them of the University of Paris, and other learned men, to send forth this Book with their authorities and approbations. That done, then he being acquainted with all those Points and Articles of the Kings Cause, in communicating and conference (as the cause required) should not only make answer to such things as should be objected, but also furnish and maintain the justness of that Opinion, with his Learning, in such sort as he could best invent and cogitate.

The Popes injuries done to the King of England.

As touching the second part which contained the Injuries done by the Pope against the King, the said Embassador in that behalf being a man no less acquainted, than also well beaten and ripe in the manifold misbehaviours of the Pope, from the beginning of the cause, should declare and expresse to the French King, how injuriously the said Pope had demeaned himself towards the Kings Highness: first, in sending a Commission decretal, and then commanding it to be burnt as also in promulging by Schedule of his own hand, not to call the cause out of England; and moreover, approving first the justness of the Kings cause, yet notwithstanding afterward went from the fame and did contrary.

The Pope inconsistent in his deeds and contrary to himself.

Touching all which Injuries received at the Popes hand, though the King had great cause justly to complain, yet other Injuries there were beside these wherewith the King most especially was moved.

The Pope calleth and citheth the King to Rome.

The one was for calling and citing the Kings Highness to appear at Rome.

Two special Injuries of the Pope against the King.

The other was for rejecting the Person of the Kings trusty Subject and Chaplain Master Kerne his Embassador, from making such Allegations as to the King in that case appertained; beside sundry other no small griefs and inconveniences, which here might be shewed and alledged: but in these two especial Injuries the King thought himself most chiefly touched and agrieved. In opening and nipping up of which Injuries, and first in the said injurious calling of the King to Rome, Instructions were given to the said Embassador to explicate the open violation therein of the most ancient and general Councils, the Council of Nice, the Council of Africk, and the Council of Milver. In which Councils the contrary was, for quietness of the World, provided and ordered: Declaring withall, how agreeable the same is to all Laws, Reason and Equity, that Princes should not be compelled to repair to Rome at the Popes calling, not be bound in a matter of such weight and moment to send out of their Realms and Dominions, the Writings, Instruments, and Monuments containing the secrets of their affairs, or to make and trust a Proctor, being in so far distant parts in a matter of such importance, to abide and fulfil that which the said Proctor should agree unto there. The matter and cause whereof did not so much concern the state of any one Prince alone, as it touched the dignity of all other Christian Kings so near, that unless they would suffer themselves to be yoked with the Popes Authority, it was time (in as much as the Pope now made this enterprise on them) to search and know the bottom and ground both of his and of their Authority; and if any thing by negligence or misuse had been lost, to recover

The Pope visiteth the Council of Nice, Africk and Milverius.

the same, rather than to suffer it to decay any more. As touching all which griefs, hurts, inconveniences, prejudice, and evil example which might thereof ensue, the Kings Highness doubted not but that his good Brother the French King, would assist and concur with his Highness for maintenance and defence of the same.

The second Point to be declared.

For declaration of the second notable grief and injury done by the Pope to the Kings Highness, thus furthermore he was willed to inimate to the French King, what injury, or rather contumely the Kings Highness received at the Popes hand, in not suffering the Kings Subject and Embassador to alledge such matter in defence of his Prince, as by Law, Reason and Equity was to be heard and admitted, for as much as the said Embassador, Doctor Kerne, the Kings Chaplain being at Rome, at such time as Citations were there published against the Kings Highness, and understanding his Grace by them to be called before one Capasuccha, Dean of the Rota, was there ready to make answer to the Queens Agents complaint, and had by the advice of other great learned men conceived a certain matter containing causes reasonable and lawful, why the Kings Highness should not be bound to appear there either by himself, or by his Proctor. Which matter also he did exhibit on the Kings behalf, as a true Subject by Law of nature is bound to maintain and alledge in defence of his Prince that is absent, and ought by equity to preserve him from condemnation. And yet this notwithstanding, the said Capasuccha, not regarding nor considering the matter alledged, demanded, whether the said Doctor had any Proxy from the King, or no, for such purpose, and upon default and lack of the said Proxy (which was not necessary in this case) proceeded in the principal cause. By reason whereof the said Doctor Kerne appealed to the Pope, alledging injury to be done not only to the Kings Highness, but also to himself, for that such matter as he did alledge, was not considered nor regarded, but process made. To the which Appellation notwithstanding the said Capasuccha gave an ambiguous and a doubtful answer; which was, that as much as Doctor Kerne was by the Law a lawful person, so much he would give place, & deferre appellations, and otherwise not.

The Kings Embassador could not be heard at Rome.

Thus, upon declaration of this doubtful answer passed certain days, the said Capasuccha promising always to open the said answer and sentence more plainly, and to give a determinate resolution. Which he nevertheless did not, albeit he was divers times urged thereunto; but so passed the time, and suddenly returned to Process. Whereupon the said Doctor Kerne appealed six/cons again, and put up a Supplication to the Pope, for admission of the said Appeal. By reason whereof the matter was reasoned in the signature. In which signature by no Law it could be shewed why the said Doctor Kerne should not be admitted to alledge in defence of the Kings Highness, but only that they there among themselves being the greater number, which were of the Emperors Dominions, and feed of him (among which was also the said Capasuccha) gave their Voices as the Pope said, that Doctor Kerne should not be heard, *Sine mandato Regie Majestatis*. Whereunto when Doctor Kerne replied, saying, *Whatsoever they decreed or said, there was no Law to maintain and bear it*: It was said again by Cardinal Anconitate, *That the Pope might judge after his Conscience*. And upon this resolution, they determined there to proceed in the principal cause: unless the King would send a Proxy, intending by this injury and wrong, to enforce his Highness to the exhibition of a Proxy there, to his Highness high prejudice, to the pernicious example of the like to be done to other Princes, and also to the derogation of the Liberties and Prerogatives of his gracious Realm. Unto the observation whereof his Highness is bound to recover and restore such Liberties and Priviledges as by any of his Predecessors have been lost, diminished or decayed in time past.

The Pope would have the King to appear by Proxy at Rome.

These, with other like injuries and wrongs of the Pope done to the King, the foresaid Embassador Mr. Fox, according as he had in charge and Commission, did declare, open, and shew unto the French King, to the intent to sollicite the said King, to do by his mediation for the remedy and redressing of those foresaid injuries and wrongful dealings of the Pope in this behalf.

The third part or purpose of this Message.

Further-

Furthermore, for the third purpose touching the Chancellor of France, inasmuch as he was one of the chief Personages whom the French King most trusted in his great Affairs (by whose advice all matters of Learning were then conducted and trained) the King thought it not unprofitable by all ways and means to win and allure his Friendship and Amity also unto his devotion, either that by his means and dexterity the Kings Purposes might be advanced the better, or at least for a *No nocet*; that is, to mitigate and diminish such favour as he by the Admiral or otherwise was moved to shew to the Imperials. For the which cause the King committing in Charge to his Ambassador aforesaid, willed and instructed him how and what to do, and after what manner to attemperate himself to all occasions and times of opportunity; as first to deliver to him from the King his Letters of Credence, and withall to declare and extend the Kings most efficacious Commendations, with the hearty good will and sincere affections which his Highness bare to the said Cardinal, Chancellor of France, with no less desire also most gladly to do that thing which might be to his commodity and benefit, according as the manifold Pleasures, Gratitudes, and kindness done on his part for the Kings Highness did worthily deserve. Then after such words of mollification, to enter into further Communication with him, in such sort as might best serve his honour.

The vain-glory and avarice of the Cardinal.

The favour of Princes Counts to be noted.

And for as much as the Cardinal was then noted much to be moved with the affections of vain-glory and covetise; therefore amongst other Communication, it was devised to inter mention of the Papality, noting what ways and means might be used to attain unto that dignity. Wherein if the Kings Highness could stand him in any stead, as he thought the person of the said Chancellor most meet for the same, so he would not fail to move and to procure it to the best furtherance of his advancement. And finally, to declare how desirous the Kings Highness was to retain and make sure unto him the amity and friendship of the said Chancellor, and that his Highness devising by what means and ways he might do the same (albeit his Grace knew well, that the Faith and Sincerity of the said Chancellor towards his Master was such, as no Gift, Pension, or other offer could advance or increase that good will which for his Masters sake he would employ in the Kings Highness affairs) thought, that for declaration of his hearty good will towards the said Chancellor, it were convenient to offer unto him some yearly remembrance, &c.

This was the sum and effect of the Message which the King sent unto the French King, and to other of his Council, by his Ambassador, Master Edward Fox, which was especially to signify and make manifest to the said French King, the unjust dealings and prejudicial proceedings of the Pope, in calling up the King of England to appear at Rome by Proxy, which was derogatory to the Kings Dignity and Crown, and also prejudicial both to General-Councils of the Primitive-time, and to the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm (as is afore declared) and no less hurtful for example to all other Princes and Kings likewise, &c.

Stephen Gardener Ambassador to the French King. The French Kings saying against the Kings Resolutions.

This Message so done, shortly after was sent to the said French King, Stephen Gardener, Bishop of Winchester, with the Kings Answer and Message again on this manner: That inasmuch as the saying of the French King to the Ambassadors was this, That notwithstanding all the Kings Realm should agree and condescend never so much to the Right and Tide which the Succession procured of this his lawful Matrimony hath in this his Realm; yet when outward Parties shall conceive any other or contrary opinion thereof, great trouble and vexation might issue. Whereunto the King made answer again, declaring that he could not but greatly marvel, that the King his Brother, being so wise a Prince, and thereto well expert and learned in Chronicles and Histories, not only of his own Realm, but also of all others, or any of his Council, being men of such experience as they were taken to be, would think that the opinion and consent of other outward Realms was so highly to be considered and regarded of any Prince or King, in establishing or in executing things which might be lawfully done, and which touched the preservation of the Rights,

The Kings answer to the French King.

Preeminences, Dignity and State of his Realm, and did also notably confer unto the singular benefit and tranquillity of the same, so as the words both of the said King his Brother, and of the great Master did pretend. Who furthermore were not ignorant themselves, that many things have been by his noble Progenitors Kings of France attempted and done, as well in cases of Matrimony, as otherwise, which in some part in the opinion of the Popes of Rome then being, and in some part in the opinion of divers other outward Princes, States, Seigniories, and common people, have been thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable unto them; and yet that notwithstanding his said Progenitors knowing themselves the prosecuting of those causes to be beneficial to them and to the Realm, have not therefore desisted from their said purposes, but diligently employing their own strength and powers with the Succours of their Friends, have finally achieved their said enterprises, without requiring or greatly regarding the opinion or agreement thereunto of outward Princes.

KING
Hins. 8.
Kings in the right of their Realm are not bound to the agreement of outward Realm.

Again, whereas the Chancellor of France made this Overture to the said Bishop of Winchester. Whether the King would be contented to have indifferent Judges to be appointed by the Authority of the Pope, to determine his Cause, with a Commission decretal from the same, declaring, *Quid juris, &c.* The King, by his Ambassador therunto answering, declared, That the Pope having done unto him so notable and evident Injuries as he had done, it were his office and duty now to labour himself to end this matter, and to study how to make due satisfaction to God, and his Justice, which he hath, *tam indignis modis*, offended and violated, and to deliver himself out of the danger, and the perpetual infamy of the World, which he hath incurred by reason of these his most ungodly doings, and not to look that the King should make any request or suit unto him therefore, or recompence for the same, &c.

The Overture of the Chancellor of France, to the King, to take indifferent Judges by the Popes authority. The Kings answer to the Overture.

Furthermore, whereas the Pope, at the request of the French King, had in open Consistory prorogued execution of his Censures and Excommunication against the King unto the first day of November, and word thereof was sent to the King by his Ambassadors, from the great Master of France, that the King might have the said Prorogation made authentically in writing, if he would: The King answering thereto, thought it not unprofitable, that his Ambassadors resident in France should receive into their hands the possession of the said new Prorogation, conceived and written in authentick form and manner, according to the order of the Laws.

After this again came other Letters to the King from France, namely, from the great Master of France, tending to this end; That if the King would do nothing for the Pope (meaning by the revocation of such Acts of Parliaments as were made in the Realm of England, to the Popes prejudice) it were no reason, neither should it be possible for the French King to induce the Pope to any gratuity or pleasure for the King in his affairs.

The King requested by the French King to relent to the Pope.

Whereunto the King answering again, sendeth word to the French King, trusting and hoping well of the perfect Friendship of the French King his good Brother, that he will never suffer any such Perswasion to enter into his breaht, whatsoever the great Master, or any other shall say to the contrary thereof, nor that he will require any thing more of him to do for the Pope, Chancellor, or other, than his Council hath already devised to be done in this behalf, especially, considering the words of the said French Kings promise made before, as well to the Duke of Norfolk, as to the other Ambassadors, promising his Friendship to the King simply, without requiring him to revoke or infringe any such act or constitution made by the Realm and Parliament to the contrary. Persuading moreover, and laying before the eyes as well of the Pope, as of the French King, how much it should redound to the Popes dishonour and infamy, and to the slander also of his cause, if he should be seen so to pact and covenant with the King upon such conditions, for the administration of that thing which he in his own Conscience hath reputed and adjudged to be most right and agreeable to justice and equity, and ought of his office and duty to do in this matter *simpliciter & gratis*, and without all worldly respects, either for the advancement

The Kings answer to the French Kings request.

The Pope seeks not for justice, but his own lustre and commodity.

KING
1628-8.

ment of his private lucre and commodity, or for the preservation of his pretended power and authority. For surely it is not to be doubted, but that the Pope, being minded and determined to give Sentence for the invalidity and nullity of the Kings first pretended Matrimony, hath conceived and established in his own conscience a firm and certain opinion and persuasion, that he ought of justice and equity to do.

Then to see the Pope to have this opinion indeed, and yet refuse this to do for the King, unless he shall be content for his benefit and pleasure, *Cedere juri suo*, and to do some things prejudicial unto his Subjects contrary to his honour: it is easie to be foreseen, what the World and the Posterity shall judge *De tam turpi nundinatione iustitiae, & illius tam fadae & sordidae lucri & honoris ambitione*. And as for the Kings part, if he shall not attain now justice at the mediation of his good Brother, knowing the Pope to be of this disposition and determination in his heart, to satisfy all his desires, being moved thereunto by justice, and that the let thereof is no default of justice in the cause, but only for that the King would not condescend to his request: it is to the King matter sufficient enough for discharge of his conscience to God and to the World, although he never did execute indeed his said determination. For lish his corrupt affection is the only impediment thereof, what need either the King to require him any further to do in the cause, or else his Subjects to doubt any further in the justness of the same?

The Pope
sitteth
in
the
Pope
deth
against
his
own
Conscience.

The Pope
forgetteth
his old
Benefactors
and Friends.

Albeit if respects to benefits and favours done towards the Pope and See of Rome, should be regarded in the attaining of justice in a cause of so high consequence as this is, reason would, that if it would please the Pope to consider the former kindness of the King shewed unto him in time past, (whereof he is very loth to enter the rehearsal, *Ne videatur velle exprimerare quae de aliis fecerit bene*) he should not now require of him any new benefit or gratuity to be shewed unto him, but rather study to recompence him for the old graces, merits, pleasures and benefits before received. For surely he thinketh that the Pope cannot forget, how that for the conservation of his Person, his Estate and Dignity, the King hath not heretofore spared for any respect, in using the office of a most perfect and steadfast Friend, so relinquish the long continued good will established between him and the Emperor, and to declare openly to all the World, that for the Popes sake, and in default of his deliverance, he would become enemy to the said Emperor, and to make against him actual War.

The benefits
of the King
upon the
Pope, when
he was taken
by the Duke
of Savoy.

Beside this, the King hath not failed him with right large and ample subventions of money, for the better supporting of his charges against the enterprises of the said Emperor, combining and knitting himself with the French King, to procure the advancement of the said French Kings Army into Italy, to the Charges whereof the King did bear little less than the one half: Besides notable losses sustained as well in his Customs, Subsidies, and other Duties, as also to the no little hindrance and damage of his Subjects and Merchants, occasioned by discontinuance of the Traffick and intercourse heretofore used with the Emperors Subjects. In doing of all which things, the King hath not been thus respectful, as the Pope now sheweth himself towards him, but like a perfect Friend hath been always contented frankly, liberally, and openly to expose all his study, labour, travel, treasure, puissance, Realm and divers Subjects for the Popes aid, and maintenance of the State and Dignity of the Church and See of Rome. Which things although he doth not here rehearse *animo exprobrandi*, yet he doubteth not but the same, weighed in the ballance of any indifferent mans judgement, shall be thought to be of that weight and value, as that he hath justly deserved to have some mutual correspondency of kindness to be shewed unto him at the Popes hands; especially in the ministrature of Justice, and in so reasonable and just cause as this is, and not thus to have his most rightful Petition rejected and denied, because he will not follow his desire and appetite in revoking of such Acts, as be here made and passed for the weal and commodity of his Realm and Subjects.

All he loth
that he done
for a subject.

¶ Thus ye have heard how infinitely the King had laboured by the means of the French King, to the Pope being then in France, for Right and Justice to be done

for the dissolution and nullity of his first pretended Matrimony with his Brothers wife. Which when it could not be attained at the Popes hands, unless the King would recompence and requite the same, by revoking of such Statutes as were made and enacted here in the High Court of Parliament, for the surety of Succession and establishment of the Realm; what the King thereunto answered again, ye heard, declaring that to be a far unequal recompence and satisfaction for a thing which ought of right and justice to be ministrated unto him, that a King therefore should revoke and undo the Acts and Statutes passed by a whole Realm contrary to his own honour and weal of his Subjects, &c.

Where is moreover to be understood, how that the Pope with all his Papists, and the French King also, and peradventure Stephen Gardener too, the Kings own Ambassador, had ever a special eye to disprove and disappoint the Kings Succession by Queen Anne, whom they knew all to be a great enemy unto the Pope, thinking thereby that if that succession were diminished, the Popes Kingdom might soon be restored again in England. But yet for all their unjust and crafty packing, they were through Gods Providence frustrate of their desired purpose. For although they so brought to pass the next year following, to adnull the Order of that Succession by a contrary Parliament, yet neither did they so annihilate it, but that both King Edward followed, yea, and also the same Succession afterward by the said King and other Parliaments was restored again, and yet, God be praised, hath hitherto reigned, and doth yet flourish in the Realm of England.

The crafty
packing of
the Papists.

Now, as we have declared the Kings doings in the Realm of Scotland and of France proceeding further in the Kings proceedings with other Princes, let us see how the King defended himself and his cause before the Emperor, sending his Ambassador unto him, using these words before his Majesty, as here followeth.

The Papists
frustrate
of their
purpose.

The Oration of the Kings Ambassador before the Emperor in Defence of his Cause.

Sir, the King my Master, taking and requiring you as his perfect Friend, Confederate and Allye, and not doubting, but you remembering the mutual kindness between you in times past, will shew your self in all occurrences to be of such mind and disposition, as Justice, Truth, and Equity doth require, hath willed me by his Letters, to open and to declare unto you, what he hath done, and in what wise he hath proceeded concerning such Marriage as by many years was supposed to have been between your Ant and his Grace. In which matter there being two principal Points specially to be regarded and considered: that is to say, the justice of the Cause, and the order of the Process therein, his Highness hath so used him in both, as no man may right-wisely complain of the same.

The Oration
of the
Ambassador
to the Em-
peror.

For as touching the justness of the Cause, that is to say, of that marriage between him and your said Ant to be naught, and of no moment, no effect, but against the Law of God, Nature, and Man, and indispenable by the Pope, and in no wise available; his Highness hath done therein as much as becometh him for discharge of his Conscience, and hath found so certain, so evident, so manifest, so open and approved truth, as whereunto his Majesty ought of good congruence to give place, and which by all other ought to be allowed and received, not as a matter doubtful, disputable, or depending in question and ambiguity; but as a plain determined and discussed verity of the true understanding of Gods Word and Law, which all Christian men must follow and obey, and before all other worldly Respects prefer and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if his Highness had used only his own particular judgement and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own natural Subjects; (although the same might in his Conscience have sufficed) it would not much have repugned, if some other had made difficulty to assent to him in the same, still further discussion had been made thereupon. But now, for as much as besides his own certain understanding, and the agreement of his whole Clergy to the same in both

Difficulties
consisting
in two
parts.

The balance
of the Kings
Cause.

His Highness
standing
with the
Kings cause.

both Provinces of this Realm, his Majesty hath also for him the determination of the most famous Universities of Christendom, and most indifferent to pronouncement and give judgment in this case, and among them, the University of Bononi, (all fear of the Pope [set apart] concluding against his Power, and also Padua (the Venetians threat not regarded) giving their Sentence for the truth and evident words of Gods Law; there should no man, as seemeth to him, gain-say or withstand, either in word or deed, the truth thus opened, but for his honour and duty to the observation of Gods Law, willingly embrace and receive the same.

According whereunto his Grace perceiveth also as well in his Realm, as elsewhere, as a notable consent and agreement amongst all Divines, and such as have studied for knowledge of Gods Law without contradiction of any number, unless it be such as applying their mind to the maintenance of worldly affections, do either in defence of such Laws as they have studied, or for satisfaction of their private appetites, forbear to agree unto the same. The number of whom is so small, as in the discerning of truth it ought not to be regarded in a case so plainly described and determined by Gods Word, as this is.

Both the
number and
matter
maketh with
the King.

And if perchance your Majesty here not regarding the number, but the matter, shall seem to consider in this case, not so much who speaketh, as what is spoken; to answer thereunto, I say, Sir, the King my Master is of the same mind, for his own satisfaction, and taketh himself to be in the right, not because so many say it, but because he being learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Nevertheless reason would, and enforce also, that strangers to the cause, and not parties therein, should be induced to believe that to be truth that such a number of Clerks do so constantly affirm; especially not being otherwise learned to be Judges of their sayings, as your Majesty is not. And if you were, then could your Highness shew such Reasons, Authorities and Grounds as cannot be taken away, and be so firm and stable, as they ought not of Christian men in any part to be impugned, like as hath been partly heretofore shewed by his sundry Embassadors to your Imperial Majesty, and should effects be done, were it not too great an injury to that which is already passed in the Realm, to dispute the same again in any other Country: which being contrariety to the Laws and Ordinances of his Realm, be trusted your prudence will not require, but take that which is past for a thing done, and justly done; and as for Gods part, to leave his Conscience to himself, Qui Domino suo stat aut cadit; and for the World, to pass over as a Friend that which nothing toucheth you, and not to marvel though the said King my Master, regarding the wealth of his Soul principally, with the commodity of his person, and so great benefit and quiet of his Realm, have perchance done that which he for his private phantastie would had not chanced; like as his Highness also would wish it had not hapned that such cause had been given unto him to compel him so to do.

The second
part of his
Oration
touching
the manner
of the Kings
proceedings

But these things in their outward visage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concern the Soul. Quid autem prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero sue detrimentum patiat? Primum quærit Regnum Dei, &c. And yet neither is his Highness ignorant what respect it is to be had unto the World, and how much he hath laboured and travelled therein, he hath sufficiently declared and shewed to the World in his Acts and proceedings. For if he had utterly contemned the order and process of the World, or the Friendship and Amity of your Majesty, he needed not to have sent so often and sundry Embassadors to the Pope, and to you both, nor continued and spent his time in delays, as he hath done hitherto, but might many years past have done that he hath done now, if it had so liked him, and with as little difficulty then as now, if he would have without such respect followed his pleasure in that behalf. But now I doubt not, your Majesty doth well remember how often the King my Master hath sent unto your Highness, and that your Majesty hath heard also what just he hath made to the Pope, and how the said Pope hath handled him again, only in delay and dalliance, with open Commission given to his Legates to determine and give Sentence for him by a Commission decretal, and secretly

Now the
Pope dallies
with the
King by de-
lays.

secretly to give him Instructions to suspend and put over the same. By which means, and other semblable, he perceived plainly himself to be brought into such a Labyrinth, as going forward that way he were like to come to no end, and was therefore compelled to step right forth at once to the mazes end, there to quit and repose himself at the last.

And is it not time to have an end in seven years, or else to seek for it another way? The Pope hath shewed himself both unwilling to have an end, and also ready and prone to do him injury, as well in citing him to Rome, as also sending forth certain Briefs to his Grace slanderous, and for the injustice and iniquity of them, to himself dishonourable; and he gave his Highness good and just cause to suspect, whether any end to be made at his hand (if any he would make) might be in his Conscience received and followed. For the Pope doing injury in some point, why should he be thought a convenient Judge, not using himself indifferently in this matter (as many more particularities may be shewed and declared) considering there is a general Council, willing all matters to be determined where they first began, and that the whole body of our Realm hath, for the wealth of the same, by a Law established the determination of such Causes? By reason whereof the Bishop of Canterbury, as Metropolitan of our Realm, hath given Sentence in due judgment for the Kings party. It is not to be asked, nor questioned, whether that matter hath been determined after the common fashion, but whether it hath in common Justice, truth, and equity of Gods Law? For observation of the common order, his Grace hath done that lay in him, and enforced by necessity, hath found the true order maintainable by Gods Word and General Councils, which be hath in substance followed with effect, and hath done as becometh him, rendering either Gods Law, or his Person, or the wealth of his Realm, like as he doubteth not but your Majesty (as a wife Prince) remembering his Cause from the beginning hitherto, will of your self consider and think, that among mortal men nothing should be immortal, and Suius must once have an end, Si possit recte, si non quocunque modo. And if he cannot as he would, his Highness then to do as he may; and be that hath a journey to be perfected, must, if he cannot go one way, alay another. Whatsoever hath been herein done, necessity hath enforced him (that is to say, Gods Law) in the matter, and such manner of dealing of the Pope as he hath shewed unto him in the same, doing sundry injuries without effect of justice, wherein he promised the same. But as for the Kings matter to the Pope, he shall intreat with him apart. As touching your Majesty, he taketh you for his friend, and as to a friend he openeth these matters unto you, trusting to find your Majesty no less friendly hereafter unto him, than he hath done heretofore.

By these matters thus passed and discoursed to and fro between the King and these foreign Princes above rehearsed, many things are to be understood of the Reader, who is disposed to behold and consider the state and proceeding of public Affairs, as well to the Church appertaining, as to the Commonwealth. First, how the King cleareth himself both justly and reasonably for his divorce made with the Lady Katharine, the Emperors Aunt. Secondly, how he proveth and defendeth his marriage with Queen Anne to be just and lawful, both by the authority of Gods Word, and the approbation of the best and most famous learned men and Universities, and also by the assent of the whole Realm.

Furthermore, for the stabilishing of the Kings Succession in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, for the suppression of the Pope, and uniting the Title of Supremacy unto the Kings Crown, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was at upon the same, may appear by the Act of Parliament set forth Anno 1534. Ex H. reg. 26. cap. 13. in these words following:

If any person or persons after the first of February next, do maliciously imagine, invent, practice, or attempt to deprive the King of the Dignity, Title, or Name of his Royal Estate, &c. that then every such person and persons so offending in any of the premises; their Aidors, Counsellors, Consenters, and Abettors, being thereof lawfully convicted, according to the Laws and Customs of

KING
H. 8

This general
Council
was the first
Council of
England since
1527.

The Kings
divorce just

The Kings
marriage
with Queen
Anne lawful.

The Kings
Title of
Supremacy.

Denying of
the Kings
Supremacy
made Treason.

[RING] of this Realm, shall be reputed, accepted and adjudged Traytors, and that every such offence in any the premises committed or done after the said first day of February, shall be reputed, accepted and adjudged high Treason; and the offenders therein, their aiders, confederers, counsellors and abettors, being lawfully convicted of any such offence, shall have and suffer such pains of death and other penalties, as is limited and accustomed in cases of High-Treason.

Upon this and such other Acts concluded in these Parliaments, what stomach the Pope took, what stir he kept, and what practices he wrought with Cardinal Pool, to stir up other Nations to War against us, what difficulty also there was with the Emperor, with the French King, and with the King of Scots, about the matter, and what labour was used on the Kings part to reconcile the Princes for his own indemnity, to keep from him their Wars and Invasions, and specially to obtain the Popes approbation, and to avoid his censures of Excommunication; and finally, what despicable injuries, and open wrongs the Pope wrought against him, upon the which Pope the King had bestowed so much money, and great treasures before, all this likewise by the premises may appear.

Wherefore, to end now with these, and to go forward in our story, as the order and computation of years do give, we have now consequently to enter into the story of the good Martyr of God, William Tindal, being this present year fully betrayed and put to death. Which William Tindal, as he was a special Organ of the Lord appointed, and as Gods Mattock to shake the inward roots, and foundation of the Popes proud Prelacy, so the great Prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unthought how craftily to intrap him, and fallily to betray him, and maliciously to spill his life, as by the process of his story here following may appear.

The Life and Story of the true Servant and Martyr of God William Tindal; who, for his notable pains and travel may well be called the Apostle of England in this our later Age.

WILLIAM Tindal, the faithful Minister and constant Martyr of Christ, was born about the Borders of Wales, and brought up from a Child in the University of Oxford, where he by long continuance grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal Arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; inasmuch that he, lying then in Magdalen Hall, read privily to certain Students and Fellows of Magdalen College, some parcel of Divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whole manners also and conversation, being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unsported.

Thus he, in the University of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the Schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods Word, leaving that University also, he resorted to one Master Welch a Knight of Gloucestershire, and was there Schoolmaster to his Children, and in good favour with his Master. This Gentleman, as he kept a good Ordinary commonly at his Table, there resorted to him many times sundry Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, with divers other Doctors, and great Beneficed men; who there together with Master Tindal sitting at the same Table, did use many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of Luther, and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master Tindal, as he was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so he spared not to tell unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought; and when as they at any time did vary from Tindal in opinions and judgment, he would

shew them in the Book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great Doctors had invited Mr. Welch and his Wife to a Banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any reluctance or gain-saying. Then Master Welch and his Wife, coming home, and calling for Mr. Tindal, began to reason with him about those matters, whereof the Priests had talked before at their Banquet. Master Tindal answering by Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the Lady Welch, a stout and a wife woman (as Tindal reported) Well (said she) there was such a Doctor which may dispense an hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them? Master Tindal gave her no answer at that time, and also after that (because he saw it would not avail) he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the Translation of a Book called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, which being translated, he delivered to his Master and Lady. Who, after they had read and well perused the same, the Doctorly Prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tindal, refrained themselves, and at last, utterly withdrew themselves, and came no more there.

As this grew on, the Priests of the Country clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tindal, railing against him in Alehouses and other places. Of whom Tindal himself, in his Prologue before the first Book of *Moses*, thus testifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he suffered much in that Country by a sort of unlearned Priests, being full rude and ignorant (saith he) God knoweth: (which have seen no more Latin, than that only which they read in their Portifexes and Missals; which yet many of them can scarcely read) except it be *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so fondly learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to reach the Midwives, as they say, and also another called *Lindwood*, a Book of Constitutions to gather Tythes, Mortuaries, Offerings, Customs, and other Pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the duty of Holy-Church, to discharge their Conscience withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to Holy-Church. Thus these blind and rude Priests flocking together to the Alehouse (for that was their preaching place, raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were Heresie; adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the Chancellor, and other of the Bishops Officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a fitting of the Bishops Chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the Priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tindal was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatnings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is (as he himself declared) that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his Word.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the Chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a Dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the Priests of the Country the same time were there present. And thus Master Tindal after those Examinations, escaping out of

Tindal disc.
putting with
the Doctors

Tindal in-
structeth M.
Welch and
his Wife in
the truth.

Enchiridion
a Book of
Erasmus,
translated
by Tindal

The Welch
born a
gallant Tindal

The tradi-
tion of the
Country
Priests.

Tindal trou-
bled before
the Bishops
of the Coun-
try

Tindal ex-
posed before
the Bishops
had chancellors

Tindal
could not
have his ac-
cusers
brought out

their hands, departed home, and returned to his Master again.

One good
old Doctor
amongst
many
naughty.

There dwelt not far off a certain Doctor, that had been an old Chancellor before to a Bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tindal, and also favoured him well. Unto whom Master Tindal went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture; for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the Doctor said, *Do you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life*; and said moreover, *I have been an Officer of his; but I have given it up, and desce him and all his works*.

The Pope
Antichrist

It was not long after, but Master Tindal happened to be in the company of a certain Divine, recounted for a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great Doctor, burst out into these blasphemous words, and said, *We were better to be without Gods Laws than the Poper*. Mr. Tindal hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, *I desce the Pope, and all his Laws*; and further added, *That if God spared him life, ere many years, he would cause a boy that driveth the Plough to know more of the Scripture than he did*.

The blas-
phemy of a
blind Dr.
The Pope
is a preter-
ed before
Gods Law.

After this, the grudge of the Priests increasing still more and more against Tindal, they never ceased barking and raving at him, and laid many things fore to his charge, saying, *That he was an Heretick in Sophistry, an Heretick in Logic, an Heretick in Divinity*; and laid moreover to him, *That he bare himself bold of the Gentlemen there in that Country; but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal*. To whom Master Tindal, answering again, thus said, *That he was contented they should bring him into any Country in all England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more, but to teach children, and to preach*.

To be short, Master Tindal being so molested and vexed in the Country by the Priests; was constrained to leave that Country, and to seek another place; and so coming to Master Welch, he desired him of his good will that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him, *Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this Country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the Spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I should be right sorry*. So that in fine, Master Tindal, with the good will of his Master, departed, and effions came up to London, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the Country before, and specially about the Town of Brisfol, and also in the said Town in the common place called St. Austen Green. At length he bethinking himself of Cutbert Tinsal then Bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who in his Annotations so extolled him for his learning, thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. And so coming to Sir Henry Gilford, the Kings Controlier, and bringing with him an Oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the said Bishop of London for him; which he also did, and willed him moreover to write an Epistle to the Bishop, and to go himself with him. Which he did likewise, and delivered his Epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebbelwait, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his Church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the Bishops sight. The answer of whom was this, *That his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised him to seek in London abroad, where he said he could lack no service, &c.* And so remained he in London, the space almost of a year, beholding and marking with himself the course of the World, and especially the demeanour of the Preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and Kingdom; beholding also the pomp of the Prelates, with other things more, which greatly disliked him. Inasmuch that he un-

An Oration
of Isocrates,
translated
out of Greek
into English
by W. Tindal

Tindal fleeth
to Bishop
Tinsal to
be his
Chaplain.

Tindal re-
sisteth Mr.
Tinsal.

derstood not only there to be no room in the Bishops house for him to translate the New Testament; but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the Realm, and having some aid and provision by Gods Providence ministered unto him by Humphry Mammouth, above recited, (as you may see before) and certain other good men, he took his leave of the Realm, and departed into Germany. Where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his Country, refused no travel nor diligence, how by all means possible to reduce his Brethren and Countrymen of England, to the same taste and understanding of Gods holy Word and verity, which the Lord had induced him withal.

Tindal de-
parteth into
Germany.

Whereupon he considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frish, thought with himself no way more to conduce thereto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain Word of God. For first, he wisely casting in his mind, perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the Scripture were so plainly laid before their eyes in their Mother Tongue, that they might see the process, order and meaning of the Text; for else whatsoever truth should be taught them, their enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the Text, expounding it in such a sense, as impossible it were to gather of the Text, if the right process, order and meaning thereof were seen.

The cause
moving Tin-
dal to trans-
late the
Scripture
into the
English
Tongue.

Again, right well he perceived and considered, this only, or most chiefly to be the cause of all mischief in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes; for so long the abominable doings, and idolatries maintained by the Pharisaical Clergy, could not be spied, and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the Mist of their Sophistry, and so entangle them which rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of Philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the process, order and meaning of the Text, would to delude them in decanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou seek in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtil riddles.

Hiding of
Scripture
the cause of
mischief.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his Mother Tongue, for the publick utility and profit of the simple vulgar people of the Country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he first translated about the year of our Lord 1527. After that he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, fulfilling the five Books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly Prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read again of all good Christians, as the like also he did upon the New Testament.

The New
Testament
and the five
Books of
Moses trans-
lated with
Tindal's
Prologues.

He wrote also divers other Works under sundry Titles, amongst the which is that most worthy Monument of his, entitled, *The obedience of a Christian man*, wherein with singular dexterity he instructeth all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; with divers other Treatises, as, *The wicked Mammon, The practice of Prelats*; with Expositions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other Books also, answering to Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries of the truth, no less delectable, than also most fruitful to be read; which partly before being unknown unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worn out by time, the Printer hereof (good Reader) for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected and set forth in Print the same in one general Volume, all and whole together, as also the Works of John Frish, Barnes and other, as are to be seen, most special and profitable for thy reading.

The

{ KING } The Books of *William Tindal* being compiled, pub-
{ H. 8. } lished, and sent over into *England*, it cannot be spoken
what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole
English Nation, which before were many years shut up in
darkness.

At his first departing out of the Realm he took his journey into the further parts of *Germany*, as into *Saxony*, where he had conference with *Libther*, and other learned Men in those *Quarters*, where after that he had continued a certain feafe, he came down from thence into the *Netherlands*, and had his most abiding in the Town of *Amwerp*, until the time of his apprehension; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

Amongst his other Books which he compiled, one Work he made allo for the declaration of the Sacrament (as it was then called) of the Altar; and which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully perlawaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and grofs Idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that Work, but rather that it fhould hinder the people from other inſtructions, ſuppoſing that it would ſeem to them odious to hear any ſuch thing ſpoken, or let forth at that time, ſounding againſt their great Goddeſs *Diana*, that is, againſt their Maſs, being had every where in great eſtimation, as was the Goddeſs *Diana* amongst the *Epiſcopes*; whom they thought to come from Heaven.

Wherefore Master *Tindal*, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no less zealous in the setting forth of Gods holy truth, after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but by Gods merciful grace, a time should come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day, the Lord Almighty be always praised therefore. Amen.

These godly Books of *Tindal*, and especially the New Testament of his Translation, after that they began to come into mens hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly, so the ungodly envying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and again, fearing left by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocritie and works of darkness should be difsemmed, began to stir with no small adoe, like as at the birth of Christ *Herod* and all *Jerusalem*

lem was troubled with him. But especially Satan the Prince of Darknes, maligning the happy course and success of the Gospel, let to his might, able, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travels of that man; as by this, and also by sundry other ways may appear. For at what time *Tindal* had translated the fifth Book of *Moses* call'd *Deuteronomium*, minding to Print the same at *Hamborough*, he failed thitherward; where by the way upon the Coast of *Holland*, he suffered Shipwreck, by the which he lost all his Books, Writings and Copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having lost by that Ship, both *Mony*, his Copies and time, he came in another Ship to *Hamborough*, where at his appointment, Master *Coverdale* variousely helped him in the translating of the whole five Books of *Moses*, from *Ezra* till *Deuteronomy* in the house of a worshipfull Citizen, *Margaret Van Emmeren*, Anno 1590. a great while having sickned by the same time in the Town. So having discharged his business at *Hamborough*, he returned afterward to *Antwerpe* again.

That as Satan is, and ever hath been an enemy to all
godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and fur-
therance of Gods Word, as by this and many other ex-
periments may be seen, to his Ministers and Members, fol-
lowing the like quality of their Master, be not altogether
idle for their parts; as also by the Popes Chaplains and
Gods enemies, and by their cruel handling of the said Mr.
Tindal the same time, both here in *England* and in *Flan-*
ders, may well appear,

When Gods will was that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, *Tindal* the Translator thereof added to the later end a certain Epistle wherein he desired them that were learned to amend if ought were found amiss. Wherefore if any such default had been, deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesie and gentleness, for men of knowledge and

he lay in the same House of the said Pointz; to whom he shewed moreover his Books and other secrets of his study, so little did Tindal then mistrust this Traytor.

But Pointz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Master Tindal how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tindal answered, that he was an honest man, handomely learned, and very comfortable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips being in the Town three or four days, upon a time desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the Town to shew him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the Town, had communication of divers things, and some of the Kings affairs; by the which talk Pointz, as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the King of England. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of money, to help him to his purpose; for he perceived before that he was ruined, and would that Pointz should think no less; but by whom it was unknown. For he had desired Pointz before to help him to divers things, and such things as he named, he required might be of the best, for said he, I have money enough; but of this talk came nothing, but that men should think he had some things to do; for nothing else followed of his talk. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter for his purpose, to any of the Rulers or Officers of the Town of Antwerp, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means thereof Mr. Tindal should have had warning.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the Court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty four English miles, the King having there no Embassador; for at that time the King of England and the Emperor were at a controversy, for the question betwixt the King and the Lady Katarine, which was Aunt to the Emperor, and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted left there should have been War between the Emperor and the King, so that Philips as a Traytor both against God and the King, was there the better retained, as also other Traitors more besides him; who after he had betrayed Mr. Tindal into their hands, shewed himself likewise against the Kings own person, and there set forth things against the King. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, that Procuror General, which is the Emperors Attorney, with certain other Officers, as after followeth. The which was not done with small charges and expences, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz, sitting at his door, Philips man came unto him, and asked whether Mr. Tindal were there, and said, his Master would come to him, and so departed. But whether his Master Philips were in the Town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the Master nor of the Man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went forth to the Town of Barrow being eighteen English Miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a Month or six Weeks, and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his Wife, asking her for Mr. Tindal, and whether he would dine there with him, saying, *What good meat shall we have?* She answered, *such as the Market will give.* Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and set the Officers which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. Then about Noon he came again, and went to Master Tindal, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; for (said he) I lost my Purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Machelin. So Master Tindal took him forty shillings, the which was easie to be had of him, if he had it, for in the wily subtilties of this World he was simple and unexpert.

Then said Philips, *Master Tindal you shall be my Guest here to day. No, said Master Tindal, I go forth this day to Dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my Guest, where you shall be welcome.* So when it was Dinner time, Master Tindal went forth with Philips, and at the going out of Pointz house, was a long narrow Entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tindal would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tindal afore, for that he pretended to shew great humanity. So Master Tindal, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips a tall comely person followed behind him; who had set Officers on either side of the Door upon two seats, which being there might see who came in the Entry; and coming through the same Entry, Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tindal's head down to him, that the Officers which fate at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the Officers that took Master Tindal, afterward told Pointz, and said to Pointz when they had laid him in Prison, *That they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him.* Then they took him and brought him to the Emperors Attorney, or Procuror General, where he dined. Then came the Procuror General to the House of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tindal's, as well his Books as other things, and from thence Tindal was had to the Castle of Filsford, eighteen English Miles from Antwerp, and there he remained until he was put to death.

Then incontinent, by the help of English Merchants, were Letters sent in the favour of Tindal to the Court of Brussels. Also not long after, Letters were directed out of England to the Council at Brussels, and sent to the Merchant Adventurers to Antwerp, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the Merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said Pointz, to take in hand the delivery of those Letters, with Letters also from them in the favour of Master Tindal, to the Lord of Barrow and others; the which Lord of Barrow (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Brussels, as the chiefe Conductour of the eldest Daughter of the King of Denmark, to be married to the Palegrave, whose Mother was Sister to the Emperor, the being chief Prince of Denmark. Who, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Achem, where he delivered to him his Letters. The which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, *There were of their Countrymen that were burned in England not long before; as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield, and so Pointz said to him; Howbeit, said he, whatsoever the crime was, if his Lordship or any other Nobleman had writen, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied.* Well, said he, I have no leisure to write, for the Princess is ready to ride.

Then said Pointz, *If it shall please your Lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next bailing place, which was at Maftricht. If you so do, said the Lord, I will advise my self by the way what to write.* So Pointz followed him from Achem to Maftricht, the which are fifteen English Miles asunder, and there he received Letters of him, one to the Council there, another to the company of the Merchant Adventurers, and another also to the Lord Cromwel in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered to the Council the Letters out of England, with the Lord of Barrow's Letters also, and received efficacious answer into England of the same by Letters, which he brought to Antwerp to the English Merchants, who required him to go with them into England. And he very desirous to have Mr. Tindal out of Prison, let not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business and occupying, and diligently followed with the said Letters, which he there delivered to the Council, and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other Letters, of the which he was not dispatched thence in a Month after. At length the Letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the Emperors Council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same.

The Pope's will force no cost to fulfil their malicious enterprises.

Philips, well misled by the English Bishops.

It Philips traytor and betrayer of Mr. Tindal.

The simplicity of Mr. Tindal.

How Tindal was betrayed into his cruel hands.

Letters sent from England by the Lord Cromwel and others in the behalf of Mr. Tindal.

Letters from the Lord of Barrow to the Lord Cromwel concerning Mr. Tindal.

Pointz sent with Letters from Brussels to England.

KING When the said Pointz had tarried three or four days, it was told him of one that belonged to the Chancery, that Master Tindal should have been delivered to him according to the tenour of the Letters; but Philips being there, followed the Suit against Master Tindal, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew

none other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying That he was a dueller in the Town of Antwerp, and there had been a succour of Tindal, and was one of the same Opinion, and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Master Tindal at liberty, and no more else.

The suit of Philips against the Tindal.

The Martyr dome of Master William Tindal in Flanders, by Vibord Castle.



William Tindal was executed by Philips.

Philips executed.

Thus upon his information and accusation Pointz was attached by the Procuror General, the Emperors Attorney, delivered to the keeping of two Serjeants at Arms; and the same Evening was sent to him one of the Chancery, with the Procuror General, who ministered unto him an Oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days one after another, upon not so few as hundred Articles, as well of the Kings affairs, as of the message concerning Tindal, of his aids, and of his Religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procuror General drew twenty three or twenty four Articles, and declared the same against the said Pointz, the Copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an Advocate and Proctor, that is, a Doctor and Proctor in the Law; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the Process were ended. Also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp whereas his house was; being twenty four English Miles from Brussels, where he was Prisoner, nor to any other place, but by the Post of the Town of Brussels, nor to send any Letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch, and the Procuror General, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and examine them thoroughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were sent or delivered: neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with Pointz in any other Tongue or Language, except only in the Dutch Tongue, so that his Keepers, who were Dutch men might understand what the contents of the Letters or talk should be. Saving that at one certain time the Provincial of the White Fries came to Dinner where Pointz was Prisoner, and brought with him, a young Novice, being an Englishman, whom the Provincial after Dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the said Pointz, and so with him he was licenced to talk. The purpose and great policy therein was easily to be perceived. Between

Pointz and the Novice was much pretty talk, as of Sir Thomas More, and of the Bishop of Rochester, and of their putting to death, whose death he seemed greatly to lament, especially dying in such a quarrel, worthy (as he said) to be accounted for Martyrs; with other noble Doctrine, and deep learning in Divinity, meet to feed Swine withal. Such blindness then in those days reigned amongst them. After this Pointz delivered up his answer to the Procuror General, and then after, at the days appointed, went forth with Replication duplicke, with other answers each to other in writing, what they could.

As the Commissioners came to Pointz, Philips the Traitor accompanied them to the Door in following the Process against him, as he also did against Master Tindal, for so they that had Pointz in keeping, shewed him. Thus Pointz for Master Tindal was sore troubled, and long kept in Prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape, and avoided their hands. But good Tindal could not escape their hands, but remained in Prison still, who being brought unto his answer, was offered to have an Advocate and a Proctor; for in any criminal cause there, it shall be permitted to have Council, to make answer in the Law. But he refused to have any such, saying, That he would answer for himself; and so he did.

At last, After much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the Emperors Decree, made in the Assembly at Antwerp (as is before signified) and upon the same brought forth to the place of Execution, was there tied to the Stake, and then strangled first by the Hangman, and afterward with fire consumed in the morning at the Town of Vilford, Anno 1536. crying thus at the Stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, Lord open the King of England's Eyes.

Talk of Thomas More, and of the Bishop of Rochester, and of their putting to death, whose death he seemed greatly to lament, especially dying in such a quarrel, worthy (as he said) to be accounted for Martyrs; with other noble Doctrine, and deep learning in Divinity, meet to feed Swine withal.

Pointz troubled for Master Tindal.

The condemnation of Master Tindal, and the strydon of the same brought forth to the place of Execution, was there tied to the Stake, and then strangled first by the Hangman, and afterward with fire consumed in the morning at the Town of Vilford, Anno 1536.

The prayer of Master Tindal.

Mr Tindal converted his Keeper, Commendation of Mr Tindal, by them that were about him.

Such was the power of his Doctrine, and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half) it is said, he converted his Keeper, his Daughter, and other of his household. Also the self that were with him confert in the Cattle reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The Procurator General, the Emperors Attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was *Homo doctus, pius & bonus*, that is, a learned, a good and a godly man.

The same Morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a Letter to the Keeper of the Cattle which the Keeper himself brought to the House of the forefald Pointz in Antwerp, shortly after; which Letter with his Examinations and other his Disputations, I would might have come to our hands; all which I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the Keepers Daughter. For so it is of him reported, that as he was in the Cattle Prisoner, there was much writing, and great Disputation to and fro, between him and them of the University of Lovain (which was not past nine or ten Miles from the place where he was Prisoner) in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his Doctrine.

Gods commendation upon Philips the betrayer of Tindal.

Of Judas that betrayed Christ it is written, *That he returned the Money again to the Pharisees, and afterward hanged himself.* So Philips this miserable Traitor, after he had bin received of Tindal, and borrowed money of him, and yet betrayed him and pursued him to death; albeit he rejoiced a while after that he had done it, yet the saying to goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent blood, but was consumed at last with Lice.

The worthy virtues and doings of this blessed Martyr, who for his painful travels, and singular zeal to his Country, may be called in these our days, an Apostle of England, it were long to recite. Among many other, this because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought not in silence to overskip, which hath unto me been credibly testified by certain grave Merchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact; and men yet alive. The Story whereof is this.

There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a company of Merchants, as they were at Supper, a certain Jugler, which through his Diabolical Enchantments of Art Magical, would fetch all kind of Viands, and Wine from any place they would, and set it upon the Table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this Jugler being much talked of, it chanced that as Master Tindal heard of it, he desired certain of the Merchants, that he might also be present at Supper, to see him play his parts.

The cover of Gods Service against the Devil.

To be brief, the Supper was appointed, and the Merchants with Tindal were there present. Then the Jugler being required to play his feats, and to shew his cunning, after his wonted boldness began to utter all that he could do, but all was in vain. At the last with his labour, sweating and toying, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confess, that there was some man present at Supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the Martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the Miracles of true faith, if Miracles were now to be desired.

Mr Tindals Works looked for to be all set out in one Volume.

As concerning the Works and Books of Tindal, which extend to a great number, thou wast told before, loving Reader, how the Printer hereof minded, by the Lords leave, to collect them all in one Volume together, and put them out in Print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at this time be needful to make any several rehearsal of them.

And as touching his Translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending it to be so full of Heresies, to answer therefore to their slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt hear and understand, what faithful dealing, and sincere Conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words written in the Epistle to John Frith as follow-

eth, *I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me, &c.*

KING I Hra. 8. f The faithful dealing of Tindal in translating the New Testament.

And as ye have heard Tindal's own words thus protesting for himself, now let us hear likewise the faithful testimony of John Frith, for Tindal his dear companion and Brother, thus declaring in his answer to Master More, as followeth:

The Testimony of John Frith in his Book of the Sacrament, concerning William Tindal.

AND Tindal I trust liveth, well content with such a poor Apostles life, as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful Ministers in this World, which is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the Bishops in England. I received a Letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein among other matters he writeth this, *I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my Conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches might be given me.*

The testimony of J. Frith, for Tindal.

The words of Tindal written to J. Frith.

Moreover, I take God to witness to my Conscience, that I desire of God to my self in this World, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his Laws, &c. Judge, Christian Reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful clear innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin, howbeit no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart. Thus much out of Frith.

And thus being about to conclude and finish with the life and story of William Tindal, it shall be requisite now that the Reader do hear something likewise of his supplications made to the King and Nobles of the Realm, as they are yet extant in his works to be seen, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenor whereof readeth to this effect as followeth.

Ex lib. Tind. as great Prelates.

Tindal's Supplication to the King, Nobles and Subjects of England.

I beseech the Kings most Noble Grace, well to consider all the ways, by the which the Cardinal, and our holy Bishops have led him since he was first King, and to see whereunto all the pride, pomp and vain boast of the Cardinal is come, and how God hath refilled him and our Prelates in their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have medled yet with all matters, and have spent for our Prelates causes, more than all Christendom, even unto the utter beggering of our selves, and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all Nations, and a mock and a scorn of them whom we have most holpen. For the Frenchmen (as the saying is) of late days made a Play, or a Disguising at Paris, in which the Emperor danced with the Pope, and the French King, and wearied them; the King of England sitting on a high Bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, *that he sat there but to pay the Minstrels their wages.* As who should say, we paid for all mens dauncing. We moved the Emperor openly, and gave the French King double and treble secretly; and to the Pope also. Yea, and though Ferdinandus had money sent openly to blind the World withal, yet the saying is through all Dutchland, that we sent money to the King of Pole, &c.

Tindals Supplication to the King and Nobles of England.

The King of England pays for all.

Furthermore, I beseech His Grace also to have mercy of his own soul, and not to suffer Christ and his holy Tefament to be persecuted under his name any longer, that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefly drawn.

The 2d Pt. of Tindal.

KING Thirdly, My Petition is to his Grace, to have compaffion on his poor fubjects, that the Realm utterly periff with the wicked counfel of our petulant Prelates. For if his Grace, which is but a man, fhould die, the Lords and Commons not knowing who hath moft right to enjoy the Crown, the Realm could not but ftand in great danger.

The fourth Petition of Tindal. My fourth fuit and exhortation is to all the Lords Temporal of the Realm, that they come and fall before the Kings Grace, and humbly defire his Majesty to fuffer it to be tried, who of right ought to fucceed : and if he or the fail, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly : and let all the Lords Temporal be fworn thereto, and all the Knights, and Squires and Gentlemen, and the Commons above eighteen years old, that there be no ftrife for the Succellion. If they try it by the fword, I promife them, I fee no other likelihood, but it will coft the Realm of England, &c.

The fifth Petition of Mr. Tindal. Further, of all the fubjects of England this I crave, That they repent. For the caufe of evil rulers is the fin of the fubjects, as teftifieth the Scripture. And the caufe of falfe Preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, faith Paul, in the fecond Chapter of the fecond Epiftle to the Theffalonians. We be all finners an hundred times greater than that we fuffer. Let us therefore each forgive other, remembering the greater finners, the more welcome if we repent, according to the fimilitude of the riotous Son, Luk. 15. For Chrift died for finners, and is their Saviour, and his blood their treafure, to pay for their fins. He is that fattened Calf which is flain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent and come to their Father again : and his merits is the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their fins.

Finally, if the perfecution of the Kings Grace, and other Temporal perfons confpiring with the Spiritually, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes fhall be opened fhordly, and they fhall fee and repent, and God fhall fhew them mercy. But if it be of a fet malice againft the truth, and of a grounded hate againft the Law of God, by the reafon of a full confent they have to fin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, wherunto being now paffed all repentance, they have utterly yielded themfelves, to follow with full luft without bridle or fufflage which is the fin againft the Holy Ghoft, then ye fhall fee even fhordly, that God fhall turn the point of the fword, wherewith they now fhed Chriffs blood wherewith to fhed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible.

These things thus difcoursed pertaining to the ftory and doings of Tindal, finally it remaineth to infer certain of his private Letters and Epiftles, wherof among divers other which have not come to our hands, two fpecial he wrote to John Frith, one properly under his own name, another under the name of Jacob, but in very deed was written and delivered to John Frith, being prifoner then in the Tower, as ye fhall further underftand by the fequel hereafter. The Copy and tenour of the Epiftles here followeth.

A Letter fent from Tindal, unto Mafter Frith, being in the Tower.

A Letter of Tindal to Mr. Frith. THE Grace and Peace of God our Father, and of Jefus Chrift our Lord be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved Brother John, I have heard fay, how the hypocrites now that they have overcome that great bufinefs which letted them, or at the leaft way have brought it to a ftey, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all.

Pet. 2. Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit your felf wholly and only unto your moft loving Father and moft kind Lord, fear not men that threat, nor truft men that flatter : but truft him that is true of promife, and able to make his word good. Your caufe is Chriffs Gofpel, a light that muft be fet with the blood of faith. The lamp muft be drefsed and fuffled daily, and that oyl poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be finners, yet is the caufe right. If when we be buffered for well doing, we fuffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God. For to that end we are called. For Chrift alfo fuffered for us, leaving us an example that we fhould fol-

low his fteps, who did no fin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us : therefore we muft alfo lay down our lives for the Brethren. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. For we fuffer with him, that we may alfo be glorified with him : Mat. 5. who fhall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned Rom. 8. like unto his glorious body, according to the working where- by he is able even to fubjeft all things unto him.

Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your foul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Chrift in your mortal body, that it may at his coming be made like to his immortal : and follow the example of all your other dear Brethren, which chofe to fuffer in hope of a better Refurrexion. Keep your confcience pure and undefiled, and fay againft that nothing. Stick at neceffary things, and remember the blafphemies of the enemies of Chrift, faying, they find none but that will abjure rather than fuffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious : for the hypocrites fay, he muft needs die, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times, but feeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and meer malice together, they fpake with their mouths that their confcience knoweth falfe. If you give your felf, caft your felf, yield your felf, commit your felf wholly and only to your loving Father, and then fhall his power be in you and make you ftrong, and that fo ftrong, that you fhall feel no pain, which fhould be to another prefent death : and his fpirit fhall feek in you and teach you what to answer, according to his promife : he fhall fet out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine : yea and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have fworn your death. Una falus viciis nullam fperare falutem : To look for no mans help, bringeth the help of God to them that feem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites : yea, it fhall make God to carry you thorough thicks and thin for his truths fake, in fpite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his hour be come : and when his hour is come, neceffary carrieth us hence though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

Fear not the threatening therefore, neither be overcome of furer words : with which the hypocrites fhall affail you. Neither let the perfuafions of worldly wifdom bear rule in your heart, no, though they be your friends, that counfel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you, let not their vifure beguile your eye. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end fhall be faved. If the pain be above your ftrength, remember, Whatfoever ye fhall afk in my name, I will give it you. And pray to your Father in that name, and he fhall ceafe your pain, or fhorten it. The Lard of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

William Tindal.

TWO have fuffered in Antwerp. In die fanctæ Crucis, unto the great glory of the Gofpel : four at Ryfel in Flanders, and at Luke hath there one at the leaft fuffered, and all the fame day. At Roan in France they were perfecuted. And at Paris are five Doctors taken for the Gofpel. See, you are not alone : be cheerful and remember that among the hard hearted in England, there is a number reserved by Grace : for whofe fakes, if need be, you muft be ready to fuffer. Sir, if you may write, bow fhort foever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our hearts eafe. The Lord be yet again with you with all his plenteoufnefs, and fill you that you flow over, Amen. If when you have read this, you may fend it to Adrian, do I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

George Joy at Candelinas being at Batrow printed two leaves of Genetis in a great Form, and fent one Copy to the King, and another to the new Queen, with a Letter to N. to deliver them : and to purchafe license, that he might fo go thorough all the Bible. Out of this is fprung the ufe of the new Bible : and out of that is the great seeking for English Books at all Printers and Book-binders in Antwerp, and for an English Prief that fhould print.

1 Joh. 3.

boldnefs of faith

would not contemne handling up on things neceffary.

Deftit after they are at by use, are fufficient.

Obedience to God.

To look for no mans help bringeth the help of God to them that feem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites : yea, it fhall make God to carry you thorough thicks and thin for his truths sake, in fpite of all the enemies of his truth.

Perfeverance to the end.

Mat. 24.

Bilney.

Two M. l. four at Ryfel in Flanders, and at Luke hath there one at the leaft fuffered, and all the fame day. At Roan in France they were perfecuted. And at Paris are five Doctors taken for the Gofpel. See, you are not alone : be cheerful and remember that among the hard hearted in England, there is a number reserved by Grace : for whofe fakes, if need be, you muft be ready to fuffer. Sir, if you may write, bow fhort foever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our hearts eafe. The Lord be yet again with you with all his plenteoufnefs, and fill you that you flow over, Amen. If when you have read this, you may fend it to Adrian, do I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

This chanced the ninth day of May.
Sir, your Wife is well content with the will of God, and
would not for her sake have the glory of God hindered.

William Tindal.

Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tindal, sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

The Grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

Another Letter of W. Tindal.

All deeds before they be fulfilled by faith are High Questions to be avoided.

Sacraments without significations to be refused. Mr. Tindal here breatheth with time.

By the office, namely, he meaneth the opinion which Mr. Aquinas and the Schoolmen do hold of the Sacrament.

Mr. Tindal again breatheth with time.

Uniquity cannot be proved. Putting the Whores flesh, is to fust the Popes Church only for the prey and spoil thereof.

Worldly wisdom far as it may serve Gods glory may be used

Early beloved Brother Jacob, mine hearts desire in our Saviour Jesus, is that you arm your self with patience, and be cold, sober, wise and circumspect, and that you keep you a low by the ground, avoiding high Questions, that pass the common capacity. But expound the Law truly, and open the veil of Moles to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all dead under the Law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable, and then as a faithful Minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites: and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all Doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them, I mean the Law of God, and mercy of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refused. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

Of the presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be fore on the affirmative: whether consens or obtinate I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French King. There be in Antwerp that say, they saw him come into Paris with an hundred and fifty Horse, and that they spoke with him. If the French men receive the Word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a Treatise of that matter, but I have kept him at yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to that purpose: My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the promise to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will. For as to believe that God is every where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and verity: even so to believe that the Body of Christ is every where (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his Gospel. You perceive my mind: howbeit if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the Spirituality, to catch themselves in their own subtilty, and trust it is come to pass. And now me thinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profit in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the Whores flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the Rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things unto him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof: refuse it not; and ever among I trust in, that the Scripture may be in the Mother-tongue, and learning set up in the Universities. But if ought be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit your self to God, and be not overcome of mens persuasions: which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth her self, as in you: not the

ibon, and part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep slow by the ground, and walk in those things: that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain: in fear, and not in boldness: in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no: in unity, and not in seditions opinions: inasmuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure you will defer, or say (till other agree with you) Methinks the Text requireth this sense or understanding. Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the Earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to my self in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his Law.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow witted: your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me: remembering, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

Sir, as concerning Purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the Spirituality hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of Gods Word, and alleged a thousand Texts, by reason of which Texts you believed as they taught you, but now you find them liars, and that the Texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer, but are as ye were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it: for without proof you cannot believe them when you have found them with so many liars, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine utmost.

My Lord of London hath a servant called John Tilen, with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and was once my Scholar: he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen: whether he is gone an Ambassador secret I wot not.

The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph, and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephan, be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in our selves, and trust in him: and he is the glory. Amen.

William Tindal.

I hope our Redemption is nigh.

This Letter was written Ann. 1533, in the month of January. Which Letter, although it do pretend the name of Jacob, yet understand (good Reader) that it was written in very deed to John Frith, as is above told thee. For the more proof and evidence whereof, read Friths Book of the Sacrament, and there thou shalt find a certain place of this Epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus, I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my conscience, &c. Which Epistle John Frith himself witnesseth that he received from Tindal, as in his testimony above appeareth.

The death of Lady Katharine, and of Queen Anne.

KING
H. 2.

THE same year in the which *William Tindal* was burned, which was the year of our Lord 1536, in the beginning of the year, first died Lady *Katharine* Princess Dowager, in the month of *January*.

After whom the same year also in the month of *May* next following, followeth the death also of Queen *Anne*, who had now been married to the King the space of three years. In certain Records thus we find, that the King being in his Jests at *Greenwich*, suddenly with a few persons departed to *Westminster*, and the next day after Queen *Anne* his wife was had to the Tower, with the Lord *Rockford* her Brother and certain others; and the nineteenth day after was Beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian Lady at her death were these.

Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to death, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the King, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler, or a more merciful Prince was there never; and to me he was a very good, a gentle, and a Sovereign Lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me. To God I commend my soul: Jesus receive my soul. Repeating the same divers times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off.

And this was the end of that godly Lady and Queen. Godly I call her, for sundry respects, whatsoever the cause was, or quarrel objected against her. First, her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere Faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Besides that, to such as wisely can judge upon cases occurrent, this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that the King the third day after was married in his whites unto another. Certain this was, that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and setting forth of sincere Religion, joyed with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, there have not many such Queens before her born the Crown of *England*. Principally this one commendation the left behind her, that during her life, the Religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

Many things might be written more of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature; how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord would require her Chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatsoever they saw in her amiss. Also how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other Queens, but also the revenues almost of her estate: inasmuch that the Alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, in distribution, is summed to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds. Besides the great piece of money which her Grace intended to impart into four sundry quarters of the Realm, as for a stock there to be employed to the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender she was of Christs Gospel, all the world doth know, and her acts do and will declare to the worlds end. Amongst which other her acts this is one, that she placed *Master Hugh Latimer* in the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and also preferred Doctor *Shaxton* to his Bishoprick, being then accounted a good man. Furthermore, what a true Faith she bare unto the Lord, this one example may stand for many: for that when King *Henry* was with her at *Woodstock*, and there being afraid of an old blind Prophecie, for the which nei-

ther he nor other Kings before him durst hunt in the said Park of *Woodstock*, nor enter into the Town of *Oxford*, at last through the Christian and faithful counsel of that Queen, he was so armed against all infidelity, that both he hunted in the foresaid Park, and also entered into the Town of *Oxford*, and had no harm. But because touching the memorable vertues of this worthy Queen, partly we have said something before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her vertuous life (the Lord so permitting) by other who then were about her; I will cease in this matter further to proceed.

This I cannot but marvel at, why the Parliament holden this year, that is, the twenty eighth year of the King (which Parliament three years before had established and confirmed this Marriage as most lawful) should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and dissolve the said Marriage again as unlawful, being so lawfully before contracted. But more I marvel, why the said Parliament, after the illegitimation of the Marriage Enacted, not contented with that, should further proceed, and charge her with such carnal desires of her body, as to mislead her self with her own natural Brother, the Lord *Rockford*, and others, being so contrary to all nature, that no natural man will believe it.

But in this Act of Parliament lay (no doubt) some great mystery, which here I will not stand to discuss, but only that it may be suspected some secret practising of the Papists here not to be lacking, considering what a mighty stop she was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong Bulwark she was for the maintenance of Christs Gospel, and sincere Religion, which they then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it may be easily considered, that this Christian and devout *Deborah*, could lack no enemies amongst such a number of *Philistines*, both within the Realm, and without.

Again, neither is it unlike, but that *Stephen Winchester*, being then abroad in Embassie, was not altogether asleep. The suspicion whereof may be the more conjectured, for that *Edmund Bonner* Archdeacon of *Leicester*, and their Ambassador in *France*, succeeding after *Stephen Winchester*, did manifestly detect him of plain Papistry, as in the sequel of their Stories, when we come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

And as touching the Kings mind and assent, although at that time, through crafty fletters on, he seemed to be sore bent both against the Queen, and to the dissuading of his own Daughter: yet unto that former Will of the King so set against her then, I will oppose again the last Will of the King, wherein expressly and by name he did accept, and by plain ratification did allow the succession of his Marriage to stand good and lawful.

Furthermore, to all other sinister judgments and opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against that vertuous Queen, I object and oppose again (as instead of answer) the evident demonstration of Gods favour, in maintaining, preserving and advancing the off-spring of her body, the Lady *ELIZABETH* now Queen, whom the Lord hath so marvelously preserved from so manifold dangers, so Royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such vertuous patience, and with such a quiet Reign hitherto, that neither the Reign of her Brother *EDWARD*, nor of her Sister *MARY*, to hers is to be compared, whether we consider the number of the years of their Reigns, or the peaceableness of their State. In whole Royal and flourishing Regiment we have to behold, not so much the natural disposition of her Mothers qualities, as the secret judgment of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and off-spring of that godly Queen.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of *Cardinal Pool*, and of *Fabius Jovius*, that Popish Cardinal, who measuring belike other women by his Courtians of *Rome*, so impudently aboresh his pen in lying and railing against this noble Queen: To answer again in defence of her cause to that *Italian*, I object and oppose the content and judgment of so many noble Protestants and Princes of *Germany*, who being in League before with King *Henry*, and minding no less but to have made him the Head of their Confederation, afterward hearing of the death of this Queen, utterly brake from him, and refused him only for the same cause.

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Hen. 8. cap. 7Parliament
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the death of
Q. Anne.

But

But all this seemeth (as is said) to be the drift of the wily Papists, who seeing the Pope to be repulged out of England, by the means chiefly of this Queen, and fearing always the succession of this Marriage in time to come; thought by sinister practice to prevent that peril before, whispering in the Kings ears what possibly they could, to make that Matrimony unlawful, and all for the disheriting of that succession.

Again, Stephen Gardiner (who was a secret worker against that Marriage, and a perpetual enemy against Lady Elizabeth) being then abroad with the French King, and the great Master of France, crafted not in his Letters, still to put the King in fear, that the foreign Princes and Powers of the world, with the Pope, would never be reconciled to the King, neither should he be ever in any perfect security, unless he undid again such Acts before passed, for the ratification of that succession. Which thing when they had now brought to pass after their own desire, in that both now the Queen was Beheaded, and Elizabeth the Kings Daughter disherited, they thought all things to be sure for ever. But yet Gods Providence still went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the suffering of Queen Anne, the King within three days after, married Lady Jane Seimer, of whom came King Edward, as great an enemy to Gods enemy the Pope, as ever his Father was, and greater too.

In the mean time as these troublous tumults were in doing in England, Paul the third, Bishop of Rome, for his part was not behind, to help forward in his own advantage. Who seeing his usurped Kingdom and seat to be darkened in the Countreies of Germany, and also in England, thought it high time to bestir him: and therefore to provide some remedy against further dangers, appointed a General Council at Mantua in Italy, requiring all Kings and Princes either personally to be there, or else to send their Embassadors under fair pretences, as to suppress Heresies, and to restore the Church, and to war against the Turk, &c. This Bull was subscribed with the hands of fix and twenty Cardinals, and set up in divers great Cities, that it might be known and published to the whole world. Unto the which Bull first the Protestants of Germany do answer, declaring sufficient causes why they refused to resort to that Council, being Indicted at Mantua, in the Popes own Country: Whose Declaration, with their causes grave and effectual, being set forth in print, and in the English Tongue, although they were worthy here to be inserted, yet for brevity, and more speed in our Story, I will pretermitt the same, and only take the Oration or Answer of our King here: wherein he likewise rendereth reasons and causes most reasonable, why he refuseth to come or send at the Popes call to this Council Indicted at Mantua. Whose Oration or Protestation, because it containeth matter of some weight and great experience, I thought good here to express as followeth.

A Protestation in the Name of the King, and the whole Council and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come to the Popes Council at his call.

Seeing that the Bishop of Rome calleth learned men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them Cardinals as he thinketh most meet, and most ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety cast with our selves, what so great a preparation of wits should mean. As chance was, we greeted even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romish subtilties and Popish deceits, that we well and easily judged the Bishop of Rome to intend an Assembly of his adherents and men sworn to think all his lusts to be Laws; we were not deceived. Paul the Bishop of Rome hath called a Council, to the which he knew well either few or none of the Christian Princes could come. Both the time that he Indicted it, and also the place where he appointed it to be, might assure him of this. But whither wander not these Popish Bulls: whither go they not astray? what King is not cited and summoned by a proud Minister and servant of Kings, to come to bolter up errors, frauds, deceits and untruths, and to

set forth this fained General Council? For who will not think that Paul the Bishop of Rome goeth sooner about to make men believe that he pretendeth a General Council, than that he desireth one indeed? No, who can less desire it, than they that do despair of their cause, except they be Judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? We which very fore against our will at any time leave off the procurement of the Realm any Commonwealth, need neither to come our selves, nor yet to send our Procurators thither, no, nor yet to make our excuse for either of both. For who can accuse us, that we come not at his call, which hath no authority to call us?

But for a season let us (as a sort of blindings do) grant that he may call us, and that he hath authority so to do, yet (we pray you) may not all men see, what availeth it to come to this Council, where ye shall have no place, except ye be known both willing to oppress truth, and also ready to confirm and stablish Errors? Do not all men perceive as well as we, with what integrity, fidelity, and Religion, these men go about to discuss matters in controversy, that take them in hand in so troublesome a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit the Commonwealth of Christendom may look for there, whereas Mantua is chosen the place to keep his Council in? Is there any Prince not being of Italy, yea, is there any of Italy, Prince, or other dissenting from the Pope, that dareth come to this assembly, and to this place? If there come none that dare speak for trodden truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvel if the Bishop of Rome being Judge, no man replying, no man gain-saying, the defenders of the Papacy obtain that Popish authority, now quelling and almost fallen, to be set up again?

Is this the way to help things afflict? to redress troubled Religion? to lift up oppressed truth? Shall men this way know, whether the Roman Bishops (which in very deed are, if ye look upon either their Doctrine or life, far under other Bishops) ought to be made like their fellows, that is, to be Pastors in their own Dioceses, and so to use no other power; or else, whether they may make Laws, not only unto other Bishops, but also to Kings and Emperors? O boldness, meet to be beaten down with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul that now Lordeth, or any of his earnestly go about (if they alone, or at the least without any adversary, be thus in a corner assembled together) to heal the sicknesses, to take away the Errors, to pluck down the abuses that now are crept into the Church, and there be bolstered up, by such Councils as now is like to be at Mantua?

Is it very like, that these which prole for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all such things as their forefathers made, only for the increase of money? Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy was called into question, would either in despite of Gods Law maintain their dignity, or to say better, their intolerable pride: Is it like, that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new Canons, whereby they may defend old evil Decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care, either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, soasmuch as England hath taken her leave of Popish crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman Bishops have nothing to do with English people: The one doth not traffick with the other; at the least, though they will have to do with us, yet we will none of their Merchandize, none of their stuff. We will receive them of our Council no more. We have fought our hurt, and bought our loss a great while too long. Surely their Decrees, either touching things set up or put down, shall have none other place with us, than all Bishops Decrees have, that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse them. But lest peradventure men shall think us to follow our senses too much, and that we, moved by small or no just causes, forsake the Authority, Censures, Decrees, and Popish Councils, we thought it best here to shew our mind to the whole world. Wherefore we protest before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever so do, the right and holy Doctrine of Christ. All the Articles of his Faith, no jot omitted, be all so dear unto us, that we should much sooner stand in jeopardy of our Realm, than to see any point of Christs Religion in jeopardy with us.

We

The wily practices of the Papists.

KING
HIS. 3.

The King not bound to come at the Popes call.

Who be they that have place in the Popes Council.

The place of the Council not Indifferent.

No reason that the Pope should be judge in his own cause.

The Bishop of Rome in learning and life far under other Bishops.

Paul the Pope proleth for his own profit.

England taketh her leave of the Pope for ever.

England refuseth the Popes Merchandize.

God Providence still disappointheth the Papists. The King married Lady Jane.

The fear of the Beast darkned Apoc. 16.

For Your Shewdlines

The Kings Protestation why he sends not to the Popes Council.

The Popes craft of it.

KING We protest that we never went from the unity of his Faith, neither that we will depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our lives, than any Article of our belief shall decay in England. We which in all this cause seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a General Council; no, we promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the setting up of trodden truth, and troubled Religion, in their place again, and to do all that shall lie in us, to finish such controversies as have a great while too long vexed Christendom. Only we will all Christian men be admonished, that we can suffer no longer that they be esteemed willing to take away errors, which indeed, by all the ways their wits will serve them, go about this alone, that no man, under pain of death may speak against any error or abuse.

We would have a Council, we desire it, yea, and crave nothing so oft of God, as that we may have one. But yet we will that it be such, as Christian men ought to have, that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may say his mind. We desire that it be an holy Council, where every man may go about to set up Godliness, and not apply all their study to oppressing of truth. We will it be general, that is to say, kept at such time, and in such place, that every man which seeketh the glory of God may be present, and there frankly utter his mind: For when it shall seem general, either when no man that dissenteth from the Bishop of Rome is compelled to be from it; or when they that be present are not letted by any just terror, to say boldly what they truly think: for who would not gladly come to such a Council, except it be the Pope, his Cardinals, and Popish Bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, whereas the chief point that is to be handled in this Council is the Popes own cause, power and primacy, to grant that the Pope should reign, should be Judge, should be President of this Council? if he, which indeed can never think himself able to defend his cause before any other Judge, be evermore made his own Judge, and so Controversies not decided, but errors set up, what can be devised in the Commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth, than General Councils?

And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogance, by what law, power, or honest title take they upon them to call Kings, to summon Princes to appear, where their Bulls command them? In time past all Councils were appointed by the authority, consent and commandment of the Emperor, Kings and Princes; why now taketh the Bishop of Rome this upon him? Some will say, It is more likely that Bishops will more tender the cause of Religion, gladlier have errors taken away, than Emperors, Kings and Princes. The world hath good experience of them, and every man seeth how faithfully they have handled Religious matters. Is there any man that doth not see how virtuously Paul now goeth about by this occasion to set up his tyranny again? Is it not like that he chooseth such a time as this is, to keep a Council, much intendeth the redress of things that now are amiss? that he seeketh the restoring of Religion, that now calleth a Council, the Emperor and the French King, two Princes of great power, so bent to wars, that neither they, nor any other Christian Prince can, in a manner, do any thing but look for the end of this long war? Go too, go too Bishop of Rome, occasion long wished for offereth her self unto you; take her, the openeth a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your Cardinals, your own creatures, shew them that this is a jolly time to deceive Princes in.

O Fools: O wicked men! May we not justly so call you? Are ye not Fools, which being long suspected, not only of Princes, but of all Christian people in a manner, that in no case you could be brought to a General Council, plainly they the whole world, that by these your concillables, your hutter mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawful Catholick and General Council? Are you not wicked, which so hate truth, that except she be utterly banished, ye will never cease to vex her? The living God is alive, neither truth his darling, he being alive, can be called to so great shame, contumely, and injury: or if it may be called to all this, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that grievously lamenteth not, men to be of such shameful boldness, to shew apertly that they be

enemies unto Christ himself? On the other side, who will not be glad to see such men as foolish as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light supposition, as it hath been hitherto, that you intend no reformation of errors, but every man seeth before his eyes your deceits, your wicked minds, your immortal hatred that ye bear against the truth. Every man seeth how many miserable Tragedies your pretence of an unity and concord hath brought into Christendom? they see your fair face of peace hath served Sedition, and troubled almost all Christian Realms. They see ye never oppugn Religion more, than when ye will seem most to defend it. They be sorry to see that great wits a long season have spent their whole strength in defence of deceits: Reason to put his whole power to the promoting of pride and ungodliness; Virtues to serve vices: Holiness to be slave to Hypocrisie; Prudence to subtilty: Justice to tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now fighteth for it self, and not against it self. They be glad that God is not compelled to be against God: Christ against Christ. They be glad that subtilty hath done no more hurt to Religion in time past, than now constancy doth good to truth. They see the marks that ye have shot at in all your Councils past, to be lucre, money, gains. They see you sought your profit, yea, though it were joined with the slaughter of truth. They see, ye would ever that sooner injury should be done to the Gospel, than that your authority, that is to say, arrogant impudency should in any point be diminished.

And we pray you, what say Paul the Bishop of Rome seem now to go about, which seeing all Princes occupied in great affairs, would steal (as he calleth it) a General Council? what other thing, than hereby to have some excuse to refuse a General Council hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of Religion shall be given unto Princes of Christendom? He will think he may then do as Princes now do. He will think it lawful not to come then, because Princes now come not. We pray God that we ever brawle not one with another in Religion: and whereas dissention is amongst us, yet for our parts do say, that we, as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then we may have both time and place to settle Religion. For except first Princes agree and so (war laid aside) seek peace, he loseth his labour that seeketh a General Council. If the Bishop of Rome may keep his Council while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty Decrees? If they which would come if they had leisure, be absent, and we, which though we safely might come, will not lose any part of our right; throw you, in all our absence, that the Bishop of Rome will not handle his profit and Primacy well?

Paul, how can any of ours not refuse to come to Mantua, through so many perils, a City so far set from England, so nigh your friends, kinsmen, and adherents? Is he not unworthy of life, that where he may tarry at home, will pass through so many jeopardies of life? Can he which cometh to Cremona, a City not far from Mantua, be safe if he be taken not to be the Bishop of Romes friend, that is, (as the common sort of deceived people doth interpret) an Heretick? And if there come to Mantua such a number as would furnish a General Council, may not Mantua seem too little, to receive so many guests? Put these two together, all the way from England to Mantua is full of just perils, and yet if ye escape all those, the very place where the Council is kept is more to be suspected, than all the way. Do ye not know all Civil Laws to compel no man to come to any place, where he shall be in jeopardy of his life all the way? We have no safe conduct to pass and return by the Dominions of other Princes, And if we had a safe conduct, yet should not we be charged with rashness, that where just terror might have dissuaded us from such a journey, we committed our selves to such perils? Surely, he that the time being as it is, things hanging as they do, will go from England to Mantua, may be careless, if he lack not wit: sure of his own arrival, or return from thence he cannot be. For who doth not know how oft the Bishops of Rome have plaid false parts with them, that in such matters have trusted to their late conducts? how oft have they caused by their Perfidie

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The Pope enemy to Christ.

The Pope hated against the Truth.

The Pope trouble of all Christi an Realms

The Pope marks where ever he shooerth.

The Pope grate in pulling a General Council.

The time and place presently picked of the Pope.

What an Heretick is among the Papists.

The way so how long and danger

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The fit
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Popes no
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such men to be slain, as they have promised by their faith before, that they should both come safe, and go safe? There be no news, Popes to be false, Popes to keep no promise neither with God nor man; Popes contrary to their Oaths, to defile their cruel hands with honest mens blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

The hatred
of the Pope
against Eng-
land.

We will, these now laid apart, turn our Oration unto such things, as privately touch both us, King Henry the Eighth, and all *Englishmen*. Is it unknown to any man what mind *Paul* the Bishop of *Rome* beareth to us, King Henry the Eighth, to us his Nobility, to us his Graces Bishops, and to us all his Graces subjects, for the pulling down of his usurped power, and proud Primacy; for expelling of his usurped Jurisdiction; and for deliverance of our Realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who seeth not him even inflamed with hatred against us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open enemy, he dissembleth no longer, provoking all men by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our Country. These three years he hath been occupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stir up the Commons of *England*, and corrupting some with money, some with dignities. We let pass what Letters he hath written to Christian Princes: with how great fervent study he hath exhorted them to set upon us. The good Vicar of Christ by his doing sheweth how he understandeth the words of Christ. He thinketh he playeth Christs part well, when he may say as Christ did, *Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium*, I come not to make peace in earth, but to send swords about; and not such swords as Christ would his to be armed withal, but such as cruel manquellers abuse in the slaughter of their neighbours. We marvel little though they vex other Princes off, seeing they recompence our favour shewed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

The Pope
brings
not peace
but the
sword to
the earth;
otherwise
such Christ
did.

Benefits call
away upon
the Pope.

We will not rehearse here how many our benefits bestowed upon *Roman* Bishops be lost. God be with such ungrate Carles, unworthy to be numbred amongst men: Certes such that a man may well doubt, whether God or man hath better cause to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will to them so evil, but they have deserved much worse? We with them this hurt alone that God send them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their feditious intents sooner to shew their great malice towards us, than to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, evermore to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to *Mantua*, and to leave their whelps amongst the Lambs of our flock. VWhen we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then as they would have us now do. No, no, as long as we shall see his heart so good towards us, we must upon his warning we shall well provide to withstand his cruel malice. No, let him now spend his deceits, when they can hurt none but such as would deceive, and are deceived.

The Pope
curies not
England.

They have by sundry ways made us privy, how much we be bound unto them. It went nigh their hearts, to see the judgment of *July*, of *Clement* the Seventh, of *Paul* the Third, nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid, if we should sustain no hurt, because we justly rejected their Primacy, that other Princes would begin to do likewise, and to shake from their shoulders the heavy burdens that they so long have born against Scriptures, all right and reason. They be sorry to see the way stopped, that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can have no passage unto *England*, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to tols, to trouble all men. They can scarce suffer privileges, that is to say, license to spoil our Citizens, given them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorfull custom, to be taken from them. They think it unlawful, that we require things lawfull of them that will be under no Laws. They think we do them wrong, because we will not suffer them to do us wrong any longer. They see their Merchandize to be banished, to be forbidden. They see that we will buy no longer Chalk for Cheefe. They see they have lost a fair fleece, vengeable sorry that they can dispatch no more Pardons, Dispensations, Totquots, with the rest of their baggage and trumpery. *England* is no more a Babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that

The Pope
trumpery
dispatched
out of Eng-
land.

they do foolishly that give Gold for Lead, more weight of that than they receive of this. They pass not though *Peter* and *Pauls* faces be graven in the Lead, to make fools fain. No, we be sorry that they should abuse holy Saints villages, to the beguiling of the world.

KING
HIS. 8.
Gold given
for Lead.

Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority shall be driven out for ever, but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in *England*. We will from henceforth ask counsel from him and his, when we list to be deceived, when we covet to be in error, when we desire to offend God, truth and honesty. If a man may guess the whole work by the foundation, where deceit beginneth: the work, can any other than deceits be builded upon this foundation? VWhat can you look for in this *Manian* Council, other than the oppression of truth and true Religion? If there be any thing well done, think, as every man doth, Bishops of *Rome* to be accustomed to do a few things well, that many evil may the better be taken at their hands. They, when they list, can yield some part of their right. They are content that some of their Decrees, some of their Errors and abuses be reprehended; but they are never more to be feared, than when they shew themselves most gentle. For if they grant a few, they ask many, if they leave a little, they will be sure of a great deal. Scarce a man may know how to handle himself, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea, when they bless him: which seldom do good, but for an intent to do evil. Certainly, come who so will to these shops of deceits, to these Fairs of frauds, we will lose no part of our right, in coming at his call, that ought to be called, and not to call. VVe will neither come at *Mantua*, nor send thither for this matter, &c.

God grant.

The Pope
foundation
to all de-
ceit.

The Pope
doth a few
things well
that many
evils may
the better
Proceed.

The Pope
ought to be
called, and
not to call.

And so the King, proceeding in the said his Protestation, declareth moreover, how the Pope after he had summoned his Council first to be kept at *Mantua*, the three and twentieth day of *May*, Anno 1537, shortly after directed out another Bull, to propagate the same Council to the month of *November*, pretending for his excuse, that the Duke of *Mantua* would not suffer him to keep any Council there, unless he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the Town. And therefore in his later Bull he prorogued this Assembly, commanding Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other of the Spirituality, by the virtue of obedience, and under pain of cursing, to be present, but sheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they should come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named. For as good a Council no where to be called, as where it could not be. And as well no place served him that intended no Council, as all places. And to say truth, much better no place to be named, than to name such as he purposed not to come to; for so should he break no promise which trakteth none. And so going forward in his Oration, toward the later end he thus inferreth by his words of Protestation, saying:

The Pope as
gain pro-
rogues his
Council.

No, we will the Pope and his adherents to understand that which we have oft said, and now say, and ever will say, He nor his hath no authority, nor jurisdiction in *England*. We give him no more than he hath, that is, never a deal. That which he hath usurped against Gods Law, and extorted by violence, we by good right take from him again. But he and his will say, we gave them a Primacy. We hear them well: we gave it you indeed. If you have authority upon us as long as our consent giveth it you, and you evermore will make your plea upon our consent, then let it have even an end where it began; we consent no longer, your authority must needs be gone. If we being deceived by false pretence of evil-alleged Scriptures, gave to you that ye ought to have refused, why may we not, our error now perceived, and your deceit espied, take it again? VVe Princes wrote our selves to be inferiours to Popes. As long as we thought so, we obeyed them as our superiours. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cause to marvel, if we hereafter do not as we did; both the Laws civil, and also the Laws of God, be on our side. For a free man born doth not lose his liberty, no nor hurt the plea, of his liberty, though he write himself a bondman.

Princes as
they gave
the Pope
Primacy, so
they take it
from him a-
gain.

Again,

{ KING } Again, If they lean to custom, we send them to Saint *Cyprian*, which faith, That custom, if truth be not joynd with it, is nothing, but *Erroris vestigium*, that is, An old error. Christ said, *Ego sum via, veritas, & vita*: I am the way, the truth, and life. He never said, *Ego sum consuetudo*, I am the custom. Wherefore, seeing custom serveth you on the one side, and Scripture us on the other, are ye able to match us? In how many places doth Christ admonish you to seek no Primacy, to prefer your selves before no body? No, to be obedient unto all Creatures? Your old Title, *Servus servorum*, evil agreeth with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters so plain: We only desire God, that *Cæsar*, and other Christian Princes, would agree upon some holy Council, where Truth may be tried, and Religion set up, which hath been hurt by nothing so fore, as by general not general Councils: errors and abuses grow too fast. *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram*: Get you learning you that judge the Earth and, excoigicate some remedy for these so many diseases of the sick Church. They that be wisest, do depair of a general Council. Wherefore we think it now best, that every Prince call a Council Provinciall, and every Prince to redress his own Realm. We make all men privy what we think best to be done, for the redress of Religion. If they like it, we doubt not but they will follow it, or some other better. Our trust is, that all Princes will so handle themselves in this behalf, that Princes may enjoy their own, and Priests of Rome content themselves with that they ought to have. Princes as we trust will no longer nourish Wolves whelps, they will subscribe no more to popish pride, to the Papacy, &c.

The Pope's title and his dignity agree not together.

Best that every Prince reform his Realm and erry not for general Councils.

Favour our doings, O Christian Princes. Your honour and ancient Majesty is restored. Remember there is nothing pertaining so much to a Princes honour, as to set forth truth, and to help Religion. Take you heed that their deeds work not more mischief than your vertue can do good, and everlasting War we would all Princes had with this Papacy. As for their Decrees, soarken to them, that if in this *Mantuan* Assembly things be well done, ye take them, but not as authorized by them, but that truth, and things that maintain Religion, are to be taken at all mens hands. And even as we will admit things well made, so if there be any thing determined in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance of their evil grounded Primacy, or that may hurt the authority of Kings, we protest unto the whole world that we neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

Ye have Christian Readers our mind concerning the General Council. We think you all see, that *Paul* and his Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, Monks, Friars, with the rest of the Rabbblement, do nothing less intend, than knowledge and search of truth. Ye see this is no time meet, *Mantuan* no place meet for a General Council. And though they were both meet, yet except some other call this Council, you see, that we neither need to come, nor to fend. You have heard how every Prince in his own Realm may quiet things amiss. If there be any of you that can shew us a better way, we promise with all hearty desire, to do that that shall be thought best for the setting of Religion, and that we will leave our own advices, if any man shew us better. Which mind of ours, we most heartily pray God that gave it us, not only to increase in us, but also to fend it unto all Christian Princes, all Christian Prelates, and all Christian people.

A little before the death of Queen *Ann*, there was a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein was given to the King by consent of the Abbots, all such Houses of Religion, as were under three hundred Markes. Which was a shrewd Prognosticate of the ruine of greater Houses, which indeed followed shortly after, as was and might easily be perceived before of many, who then said, that the low Bulbes and Brambles were cut down before, but great Oaks would follow after.

The Parliams purpose dissipated.

Although the proceeding of these things did not well like the minds of the Popes friends in *England*, yet notwithstanding they began again to take some breath of comfort, when they saw the foresaid Queen *Ann* dispatched. Nevertheless they were frustrate of their purpose (as as is afore shewed) and that double wise. For first, after they had their wills of Queen *Ann*, the Lord raised up another Queen, not greatly for their purpose, with

her Son King *Edward*. And also for that the Lord *Cromwel* the same time began to grow in authority. Who like a mighty Pillar set up in the Church of Christ, was enough alone to confound and overthrow all the malignant devils of the Adversaries, so long as God gave him in life here to continue; whose Story hereafter followeth more at large.

Shortly after this foresaid Marriage of the King with this Queen *Jane Seimer* above mentioned, in the month of *June*, during the continuation of the Parliament, by the consent of the Clergy holding then a solemn Convocation in the Church of *Saint Paul*, a Book was set forth containing certain Articles of Religion necessary to be taught to the people; wherein they intreated specially but of three Sacraments, Baptism, Penance, and the Lords Supper. Where also divers other things were published concerning the alteration of certain points of Religion, as that certain Holidays were forbidden, and many Abbeyes began to be suppressed. For the which cause the rude multitude of *Lincolnshire*, fearing the utter subversion of their old Religion, wherein they had been so long nuzzled, did rise up in a great Commotion, to the number well near of twenty Thousand, having for their Captain a Monk called Doctor *Makereel*, calling himself then Captain *Cobler*; but those Rebels being repressed by the Kings power, and desiring pardon, soon brake up their Assembly. For they hearing of the Royal Army of the King coming against them with his own person there present, and fearing what would follow of this, first the Noblemen and Gentlemen which before favoured them, began to withdraw themselves, so that they were destitute of Captains; and at the last they in writing made certain Petitions to the King, protesting that they never intended hurt toward his Royal Person. These Petitions the King received, and made this answer again to them as followeth.

Queen *Jane* married to the King. Lord *Cromwel* not groweth in authority.

Alteration of Religion a little be- alowed.

Commotion in *Lincolnshire*.

A Monk called Doctor *Makereel*, calling himself then Captain *Cobler*, but those Rebels being repressed by the Kings power, and desiring pardon, soon brake up their Assembly.

The Kings answer to the Rebels.

First, we begin to make answer to the fourth and sixth Articles, because upon them dependeth much of the rest. Concerning choosing of Counsellors, I never have read, heard, or known, that Princes, Counsellors, and Prelats, should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meet, or of ability to discern and choose meet and sufficient Counsellors for a Prince. How presumptuous then are ye the rude Commons of one Shire, and that one the most base of the whole Realm, and of the least experience, to hind fault with your Prince, for the electing of his Counsellors and Prelats, and to take upon you, contrary to Gods Law and Mans Laws to rule your Princes, whom you are bound by all Law to obey and serve with both your Lives, Lands and Goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand.

The Kings answer to the Rebels.

As for the suppression of Religious Houses and Monasteries, We will that ye and all Our Subjects should well know, that this is granted Us by all the Nobles Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, and by all the Commons in the same, by Act of Parliament; and not set forth by any Counsellor or Counsellors upon their meer will and fantasie, as you full fallacy would perfwade Our Realm to believe.

For suppression of Religious Houses.

And where ye alledge, that the service of God is much diminished, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no Houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used, and that doth well appear by their own confessions subscribed with their own hands in the time of their Visitations, and yet We suffered a great many of them (more than we needed by the Act) to stand; wherein if they amend not their living, We fear We have more to answer for, than for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the Hospitality for the relief of the poor, We wonder ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many or the most part hath not past four or five Religious persons in them, and divers but one which spent the substance of the goods of their Houses in nourishing of vice and abominable living. Now what unkindness and unreasonableness may we impute to you and all Our Subjects that be of that mind, which had lever such an unchristian sort of vicious persons should

In these Visitations of Religious Houses, they subscribed that which should be and abominable, and as for the Hospitality for the relief of the poor, We wonder ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many or the most part hath not past four or five Religious persons in them, and divers but one which spent the substance of the goods of their Houses in nourishing of vice and abominable living.

Da thyoy

enjoy such possessions, profits, and emoluments, as grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we your natural Prince, Sovereign Lord and King, which doth and hath spent more of our own in your defences, than six times they be worth?

The Act of Utes.

As touching the Act of Utes, we marvel what madness is in your Brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you to cause us to break those Laws and Statutes which by all the noble Knights and Gentlemen of this Realm (whom the same chiefly touched) have been granted and assented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth you the base Commons of our Realm.

Also, the grounds of all those Utes were false, and never admitted by Law, but usurped upon the Prince, contrary to all Equity and Justice, as it hath been openly both disputed and declared by all the well learned men in the Realm of England, in Westminster-Hall: Whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in that and in the rest, and how unmeet it is for us, and dishonourable, to grant or assent unto, and less meet and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demand the same of your Prince.

The Act of Utes.

As touching the Fifteen which you demand of us to be released, think ye that we be so faint hearted, that perforce ye of one Shire (were ye a great many more) could compel us with your insurrections and such rebellious demeanor to remit the same? Or think you that any man will or may take you to be true Subjects, that first make and shew a loving grant, and then perforce would compel your Sovereign Lord and King to release the same? The time of payment thereof is not yet come; yes, and seeing the same will not countervail the tenth penny of the charges which we have and daily do sustain for your tuition and safeguard, make you sure by your occasions of these ingratitude, unthankfulness, and unkindness to us now administered, ye give us cause (which have always been as much dedicate to your wealth, as ever was King) not so much to set our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion: And doubt ye not, though ye have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of Allegiance to your King and Sovereign Lord, the rest of our Realm (we doubt not) hath, and we and they shall so look on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if according to your former Letters you submit not your selves.

The Act of such fruits.

As touching the First Fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by Act of Parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our Subjects: And we have known also that ye our Commons have much complained also in times passed, that the most part of our Goods, Lands, and possessions of this our Realm, were in the spiritual mens hands; and yet bearing us in hand that ye be as loving Subjects to us as may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your Prince and Sovereign Lord should have any part thereof (and yet it is nothing prejudicial unto you our Commons) but do Rebel and unlawfully Rise against your Prince, contrary to the duty of Allegiance and Gods Commandment. Sirs, remember your follies and Traitorous demeanors, and shame not your native Country of England, nor offend no more so grievously your doubted King and natural Prince, which always hath shewed himself most loving unto you, and remember your duty of Allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your King, both by Gods Commandment and Law of Nature.

Wherefore we charge you with ourselves, upon the foresaid Bonds and Pains, that you withdraw yourselves to your own houses every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our Laws and your Allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to our Lieutenants hands or ours, and you your selves to submit you to such condign punishment, as we and our Nobles shall think you worthy: For doubt you not else, that We and Our Nobles neither can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unrevenge, if ye give not to us place of Sovereignty, and shew your selves as bounden and obedient Subjects, and no more intermeddle your selves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the Realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to Us your King, and such No-

ble Men and Counsellors as we list to Elect and Choose to have the ordering of the same.

[KING] [Ltr. 2.]

And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use your selves towards Us like true and faithful Subjects, so as we may have cause to order you thereafter: and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our Lieutenant, a hundred persons to be ordered according to their demerits, at Our Will and Pleasure, than by your obstinacy, and wilfulness to put your selves, your Wives, Children, Lands, Goods and Chattels, beside the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction, and utter ruine, by force and violence of the Sword.

After the Lincolnshire men had received this the Kings answer aforesaid, made to their Petitions, each mistrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medler, even very suddenly they began to shrink, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in his own house in Peace: But the Captains of these Rebels escaped not all clear, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserved. Ex Ed. Hal.

The commotion of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

After this, immediately within six days upon the same, followed a new Insurrection in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the Insatiation and lying tails of feditious persons, especially Monks and Priests, making them believe, that their Silver Chalice, Croffes, Jewels, and other Ornaments, should be taken out of their Churches, and that no man should be married, or eat any good meat in his house, but should give tribute therefore to the K. But there especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other Counsellors.

The number of these Rebels were near 40000 having for their Badges the five wounds, with the sign of the Sacrament, and Jesus written in the midst.

The Badges of the Rebels. A holy Pilgrimage.

This their devilish Rebellion they termed by the name of a Holy Pilgrimage, but they served a wrong and a naughty Saint. They had also in the field their Streamers and Banners, whereupon was painted Christ hanging upon the Crofs on the one side, and a Chalice with a painted Cake in it on the other side, with other such Ensigns of like hypocrisy and fained sanctity, pretending thereby to fight for the Faith, and right of holy Church.

The Kings power against the Rebels in the North.

As soon as the King was certified of this new feditious Insurrection, he sent with all speed the Duke of Norfolk, Duke of Suffolk, Marquess of Excester, Earl of Shrewsbury, and other with a great Army, forthwith to encounter with the Rebels.

These Noble Captains and Counsellors thus well furnished with habiliments of War, approaching towards the Rebels, and understanding both their number, and how they were full bent to Battel, first with policy went about to assay and practise how to appease all without bloodshedding; but the Northern men, stoutly and furdily standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, would in no case relent from their attempts. Which when the Nobles perceived, and saw no other way to pacifie their furious minds utterly set on mischief, determined upon a Battel. The place was appointed, the day assigned, and the hour set; but see the wonderous work of Gods gracious providence. The night before the day of Battel came (as tellifieth Edward Hall) fell a small Rain, nothing to speak of, but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small Flood, and that men, in manner the day before, might have gone dry-shod over, suddenly rose of such a height, deepness, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabit could tell they ever saw afore; so that that day, even when the hour of Battel should come, it was impossible for the one Army to come at the other.

The blind stubbornness of feditious people, rebelling where they have no cause.

After this, that the appointment made between both of the Armies being thus disappointed (as it is to be thought only by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons that in that deadly slaughter had like to have been murdered) could take no place; then by the great wisdom and policy of the said Captains, a Communication was had, and a Pardon of the Kings Majesty obtained for all the Captains, and chief doers of this Insurrection, and they promised that such things as they found themselves aggrieved withal, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable Petitions granted, and that their Articles should be presented to the King, that by his Highness authority, and wisdom of his Council, all things should be brought to good

A great miracle of God in defeating the cause of his Gospel.

{KING} good order and conclusion; and with this order every man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being letted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.

A domino factum est istud.

Popph
Priests re-
belling a-
gainst the
King.

In the time of this ruffle in *Yorkshire*, and the King lying the same time at *Windfor*, there was a Butcher dwelling within five miles of the said Town of *Windfor*, which caused a Priest to preach that all they that took part with the *Yorkshiremen*, whom he called Gods people, did fight in Gods quarrel; for the which both he and the Priest were apprehended and executed.

Divers other Priests also, with other about the same time committing in like sort Treason against the King, suffered the like execution. Such a business had the King then to rid the Realm from the servitude of the Romish yokes.

Tanta molis erat Romanam evertere sedem.

But Gods hand did still work withal, in upholding his Gospel and trodden Truth, against all seditious stirr, Com-motions, Rebellions, and whatsoever was to the contrary, as both by the Stories afore passed, and by such also as here-after follow, may notoriously appear.

The next year after this, which was of the Lord 1537; after the great execution had been done upon certain rebellious Priests, and a few other Lay men, with certain Noble persons also and Gentlemen, amongst whom was the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Hully*, Sir *Robert Con-fable*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Francis Bygot*, Sir *Stephen Hamelton*, Sir *John Bulmer*, and his Wife, *William Lomley*, *Nicholas Tempest*, with the Abbots of *Gernsey*, and of *Rivers*, &c. In the month of *October*, the same year following, was born Prince *Edward*. Shortly after whole birth, Queen *Jane* his mother, the second day after, died in Childbed, and left the King again a Wid-dower, which fo continued the space of two years together. Upon the death of which Queen *Jane*, and upon the birth of Prince *Edward* her Son, these two Verses were made which follow.

Prince Ed-
ward born.
Queen Jane
died in
childbed.

These ver-
ses were
thought to
be made by
M. Armitage
Wade.

*Phœnix Jane jacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Secula Phœnice nulla tulisse dias.*

Here by the way is to be understood, that during all this season, since the time that the King of *England* had rejected the Pope out of the Realm, both the Emperors, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, with other foreign Potentates (which were yet in subjection under the Pope) bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatso-ver outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking privy setters on, nor secret working amongst themselves how to compass ungracious mischiefes, if God by contrary occasions had not stopped their intended devices. For first the Pope had sent Cardinal *Pool* to the French King, to stir him to War against the Realm of *England*.

The Pope
stirreth war
against
England by
Cardinal
Pool.

Secondly, Whereas the French King, by Treaty of per-petual Peace, was bound yearly to pay to the King of *Eng-land* at the first days of *May*, and *November*, about 25000 Crowns of the Sun, and odd money, and over that ten thousand Crowns at the said two terms, for recompence of salt due, as the Treaties thereof did purport, that pension remained now unpaid four years and more.

The Empe-
ror, the
French
King, and
the King of
Scots, set
against the
King of
England.

Furthermore, the Emperor, and the French King both, retained *Gronsester* a Treacherous Rebel against the King, and condemned by Act of Parliament, with certain other Trai-tors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the King at his earnest sute and request.

The French King also, digressing from his promise and Treaty, made Alliance with the Bishop of *Rome*, *Clement*, in marrying the *Dauphin* to his Niece, called *Katherine de Medicee*.

The said French King moreover, contrary to his con-tract made, married his Daughter to the King of *Scots*. All which were prejudicial; and put the King no doubt in some fear and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant Prince) to see the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Scots* fo bent against him.

And yet all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defend-ed the justness of his cause against them all. For although the French King was so set on by the Pope, and so linked in marriage with the *Scots*, and lacked nothing now but only occasion to invade the Realm of *England*, yet notwithstanding he hearing now of the birth of Prince *Ed-*

ward the Kings Son by Queen *Jane*, and understanding also by the death of the said Queen *Jane* that the King was a Widdower, and perceiving moreover talk to be that the King would joyn in marriage with the *German*, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demean himself more courteously, labouring to marry the Queen of *Navarr* his Sister to the King.

The Embassadors resident then in *France* for the King, were *Stephen Gardiner*, with Doctor *Thirleby*, &c. Which *Stephen Gardiner* what he wrought secretly for the Popes devotion, I have not expressly to charge him. Whether he fo did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all. But this is certain, that when Doctor *Bonner*, Arch-deacon then of *Leicester*, was sent into *France* by the King (through the means of the Lord *Cromwel*) to succeed *Stephen Gardiner* in Embassy, which was about the year of our Lord 1538, he found such dealing in the said Bishop of *Winchester*, as was not greatly to be trusted, beside the unkind parts of the said Bishop against the fore-said *Bonner*, coming then from the King and Lord *Crom-wel*, as was to be liked.

{Ann.} 1538
Doctor Bonner, the Kings Em-bassador in France.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter diffen-sions between these two, and especially what despitful contumelies Doctor *Bonner* received at the hands of *Win-chester*. For understand good Reader, that this Doctor *Bonner* all this while remained yet, as he seemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the Kings proceedings, and a favourer of *Luthers* Doctrine, and was advanced only by the Lord *Cromwel*. Whole promotions here to rehearse; first he was Archdeacon of *Leicester*, Parson of *Bledon*, of *Derham*, *Cheswick*, and *Cheburton*. Then he was made Bishop of *Heresford*, and at last preferred to be Bishop of *London*. The chief of which pre-ferments and dignities were conferred unto him only by the means and favour of the Lord *Cromwel*, who was then his chief and only Patron, and setter up; as the said *Bonner* himself in all his Letters doth manifestly protest and declare. The Copies of which his Letters I could here pro-duce and exhibit, but for prolonging my Story with superfluous matter. Yet that the world and all posterity may see, how the coming up of Doctor *Bonner* was only by the Gospel (howsoever he was after unkind unto the Gospel) this one Letter of his, which I will here infer, written to the Lord *Cromwel* out of *France*, may stand for a perpetual testimony, the tenour whereof here ensueth.

Doctor Bon-
ner in the
beginning a
favourer of
the truth,
and a Laiber
man.

Lord Crom-
wel and the
only fetted
up of Dr.
Bonner.

Doctor Bon-
ner coming
up was by
the Gospel.

A Letter of Doctor Bonner the Kings Embas-sador resident in France, sent to the Lord Cromwel, declaring the order of his promotions and coming up.

MY very singular especial good Lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commend me unto your honourable good Lordship. And whereas in times past it hath liked the same, without any my deserts or merits, even only of your singular exceeding goodness, to bestow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection upon me so poor a man, and of so small qualities, expressing indeed sundry ways the good effect thereof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby unto your Honourable good Lordship, and thought it always my duty, (as indeed it was) both to bear my true heart again unto your Lordship, and also remembering such kindnes, to do unto the same all such service and pleasure as might then lie in my small power to do.

Out of these
my own
hand writ-
ings.

Doctor Bon-
ner comf-
esseth himself
much bound
to the Lord
Cromwel.

But where of your infinite and inestimable goodness it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of Legation from such a Prince as my So-veraign Lord is, unto the Emperor and French King; and next after to procure and obtain mine advancement to so honourable a promotion as the Bishoprick of *Heresford*; I must here acknowledge the exceeding greatnes of your Lordships benefit, with mine own imbecillity to re-compence it, and say, as *Virgil* Writeth.

Doctor Bon-
ner pre-
ferr'd to the
Bishoprick
of Heresford
by the Lord
Cromwel.

De a

Gracis

Grates persolvere dignas non opis est nostrae.

Surely my good Lord, I neither am, neither shall be able to requite this your Lordships most special kindnes and bountiful goodnes at any time, unless I should use that civil remedy called in Law Acceptation, which great Debtors especially are accustomed to procure to the hands of their Creditors: Whereby yet nevertheless your goodnes, the only doer thereof, should rather be increased, than my duty towards the same thereby diminished. And *cessio Bonorum* (the only extream refuge and help of poor Debtors deviled also in civil) might somewhat help herein, saying that it is not possible that I should come *Ad rem perquam fortunam* (whereupon that remedy is grounded.) whereby I may recompence and requite this Debt worthily.

Acceptation.

Here seemeth to lack some word, but that I would not alter any thing in his own Copy.

So that in conclusion these reſteth this, that unless your Lordships self do looke me, as you have bound me, I shall (and that full gladly) remain continually your most bound-ed Beadman. And Sir I most humbly beseech your good Lordship, in the honour of God, seeing this thing is begun, and advanced only by your goodnes and means, you will to the intent the Act may be wholly your own, stretch out your goodnes, not suffering the rest to be perfected otherwise than by your own hands; wherein as I must and shall acknowledge my self to be exceedingly beholden unto your good Lordship, so shall I the same more esteem and set by, during my life, having so attained it by your only goodnes: And verily, if your good Lordship be not better to me herein than I can (unless it be of your own goodnes) desire you, I know not how I shall be able to overcome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore were right honest and good, yea, and such as one of far better qualities then I was, or am of, ought therewith to have been contented; yet considering that of divers of them, that is to wit, *Leicester, Bledon, Derbam, Cheshwick, and Cheriburton*, the first fruits, tenths, and charges born, I have not received clearly one penny, I am now never a whit the more able to bear the great charges of this.

The promotion of Doct.

I shall therefore herein and in all things else pertaining hereunto, seeing your Lordship is so great a Patron, and will needs bind me forever to be your own (as indeed I will) refer all together unto your goodnes, beseeching you to take the order and disposition of all into your hands. I cannot tell whether the late Bishop standeth bounden for the first fruits, tenths, or other duties which by Statute may be demanded of his Successor, but I fear it greatly, and beseech your Lordship that I may be helpen therein. My charges now here enforce me the more to speak and trouble your good Lordship, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good Lordship, I have of five hundred Crowns remaining forty, bestowed upon Horses, Mules, Mulet, Rayment, and other necessities, standing Debtor to Master *Thirley* nevertheless, and also to Master Dr. *Heyns*, for an hundred Marks, or full upon, to them both. And besides this, such is my chance now at the beginning, divers of my Servants have fallen sick, being in great peril and danger, putting me to no little charges.

Over and besides these displeasures coming unto me by not having their service, and other to keep them, and also wanting mine other Servants in England, which though I have sent for them, yet neither they, neither my Horses or stuff are come, I must and do take patience, trusting it will mend.

Upon the closing up of this Letter, and depeach of this Bearer, God willing I will pack up my gear, and to morrow betime follow the French King, who yesterday departed from *Shambour*, and maketh halt toward *Paris*. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve your good Lordship in health.

At Bloys, the second of September in the evening.

Written by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your Lordships Beadman at commandment.

Edmund Bonner.

Divers other Letters beside this of Doctor *Bonner* remain in writing unto the like effect and purport, which here also I might add for a further demonstration hereof; but this one in stead of many may suffice. Now to our purpose again; which is to declare how this Doctor *Bonner*, in the time of his first springing up, shewed himself a good man, and a fast friend to the Gospel of Christ and to the Kings proceedings: And contrariwise, how *Stephen Gardiner* did hate them both with God and with the King: Also what unkindnes and contumelies the said *Bonner* received at his hands; what rancour and heart-burning was between them; and what complaints the one moved against the other, remaineth consequently by their Writings and Records to be opened. For the more evident demonstration whereof, they that have the Letters of the said Doctor *Bonner*, written from *France* to the King and the Lord *Cromwel*, may right well perceive. And first to note what a Gospeller he was; in his Letter from *Rome* he speaking of his trusty companion, and bearer of his Letters (who was belike Doctor *Heyns*) he giveth this report both of him and of himself; saying,

1 KING

1 Hrs 8. Dr. Bonner all this while shewed himself to be a good man and a good Gospeller.

Rancor and heart-burning. For between the Bishop of Winchester and Bonner.

If this bearer had been so much desirous to please the Emperor, and follow his religion, as he was studious to serve truly your Grace, and to advance the Truth, he had not wanted, &c.

The words of Bonner declaring himself to be a Gospeller.

And Again:

And besides that, he hath not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows, naming him a Lutheran wherein for company I was joyned, such was their goodnes, &c.

Bonner reckoned a Lutheran.

Again, in another Letter written to the Lord *Cromwel*, these words he hath, speaking of his companion Doctor *Heyns*.

Especially for that the said Doctor *Heyns* by his upright dealing herein, and professing the Truth, neither gave thanks nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honest folks to be a Lutheran. The left he pleaseth in Spain, the better argument it is, that his intent was to serve none but the Kings Highnes and the Truth, &c.

D. Bonner & D. Heyns noted for Lutherans.

And furthermore, in another minute writing to the Lord *Cromwel* of *Stephen Winchester*, and of his Churchfulness toward him, thus he saith:

And there I found in Master Doctor *Thirley* much kindness, and in the Bishop of *Winchester* as little, &c.

Winchester against Bonner.

And in the same Letter it followeth:

And if I had received any entertainment of the Bishop of *Winchester*, I would likewise have sent you Word. I thank God I need not, for I had nothing of him, &c.

Also in another Letter the said *Bonner* writing to the Lord *Cromwel* concerning one *Barnabe*, and himself, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of *Winchester*, used these words following:

Stephen Winchester a- gainst Barnabe because the Lord Cromwel favoured him.

Another Letter of Doctor *Bonner* to the Lord *Cromwel*, complaining of *Winchester*, and also declaring how he was promoted by the said Lord *Cromwel*, to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*.

MY very singular especial good Lord, according to my most bounden duty, I commend me right humbly unto your good Lordship, advertising the same, that the nine and twentieth of the last month, about four of the Clock at afternoon, there arrived here *Barnabe* with your Lordships Letters, dated at *Ewrig* the four and twentieth of the same: And thinking that at the said arrival, the Bishop of *Winchester*, M. *Thirley* and I had been all lodged together, where in very deed we had several lodgings, he went straight to the Bishop of *Winchesters* lodging (Master *Thirley* and I being then walking in the fields) and the Bishop incontinently inquired of him, not how the Kings Grace did, as was his duty; but

The Bishop of Winchester as inquired not how the King did.

(as

{ KING } (as Barnabe told me) inquired of him where he left the Kings Grace at his coming away, whether he had brought any Letters for him: whether Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the Court at his departing, and finally what news were in England? To the which questions, when Barnabe had made answer, saying that he left the Kings Grace at *Byrling*, and that Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the Court at his departing, and withal, that he had no Letters from them, nor any other to him, and finally, for the news that the Kings Highness had given me the Bishoprick of *Hereford*: the Bishop (as Barnabe reporteth, and I doubt not but he faith truly) cast down his head, making a plaice mouth with his lip, and afterward lifting up his eyes and hands (as cursing the day and hour it chanced) seemed to evil contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnabe drink, or tarry supper, nor yet further commune with him, but turning from him, called one Master Medow, and shewed him of the same tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heavily, fembly as he doth every thing, that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnabe perceived that I was not there, and then also this comfortable countenance and good cheer made unto him, he went thence and searched for me, who then was walking with Master Thirleby, as is before, and by chance communing with him of the Bishop of *Winchester*, giving him advertisement that he should not be abused by the said Bishop, who I said made him, not for any hearty love I thought he bear unto him, but either in despite of me, to whom he thought it should be greatly displeasing: Or else under colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope him and to serve his own crafty purposes by him. And soon after the departure of Master Thirleby from me, who then went to the Bishop to Supper, I returned towards my lodgings, and by the way met with Barnabe, whose salutation was after that fort, that it caused me to wonder at it, especially I having no expectation or hope of such things as he rehearsed unto me. And surely my good Lord I would not believe him in the thing he told, till I perceived the same by the superscription of your Lordships Letter, which he afterwards delivered unto me: declaring withal (to my great comfort) the prosperous estate of the Kings Highness, and of your good Lordship. Which known, I besought Almighty God to grant the long continuance thereof, and also as was my duty, did give most humble thanks to the Kings Highness, and to your said good Lordship. And hereupon keeping your Lordships Letters still in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Master Thirleby which was in my way, to communicate these my news and great good fortune with him, and not finding him there, I read over your Lordships Letters, sending the same afterward to Master Thirleby, and perceiving by Barnabe, that he had other Letters for me, which he told me he must deliver unto me secretly, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiving them accordingly, did read them over, both that your Lordships second Letter sent to me, and also the other sent to Mr. *Wyat*, &c.

Your Lordships most bounden

Beadesman, and always

at Commandment.

Edmund Bonner.

When the King, by the advice of the Lord Cromwell, and other of his Council had appointed Doctor Edmund Bonner to return from the Emperor, and to be resident in France, in the place of Winchester and of Doctor Thirleby, he sent his Letters to the said Bishop of Winchester, and to Master Thirleby, shewing his pleasure unto them in that behalf, with this Clause in the same Letters contained in express words as followeth.

And where the said M. Bonner wanteth furniture of stuff and plate meet for that Office, Our pleasure is that you M. Thirleby shall deliver unto him by indenture, all the Plate you have of Ours in your custody, and that you my

Lord of Winchester shall furnish him with all such other stuff, as shall be necessary for him, Wherein as you shall do unto us Pleasure, so we shall be content at your return, to satisfy you for the same, &c.

The Bishop of Winchester receiving these Letters from the King, and being loath to come into England (whatsoever the matter was) also hearing that Doctor Bonner should succeed him, his disdainful nature did stomach him exceedingly. But because there was no other remedy but that the Kings commandment must be done, first he sendeth the Kings Letter, with his also to the Emperors Court, unto Master Bonner, and to Doctor Heyns, willing them in all hast to repair to Lyons within two days. Beside these Letters of Winchester, Dr. Thirleby adjoined his Letters also with the like quickness to the said Doctor Heyns and to Bonner, the Contents whereof here followeth.

The Letter of Doctor Thirleby to Doctor Heyns and Bonner.

With my hearty commendations, and the desire of your company, and now so much rather that I shall thereby have a great benefit, viz. the deliverance from trouble to ease, from a strange Country to mine own, from the waiting upon him that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the service of him whose prosperity and love I account as my life; these shall be to pray you to make no less speed hither, than you would make to a good feast when that you are hungry. M. Bonner shall know many things, but when you come I shall tell you more, so that you hasten. Come I pray you, I would fain be at home. I saw not my Master these four months. When as you Master Bonner shall come to Lyons, it shall be good to go to Bonniſe, he is a good money maker; in faith I can write no more, but bid you come heartily, hastily I would have written, and the sooner the better welcome to Lyons, where this was given the last of July.

By him that hath loved you well,

and now will love you better,

if you haſt you hither.

Thomas Thirleby.

At the receipt of these Lettires, Doctor Bonner, and Doctor Heyns did put themselves in a readiness to repair incontinent unto Lyons, thinking there to have found Winchester and Thirleby, according to the purport of their Letters. But Winchester and Thirleby not abiding their coming, made hast away from Lyons to la Barelle; where Bonner, in riding in Post after him overtook him. With whom what entertainment and talk he had, and what accusations he laid to his charge, and what brawling words passed between them, and what great milking Bonner had of him for special causes here in this brawling matter or brawling Dialogue under following may appear, which for thy recreation, and for the further understanding of Winchester's qualities, I with thee loving Reader to peruse and consider.

But first here is to be noted, that the King and the Lord Cromwell, at what time they had appointed Doctor Edmund Bonner to be Resident Ambassador in France, required in their Letters, that he should advertise them by writing, what he did milke in the doings and behaviour of certain persons whom they did then note unto him. Whereupon the said Doctor Bonner sendeth this declaration of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; as followeth.

Out of the
Copy of
Bonners own
Letters by
his own
hand writ-
ing which
I have to
show.

A Declaration sent by Doctor Bonner to the Lord Cromwell, describing to him the evil behaviour of Stephen Winchester, with special causes therein contained, wherefore, and why misliked of him.

Complaints
of Doctor
Bonner a-
gainst Stigh-
Gardiner.

The vain-
glorious
yelde and
ambition
of the Bishop
of Win-
chester.

What expe-
rience Do-
ctor Bonner
of Winchester
gilde.

The can-
kered mal-
lous Ro-
mach of
Winchester.

The Dis-
logue be-
tween Bon-
ner and Stigh-
Gardiner be-
ginneeth.

Winchester
will do no-
thing for
Dr. Bonner.
Doctor
Bonner will
give no
thanks to
Winchester
for nothing.
Winchester
beginneeth
to kinde.

First, I misliked in the Bishop of Winchester, that when any man is sent in the Kings affairs, and by his Highness commandment, the Bishop, unless he be the only and chief inventor of the matter and letter forth of the person, he will not only use many cavillations, but also use great strangeness in countenance and cheer to the person that is sent; over and besides, as small comfort and Counsel as may be in the matter, rather disswading and discouraging the person earnestly to set forward his Message, than boldning and comforting him, as is his duty, with help and Counsel to adventure and do his best therein. The experience whereof I have had my self with him, as well at *Roan*, the first time I was sent to *Rome*, commanded by the Kings Highness to come by him, and at *Marcellus*, the time of the intimation of the Kings protestation, provocation and appeal, as also lately going to *Nice*, touching the general Council, and the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and finally, now last of all, at my return from *Spain*, where neither my diligence in coming to him and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the Kings Letter written unto him in favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard heart, and cankred malicious stomach, but that he would spitefully speak, and unkindly do, as indeed he did, to his great shame and my dishonour, as followeth.

When riding in Post I came to *la Barrella*, a Post on this side *Lyons*, the seventh day of *August*, he being in bed there, I carried till he rising up and making himself ready, came at last out to me, standing and tarrying for him in a second Chamber, and at his coming thither, he said; What! Master Bonner, good morrow. Ah Sir, ye be welcome, and therewithal he put out his hand, and I kissing mine, took him by it, and incontinently after he said; come on, let us go and walk a while into the Fields, and withal drew towards the door, preparing him to walk. To whom I said, I would waite upon him. His going to the Fields (as appeared afterwards) was not so much to walk, as to have a place where he might speak loud, and triumph alone against me calling in his words again, if he spake any amiss, and utterly deny them if that made for his purpose. And by chance, or rather than by good wisdom, afore I went forth, I asked for Master *Thirleby*, and desired I might see him and speak with him. The Bishop that perceiving, and with all that I stuck upon it, he commanded one of his Servants to call Master *Thirleby*, but yet afore his coming the Bishop would not be idle, but said thus to me.

Master Bonner, your servant was yesterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you; In good faith you can have nothing of me. Nothing, my Lord, quoth I, merrily speaking. Marry God forbid, that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trutheth much upon your goodness that hath a great deal. In faith, quoth he, ye shall have nothing of me: Marry, ye shall have of Master *Thirleby* his Carriage, Mules, his Bed, and divers other things, that he may spare, and which he hath kept for you. Well My Lord, quoth I, if I shall have nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for my self otherwise, and provide it where I may get it. And here the Bishop, because I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I would not shew my self greatly contented and pleased, though I received nothing at his hands, he began somewhat to kinde, and asked what I wanted. I told him again, that I wanted all things saving money and good will to serve the Kings Highness.

Tell me one thing, quoth he; that you want. One thing, quoth I? Marry amongst many things that I want, I want *Napery*. That shall ye not need, quoth he, here in this Country: And here he began to tell a long tale,

that none used that but Master *Wallop* and he in the beginning. Which is not true generally. And from this he began to go, defending by his Negatives; my Mules, said he, ye cannot have, for if ye should, I must needs provide other for them again: my Mule clothes ye cannot have, because mine Armes are on them, not meet for you to bear: my Raiment (I being Bishop) that is Negative, not meet for you: And so proceeding forth in the rest, nothing had he for me, and nothing should I have.

And here came Master *Thirleby*, who welcomed me very gently, and after an honest sort: To whom the Bishop rehearseth again his Negatives, and maketh a long this party discourse, bringing in conclusion, for all that he could do, that nothing I should have of him, and this rehearsed he full on end, I am sure above a dozen times, and that with a Pilates voice, so that all his Company, standing more than three or four pair of Burs length off, heard him.

When I saw that he would make no end, but ever rehearsed one thing full, I said to him, My Lord, I beseech you, seeing I shall have nothing of you, but of Master Doctor here, let me give him thanks that deserved it, and trouble you therein no more: But leaving communication therein, let me desire and pray you, that we may commune of the Kings matters. And that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the state thereof, as also of your Counsel in that behalf. The Bishop was so hot and warm in his own matters, that he would not hear, but needs would return again, and shew why that I could have nothing of him. My Lord, quoth I, here is still on End one Tail, which me thinketh, seeing that I understand it, ye need not lo off to repeat it, especially seeing that it cometh always to this conclusion, that I shall have nothing of you. Ye lie, quoth he, I said not so. I report me, quoth I, to Master *Thirleby* here present, whom I shall desire to bear record of your fad and discreet honest behaviour with me. I say you lie, quoth he: My Lord, quoth I, I thank you.

I do not say, quoth he, that ye shall have nothing of me; but I say you can have nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diversity between these two manners of speaking: I can spare nothing unto you, and therefore ye shall have nothing; and though I can spare you, yet you shall have nothing; for in the one is an honesty in the Speaker, which would, if he could do, pleasure; and in the other there lacketh that honesty.

My Lord, quoth I, to examine whether I shall have nothing, because ye can spare nothing; or shall have nothing, though ye have plenty, because ye will I shall have nothing, it shall not much help me in my journey. Wherefore seeing you bide upon this, I shall have nothing, I thank you for nothing, and provide otherwise for my self. Turd in your teeth, quoth he, and provide as ye will. Bishop-like spoken, by my Faith, quoth I, and well it becometh you to speak thus to me. Ye marry doth it become me, quoth he, and repeating the words again, said with a sharp accent, Have nothing of me? Turd in your teeth. Well my Lord, quoth I, this needeth not, saving that ye have a full stomach, and your wit abroad, willing hereby to ease your stomach against me. Ye marry, quoth he, it needeth for me, though it needeth not for you, for I intend, quoth he, I would ye should know it, to justify my self to the King in all things. If ye do so, quoth I, ye shall do the better. Nay, quoth he, I do it, and will do it. Well, quoth I, ye are the more to be commended, if ye so can do. Yes, quoth he, I can do it.

Now, by my Troth, quoth I, seeing the Kings Highness hath written so tenderly for me unto you, as appeareth by his Highness Letters that his Grace hath done; me thinketh, ye having so great plenty of all things, and I do great need thereof, coming Post, as I do, ye go about as evil to justify your self to the King, as any one that I have seen. And I wis my Lord (quoth I) I would have reckoned, that coming as I do come, I should have been both better welcome, and better intreated of you, than now I am, if it had been for no other respect, than because I am an English man.

I shall tell you, quoth he, for the Kings sake ye may look to have; but for your own sake ye get nothing. Well, quoth I, then having nothing, I will give no thanks at all, and having anything, I shall give thanks to the King.

KING
Hm. 8. 1

Winchester
that is Negative.

The Pilates
voice of
Win.

Stigh-
Gardiner more
reflective to
his own
matters
than to the
Kings af-
fairs.

Ye the quoth
Winchester.

Winchester
old English
tation.

Bishop-like
spoken.

The melli-
lous and
heavy moun-
ed words
of Winches-
ter to Bon-
ner.

The stomach
of Stigh-
Gardiner
against Bon-
ner.

King

KING
1528.8.

The like
trembling
and leaping
of his Veins
and Flesh
for anger
did M. Bon-
ner also
note in this
Gardiner
disputing
with him
in Germany.
Vide Saecr.

de Caliban.
Steph. Gen.
dove-like
leaz-like.

All the
company
astounded
of Gardiner's
talk.

Brilliant
for nothing.
The fightful
look of
Winchester.

Steph. Gen-
erous for
Malice, and
Dislike,
and Pride,
compared
by Bonner
to the De-
vil of Hell.

Winchell.
puzzled
Bonner to
his distress
for provi-
sion.

King, and none to you. I tell you, quoth he, ye get nothing. And I tell you again, quoth I, that I will thank you for nothing: and here the Flesh of his Cheek began to swell and tremble, and he looked upon me as he would have run through me, and I came and stood even by him, and said, Trow you, my Lord, quoth he, that I fear your great looks? Nay faith do I not. Ye had need to get another stomach to what upon, than mine, and a better Whetstone than any ye have. For, I assure you, you shall not whet me to your purpose: and if ye knew how little I do set by this unloving and indiscreet behaviour of yours, you would not use it upon me. And I shall tell you, quoth I, if I were not bridled, and had other respects both to the Kings Highness my Sovereign Lord, and also unto other that may command me, I would have told you ere this time my mind after another sort. Tell me, quoth he, Tuid in your Teeth. Well my Lord, quoth I, ye would, I perceive by you, and by your words, provoke me to speak as undifferently and beddelily, as ye do. But surely ye shall not, howsoever ye shall speak. But this will I tell you, I shall shew how I am handled of you. Mary spare not, quoth he. Well my Lord, quoth I, you have here full well plaid the part of a Bishop, and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious anger and choler, ye can make all the company here about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they are. And for my part, if ye your self be not ashamed, or coming to your self (for now your anger is such that you hear not your self) be not displeased, I shall be ashamed, and pity this your doing without wilddom, and the oftener ye use this manner, the more shall it be to your dishonour.

Lo, quoth he, how fondly he speaketh, as who saith, I were all in the blame. Will ye not hear, quoth he, this well? Man? My Lord, quoth I, I would you could hear with indifferent Ears, and see with indifferent Eyes your self. Ye have made a brabbling here for nothing, and would that I should give you thanks for that thing which Master Thirleby hath done for me, I look for no thanks of you, quoth he, and said withal, looking spitefully, that he knew me well enough; and that he was not deceived in me. Well quoth I, and me think I know you well enough too, wherefore as ye say you are not deceived in me, so I trust I will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, Sir, quoth I, because ye say ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceived in me, How do you know me? for honest and true, or otherwise? If you do, say it, and I shall make answer.

I could not drive him to answer hereunto; so that I suppose, either of his own naughty Nature he hath made me an image after his own fantastic, or else believed the report of such in conditions, as he is himself, who in malice, I suppose, and disdain may be compared to the Devil in Hell, not giving place to him in Pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the provision of the M. Crowns. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while afore they would come out: and further I said, That seeing they had been *simpliciter* given to me, I would never thank him for them, but the Kings Highness: And I said, That if they were twenty thousand, he should break so many sleeps afore he should have any part thereof, intreating me as he did. Well, quoth he, you have them. That is truth, quoth I, and nothing thankful to you.

Why then, quoth he, seeing you have here divers things of M. Thirleby, and all other things are *parabilia pecunie*, which you have, you may make thereby good provision for your self. That is truth, quoth I, and that can I and will do, though you tell me not, seeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at Lyons for all things necessary, if ye without necessity had not made that great haste to depart thence, informing me thereby to follow you. And yet, quoth I, one thing may I tell you: ye are very delicious I should be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at Lyons one Horse that Francis had provided for me, and also your servant Mass having an Horse to sell, and knowing my need, by your consent hath sold his Horse to a stranger, rather than he would sell him to me. So that nothing suffering me to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and go about to make, you well declare how

heartily you desire I should be provided for. In faith (quoth he) chuse you, ye may provide if you will; and seeing your journey hither from Lyons is vain, you may thither return again, and make there provision for your self. I thought, quoth he, departing from Lyons, to have made easie journies, and to have followed the Court till you had come, and now come you quitting in Poit, and trouble all. I came forth in Poit, quitting in Poit, and the commandment of the King my Master, and had liberty to return at pleasure by his Graces Letters, and seeing that I had no Horses for the journey, me thought better to ride in Poit than go on foot. Well, quoth he, I will not depart hence this twelve month, except ye be otherwise provided. Provided (quoth I) I must tarry till I may be provided of Horses, if ye speak of that provision: and seeing that this riding in Poit grieveth you, I causeth me to think you are loth to depart, and angry that I should succeed you. I have here already two Gowns and a Velvet Jacket, so that you shall not be letted an hour by me.

I tell you, quoth he, ye shall otherwise provide, or else I will not depart. For I tell you, quoth he, though you care not for the Kings Honour, but wretchedly do live with ten Shillings a day, as ye did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I must and will consider the Kings Honour. And I tell you again, quoth I, I will and do consider the Kings Honour as much as ye at any time will do, and as sorry will be that it should be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I say more to you (quoth I) though ye may spend far above me, I shall not stick if any thing be to be spent for the Kings Honour, to spend as liberally as you, so long as either I have it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever informed you of the wretchedness and spending scarcely of my companion and me in the parts where we have been, made a false lye, and ye shew your wilddom full well in so lightly believing and rehearsing such a tale.

I cannot tell, quoth he, but this was openly rehearsed by Master Briens servants at my Table. Yea, was? (quoth I) Yea marry was it, quoth he. Now, by my Troth, quoth I, then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well cast away: for of my Fidelity, that Week that Master Brian and his servants were with us at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and me five and twenty Pounds in the Charges of the House. This they lay, quoth he. Yea, quoth I, and therein they lye. And here I shewed him, that being well settled at Nice, and having made there good and honest provision, to our no little charges, Master Wyat would not rest till he had gotten us to Villa Franca, where even upon the first words of Master Hayns, he was right well content to take of us twenty Shillings by the day. Which was not during ten days; where at his coming to us to Nice, himself and all his servants, and then tarrying with us two days, we took not one penny of him. And moreover, at the departing of Master Wyat from Villa Franca, in Poit into England, we found our selves, our Servants, all Master Wyat's Servants, to the number of sixteen, all his acquaintance, which Dinner and Supper continually came to us, sometime twelve, sometimes ten, and when they were least, six or eight, and for this had not one penny of Master Wyat, and yet at our coming from Barcelona, where we tarried about eight days, we gave to Master Wyat twenty eight Pounds, and to his Servants five Pounds, besides forty Shillings that privately I gave to some being of gentle fashion, out of mine own Purse: so that I told him, it was neither Master Wyat, nor Master Hayns, that found us and our Servants, but we prayed for the finding of them, and here it chanced to us to have all the charge, and other Men to have all the thanks.

The Bishop when he heard this was amazed, and stood still, finally saying, By my Troth, quoth he, I tell you as it was told me, and Master Doctor here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea, and I will tell you more, quoth he, They said that Master Hayns, would have been more liberal a great deal, if you had not been. Now by my Troth, quoth I, I shall therein make Master Hayns, himself Judge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath been between him and me therein.

The church
list dealing
of Win-
chester.

Brilliant
sugary face
Bonner
should have
seen him.

Winchell
reproved to
his face of
falsehood.

The Bishops of Winchester would read.

Winchester regarded not the Kings Letters.

Bonner could not be driven to silence.

Doctor Bonner takes his leave of Winchester.

Winchester goes as will come upon him at last.

Winchester's offer to Bonner refused.

Winchester and Bonner depart.

Another king of Winchester and Bonner.

Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the Bishops wild Head, I held my peace; and by and by was he in hand again with them as hot as ever he was. My Lord (quoth I) I desired ere while your Lordship to make an end of this Communication, wherein the longer ye talk, the more ye make me believe that you would (where ye have spoken undirectly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the Kings Letters) with multitude of words, and great countenance I should think ye had not done amiss. But surely you lose your labour, for ye shall never make me think that ye are desirous to do me pleasure, neither for mine own sake, nor for the Kings. For if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine own sake, as I have for the Kings sake, that is nothing at all.

Here both of us were talking together; but I held on still, and ever enforced him to this: My Lord, quoth I, this is the thing that I shall only desire of you: That where the Kings Grace hath here in the French-Court divers affairs (as I take it) ye would therein instruct me in the state thereof, and give me your best counsel and advice: and this I protest unto you, that if ye this will do, I will attentively hear you: and if ye will not, I shall with pain hear you in your other things, but I will make no answer at all.

For all this the Bishop ended not; but in conclusion, when he saw by no means that he could induce me to answer, he returned homewards, and I brought him unto his Lodging and Chamber.

It being Dinner-time, and all things provided, and standing afore him, and he turning his back from me into a Window: I at his turning towards me again, put off my Bonnet, and said, God be with you my Lord. He gave no answer to me at all, nor countenance, but suffered me to go. Whereupon returning to my Lodging, which was in Master Thirlebies Chamber, I caused my Dinner to be provided, and when it was almost ready, the Bishops Steward, called Myrrel, came for me (whether sent from the Bishop or not, I cannot tell) and I told him my Dinner was provided for, and withal, that my Lord his Master had given me such a Breakfast, that I need no Dinner nor Supper, and so the Steward, drinking with me, returned again, and I went to Dinner at Master Thirlebies Lodging, and after Dinner I went to the Bishops Lodging, who at my coming, very gently put off his Bonnet, and so we walked together quietly a while, and shortly after, the Bishop began after this manner: Master Bonner, to day we communed of provision for you, and because ye shall lay no blame upon me, I will tell you what I will do for you, I will provide and make ready for you, Mules, Mulets, Horses, Servants, Money, yea, and all things that shall be necessary.

My Lord, quoth I, here is a large offer, and a great kindness come upon you; I marvel, quoth I, that I could hear nothing of this to day in the Morning. I tell you, quoth he, this will I do, for know you, that I will consider the Kings honour and pleasure, and doubt not but the King will pay me again. My Lord, quoth I, I have sent my Servant already to Lyons, to make provision for me, and I have sent other abroad here in the Town and Country, to do the same: ye shall never need to trouble your self herewith. I will, quoth he, you shall not say another day, that ye could not be provided for. My Lord, quoth I, let me have instructions in the Kings matters, and as for other things I shall not ask of you, because this day ye made me so plain answer. After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at Terrara that night where he intended to be lodged. And so the Bishop bidding me farewell, took soon after his Horse, riding to Terrara to Bed.

And by the way I overtook him, and passing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to Terrara, lodging at the Post-House, and even as the Bishop came into the Town, stood at the Post-House-door: To whom the Bishop said, We shall see you soon, Master Bonner. Yea, my Lord, quoth I, thinking that thereby he had desired me to Supper, and at Supper-time I went to his Lodging, having other to eat my Supper at home, and glad he appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all Supper-while, but nothing at all yet speaking to me, or giving any thing to me, saving at the

coming of the Fruit, he gave me a Pear, I crow, because I should remember mine own Country. After Supper, he walked, taking Master Thirleby with him, and I walked with an Italian, being Embassador for the Count Mandula, and after a good space he returned, and bade the Bishop good night.

I did not after that night Dine or Sup with the Bishop, till he came to Burges in Berry, whereupon the depeach of Frances, and closing up of our Letters sent to the Kings Highness, the Supper was so provided, and set upon the Board, and the Bishop in washing, standing so between me and the Door that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I should walk with him and Sup, and I suppose all the way from Barella to Blois, he talked not above four times with me, and at every time saving at Molyns (where he by mouth told me somewhat of the Kings affairs here in France) and at Veronne (when he answering to my requests in writing, delivered me his Book of his own hand for mine instructions, the Copy whereof is now sent herewithal) there was quick communication between us. His talking by the way was with Master Thirleby, who I think knoweth a great deal of his doing, and will, if he be the Man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordship. I my self was out of credence with the Bishop, not being applicable to his manners and desires.

And surely, as Master Thirleby told me, at his first coming to Lyons, and then speaking with the Bishop, the Bishop seemed to be so well content to return, and so glad of his coming to succeed him, that his flesh in his Face began all to tremble, and yet would the Bishop make Men believe that he would gladly come home. Which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe; for ever he was looking for Letters out of England, from M. Wallop and Master Brian, whom he took for his great Friends; and Master Myrrel himself reckoned, that the Bishop should have come into Spain, or else my Lord of Dureseme; so that the Bishop of Winchester ever coveted to protect the time, desiring yet withal to have some shadow to excuse and hide himself; as tarrying at Barella, he made excuse by my not coming to Lyons; and coming to Varennes, and there hearing by the Embassadors of the Venetians a lying tale of the going of the French-King towards Bayon to meet the Emperor, by and by he said, Lo, where is Master Diligence now? If he were now here (as then I was that night) we would to the Court and Prefect him, and take our leave. But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to Horse, he was nothing hasty. No, coming to Molyns after him, and there tarrying for him, the French-King lying at Schavenna, three small Leagues off, he made not half the speed and haste that he pretended.

I mislike in the Bishop of Winchester, that he cannot be content that any joined in Commission with him should keep House, but to be at his Table. Wherein either he searcheth thereby a vain-glory and pride to himself, with some dishonour to the King, as who saith, there were among all the Kings Embassadors but one able to maintain a Table, and that were he, or else he doth the same for an evil intent and purpose, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they shall say and do as liketh him alone, which I suppose verily hath been his intent.

I mislike in the said Bishop, that where he for his own pomp and glory hath a great number of Servants in their Velvet and Silks, with their Chains about their Necks, and keepeth a costly Table with excellent Fare, and exceeding Expences many other ways; he doth say, and is not ashamed to report, that he is so commanded to do by the Kings Grace, and that is his answer commonly, when his Friends tell him of his great Charges; and so, under colour of the Kings Commandment and Honour, he hideth his Pride, which is here disdaind.

I mislike in the said Bishop, That he having private hatred against a Man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the Kings Affairs, than relencing in any part of his sturdy and stubborn will, give familiar and hearty counsel (whereby the Kings Highness matters and business may be advanced and set forth) to him that he taketh for his Adversary.

RING. Hm. 8. J Bonner feigns by this Pear to be a Winchester John Mann.

The straits between Winchester and Bonner. Winchester Book of instructions delivered to Bonner. Thirleby and Winchester great together.

Why Bonner was out of credit with Winchester. Winchester Fleth trembled at the first coming of Doctor Thirly to succeed him.

Winchester looks to return into England.

Bonner called Mr. Diligence.

The second complaint.

Winchester would be alone.

The third complaint, the pomp and glory of Winchester.

The fourth complaint, Winchester given more to his own affections than to the Kings Affairs.

[KING] I mislike in the said Bishop, That he ever continually herein in this Court of France, made incomparably more of the Emperors, King of Portugals, Venetians, and Duke of Ferraries Embassadors, than of any French-men in the Court, which with his Pride caused them to disdain him, and to think that he favoured not the French-King, but was Imperial.

I mislike in the Bishop, That there is so great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and such mutual confidence between the said Bishop and *M.* as naughty a fellow, and as very a Papist as any that I know, where he dare express it. The Bishop in his Letters to Master *Wyat*, ever sendeth special Commendations to *Mason*, and yet refuseth to send any to Master *Heyns* and me, being with Master *Wyat*, as we perceived by the said Letters. And *Mason* maketh such foundation of the Bishop, that he thinketh there is none such. And he told me at *Villa Franca*, That the Bishop upon a time, when he had fallen out with *Germain*, so trusted him, that weeping and sobbing he came unto him, desiring and praying him that he would speak with *Germain*, and reconcile him, so that no words were spoken of it, and what the matter was he would not tell me. That young fellow *Germain* knoweth all: and *Presbon*, which is Servant to the Bishop of Winchester, shewed me one Night in my Chamber at *Boys* after Supper, that *Germain* is ever busie in shewing the Kings Letters to strangers, and that he himself hath given him warning thereof. This thing *Presbon* told me the Night before that the Bishop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he considering how the Bishop and I stood, kept him more close, and would say no further.

In this Declaration of Doctor *Edmund Bonner*, above- prefixed, sent to the Lord *Cromwel*, divers things we have to note: First, as touching *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of Winchester, here we have plain demonstration of his vile Nature and peevish Pride, joyined with malice and disdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Doctor *Bonner* aforesaid, shewing six special causes, why and wherefore he misliketh that person, according as he was willed before by the Kings Commandment fo to do.

Secondly, In the said *Stephen Winchester*, this we have also to note and understand, That as he here declareth a secret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his Book *De Obedientia*) to Papistry, joyning part and side with such as were known Papists; so he seemeth likewise to bear a like secret grudge against the Lord *Cromwel*, and all such whomsoever he favoured.

Thirdly, As concerning the fore-named Doctor *Edmund Bonner* the Author of this Declaration, here is to be seen and noted, That he all this while appeared a good Man and diligent friend to the Truth; and that he was favoured of the Lord *Cromwel* for the same.

Fourthly, That the said Doctor *Bonner* was not only favoured of the Lord *Cromwel*, but also by him was advanced first to the Office of Legation, then to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, and lastly, to the Bishoprick of *London*, whom the said Doctor *Bonner* in his Letters acknowledgeth and confesseth to be his only Patron, and singular *Mecenas*.

Which being so, we have in this said Doctor *Bonner* greatly to marvel, what should be the cause, that he, seeing all his setting up, making and preferring came only by the Gospel, and by them of the Gospel-side, he being then so hated of *Stephen Gardiner*, and such as he was, being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the Gospel (as appeared both by his Preface before *Gardiner's* Book *De Obedientia*, and by his Writings to the Lord *Cromwel*, also by helping forward the Printed Bibles at *Paris*) could ever be a Man so ungrateful and unkind afterward, to join part with the said *Stephen Gardiner* against the Gospel (without the which Gospel he had never come to be Bishop neither of *Hereford*, nor yet of *London*) and now to abuse the same Bishoprick of *London*, to persecute that so vehemently which before he openly he defended? Wherein the same may well be said to him in this case, that he himself was reported once to say to the French-King in the cause of *Granconet*: to wit, That he had done therein against his Honour, against

Justice, against Reason, against Honesty, against Friendship, against his own Promise and his Oath so often made, against his own Doctrine and Judgment, which then he professed, against all Truth, against the Treaties and Leagues between him and his letters up, and against all together, and to conclude, against the Salvation of his own Soul.

But to refer this to the Book of his Accoripts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Doctor *Bonner's* Legation. Who being now Embassador in the Court of France (as ye have heard) had given him in Commendation from the King to entreat with the French-King for sundry dry points, as for the Printing of the *New Testament* in English, and the Bible at *Paris*; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the Kings for Goods of Merchants taken and spoiled, for the Kings Prison to be paid; for the matters of the Duke of *Suffolk's*, for certain Prisoners in France; *Item*, for *Granconet* the Traitor, and certain other Rebels to be sent into England, &c. Touching all which Affairs, the said Doctor *Bonner* did employ his diligence and mavel to the good satisfaction and contentment of the Kings mind, and discharge of his duty, in such sort as no default could be found in him, save only that the French-King one time took displeasure with him, for that the said *Bonner*, being now made Bishop of *Hereford*, and bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the King; in the Cause of *Granconet* the Traitor (wherein he was willed, by the advertisement of the Kings pleasure, to wade more deeply and instantly) used these words to the French-King (as the French-King himself did afterward report them) saying, That he had done in deliverance of that foresaid *Granconet* being an English-Man, against God, against his Honour, against Justice, against Reason, against Honesty, against Friendship, against all Law, against the Treaties and Leagues between him and his Brother, the King of England, yea, and against all together, &c. These words of Bishop *Bonner*, although he denieth to have spoken them in that fort and quality, yet howsoever they were spoken, did stir up the stomach of the French-King to conceive high displeasure against him, inasmuch that he answering the Lord Embassador again, bade him write these three things unto his Master.

First, Among other things, That his Embassador was a great fool.

Secondarily, That he caused to be done better Justice there in his Realm in one hour, than they did in England in a whole year.

Thirdly, That if it were not for the love of his Masters, he should have an hundred strokes with a Halbard, &c.

And furthermore, The said French-King beside this, sending a special Messenger with his Letters to the King of England, willed him to revoke and call this Embassador home, and to send him another. The cause why the French-king took these words of Bishop *Bonner* so to stomach (as the Lord Chancellor said) was this: For that the Kings of France, standing chiefly, and in manner only upon their honour, can suffer that in no case to be touched. Otherwise, in those words (if they had been well taken) was not so much blame, perchance, as boldness, being spoken somewhat vehemently in his Masters behalf. But this one thing seemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this Bishop, and many other, that they in earthly matters, and to please terrene Kings, will put forth themselves to such a boldness and forwardness, and in Christs cause, the King of all kings, whose cause they should only attend upon and tender, they are so remiss, cold, and cowardly.

To these Letters of the French-King, the King of England sent answer again by other Letters, in which he revoked and called home again Bishop *Bonner*, giving unto him about the same time the Bishoprick of *London*; and sent in supply of this place Sir *John Walslop*, a great Friend to *Stephen Gardiner*. Which was in February, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540. Here how followeth the Oath of *Bonner* to the King, when he was made Bishop of *London*:

Printing of the New Testament in English and the Bible at Paris.

The difference and truth of Dr. Bonner's Legation.

The words of Dr. Bonner used to the French-King.

The French-King did please with Bishop Bonner.

Bishop Bonner willed to the King this Master three things.

Bishop Bonner commonly bolded in Prisoner matters than in the cause of Christ.

The Oath of Doctor Edmund Bonner, when he was made Bishop of London, against the Pope of Rome.

Dr. Bonner's Oath against the Pope.

YE shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of Authority, Jurisdiction, or Power within this Realm, or any other the Kings Dominion, but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power: and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repate, and take the Kings Majesty to be the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular Acts and Statutes made and to be made within this Realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome, and his Authority, and other Acts and Statutes made and to be made in Reformation and Corroboration of the Kings Power of Supreme Head in the Earth of the Church of England: and this ye shall do against all manner of Persons, of what Estate, Dignity, Degree, or Condition they be, and in no wise do nor attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly: any thing or thing, privily or openly, to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation thereof or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence: and in case any Oath be made, or hath been made by you to any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his Authority, Jurisdiction, or Power, ye repate the same as vain and adulterate: So help you God, &c.

In fidem præmissorum ego Edmundus Bonner, electus & confirmatus Londoniensis Episcopus, huic prædicti Chartæ subscripsi.

Ecclesiastical matters, Anno 1538.

{ Anno 1538 } It will be judged, that I have lingred peradventure too much in these outward Affairs of Princes and Embassadors. Wherefore leaving these by-matters pertaining to the Civil State a while, I mind (the Lord willing) to put my Story in order again, of such occurrences as belong unto the Church, first shewing such Injunctions and Articles as were devised and set forth by the King, for the behoof of his Subjects. Wherein first is to be understood, that the King, when he had taken the Title of Supremacy from the Bishop of Rome, and had translated the same to himself, and was now a full Prince in his own Realm, although he well perceived by the wisdom and advice of the Lord Cromwel and other of his Council, that the corrupt state of the Church had need of Reformation in many things; yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many Papists were to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, and what business he had with them, only about the matter of the Popes Title, he durst not by and by reform all at once (which notwithstanding had been to be wished) but leading them fare and softly, as he might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the Lord Cromwel had lived) and therefore first he began with a little Book of Articles (partly above-touched) bearing this Title: *Articles devised by the Kings Highness to stablish Christian quietness and unity among the People, &c.*

The King and his Council bearing with the weakness of the People.

The Book of Articles devised by the King for quietness of the People, &c.

Articles devised by the King.

IN the Contents of which Book, first he set forth the Articles of our Christian-Creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed of all Men. Then with the Kings Preface going before, followeth the Declaration of three Sacraments: to wit, of Baptism, of Penance, and of the Sacrament of the Altar. In the tractation whereof he

Of three Sacraments.

altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the Church of Rome.

Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our Justification, he declareth, That the only Mercy and Grace of the Father promised freely unto us for his Sons sake Jesus Christ, and the Merits of his Passion and Blood, be the only sufficient and worthy causes of our Justification: yet good Works with inward Contrition, Hope, and Charity, and all other Spiritual Graces and Motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concur also in Remission of our Sins: that is, our Justification; and afterward we being Justified, must also have good Works of Charity, and Obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his Laws and Commandments, &c.

As touching Images, he willett all Bishops and Preachers to teach the People in such sort as they may know how they may use them safely in Churches, and not abuse them to Idolatry, as thus: That they be representatives of Vertue and good Example, and also by occasion may be flitters of Mens minds and make them to remember themselves, and to lament their sins, and so far he permitte them to stand in Churches. But otherwise, for avoiding of Idolatry, he chargeth all Bishops and Preachers diligently to instruct the People, that they commit no Idolatry unto them, in censuring of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

And likewise for honouring of Saints, the Bishops and Preachers be commanded to inform the People how Saints hence departed ought to be revered and honoured, and how not. That is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the Elect Servants of Christ, or rather Christ to be praised in them for their excellent Vertues planted in them, and for their good Example left us, teaching us to live in Vertue and in Goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ, as they did. And also as advancers of our Prayers in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be given unto them, which is only due to God: And so forth charging the said Spiritual Persons to teach their flock that all Grace and Remission of Sins and Salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God only, by the Mediation of our Saviour Christ, who is only a sufficient Mediator for our sins; that all Grace and Remission of sin, must proceed only by the Mediation of Christ and no other.

From that he cometh further to speak of Rites and Ceremonies in Christs Church, as in having Vestiments used in Gods Service, sprinkling of Holy Water, giving of Holy Bread, bearing of Candles on Candlemas-day, taking of Athes, bearing of Palms, creeping to the Crose, setting up the Sepulchre, hallowing of the Font, with other like Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies; all which old Rites and Customs the foresaid Book doth not by and by repeal, but so far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put Men in remembrance of Spiritual things: but so, that the People withal must be instructed, how the said Ceremonies contain in them no such power to remit sin, but only that to be referred unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven us.

And so concluding with Purgatory, he maketh an end of those Articles, thus laying thereof: That because the Book of *Maccabees* alloweth praying for Souls departed, he therefore disproveth not that so laudable a Custom, so long continued in the Church. But because there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains exprest in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearly to be put away, which under the name of Purgatory have been advanced: as to make Men believe, that by the Bishop of Rome, Pardons, or by Masses said at *Scala Celi*, or otherwise, in any place, or before any Image, Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to Heaven, and such other like abuses, &c.

And these were the Contents of that Book of Articles devised, and passed by the Kings Authority, a little before the flux of *Lincolnshire* and *Torkshire*. Wherein although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed Church: yet notwithstanding, the King and his Council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their Mothers Milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat

{ KING Hrs. 8. }
Of Justification.

Of Images.

Of Honouring of Saints.

No Meditation but by Christ.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

Of Purgatory.

Milk for new weaned.

KING what for the time, in stead of a little beginning till better come.

Injunctions for abrogating certain Holy days. And so consequently, not long after these Articles thus set forward, certain other Injunctions were also given out about the same year 1536, whereby a number of Holy-days were abrogated; and especially such as fell in the Harvest-time: The keeping of which redounded greatly to the hinderance of gathering in their Corn, Hay, Fruit, and other such like necessary commodities. The Copy and Tenor of which Injunctions I have also hereunto annexed, as under followeth:

The Kings Injunctions.

Intendence by the King **F**Orasmuch as the number of Holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more by Mens Devotion, yea, rather Superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was and should be not only prejudicial to the Commonweal, by reason that it is occasion as well of much sloth and idleness, the very nurse of Thieves, Vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftiness and inconveniences, as of decay of good Mysteries and Arts, profitable and necessary for the Commonweal, and loss of Mans labour, many times being clean destroyed through the Superstitious observance of the said Holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered upon the same in time of Harvest, but also pernicious to the Souls of many Men, which (being inticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those Holy-days) do upon the same commonly use and practise more excess, riot, and superfluity, than upon any other days. And sith the Sabbath-day was used and ordained but for Mans use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoof of the same, whensoever that shall occur, much rather than any other Holy-day Instituted by Man: It is therefore by the Kings Highness Authority, as Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, with the common assent and consent of the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm, in Convocation lawfully Assembled and Congregated, amongst other things, Decreed, Ordained, and Established:

Feasts of Dedication to be kept all upon one day. First, That the Feast of Dedication of Churches shall in all places throughout this Realm, be Celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the Month of *October* for ever, and upon none other day.

Church Holy-days forbidden. Item, That the Feast of the Patron of every Church within this Realm, called commonly the Church Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a Holy-day, as heretofore have been used; but that it shall be Lawful to all and singular Persons resident or dwelling within this Realm, to go to their work, occupation or mystery, and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said Feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said Feast of Church-holy-day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a Holy-day by this Ordinance following.

Holy-days in the Harvest-time put down. Also that all those Feasts or Holy-days which shall happen to fall or occur either in the Harvest-time, which is to be accounted from the first day of *July*, unto the twenty ninth day of *September*, or else in the Term-time at *Westminster*, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as Holy-days, but that it may be lawful for every Man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the Feasts of the Apostles, or of the blessed Virgin, and of *St. George*, and also such Feasts as wherein the Kings Highness Judges at *Westminster* do not use to sit in Judgment. All which shall be kept Holy and Solemn of every Man, as in time past have been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be Lawful unto all Priests and Clerks, as well Secular as Regular, in the foresaid Holy-days now abrogate to sing or say their accustomed Service for those Holy-days, in their Churches; so as they do not the same Solemnly, nor do ring to the same, after the manner used in high Holy-days, ne do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as Holy-days.

Four Offering-days. Finally, That the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of *Easter-day*, of the Nativity of *St. John the Baptist*, and of *St. Michael the Archangel*, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general Offering-days.

And for further Declaration of the Premises, be it known that *Easter* beginneth always the eighteenth day after *Easter*, reckoning *Easter-day* for one, and endeth the Monday next following the *Ascension-day*.

Trinity Term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the *Octaves of Trinity* Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of *July*.

Michaelmas Term beginneth the ninth or tenth day of *October*, and endeth the 28th or 29th day of *November*.

Hilary Term beginneth the twenty third or twenty fourth day of *January*, and endeth the twelfth or thirteenth day of *February*.

In *Easter* Term, upon the *Ascension-day*; in *Trinity* Term, upon the Nativity of *St. John the Baptist*; in *Michaelmas* Term, upon *Allallow-day*; in *Hilary* Term, upon *Candlemas-day*, the Kings Judges at *Westminster* do not use to sit in Judgment, nor upon any Sunday.

After these Articles and Injunctions thus given out by the King and his Council, then followed moreover as time served, other Injunctions moe, concerning Images, Relicks, and blind Miracles, and for abrogating of Pilgrimages, devised by Superstition, and maintained for lucre sake, also for the *Pater-Noster*, *Credo*, and Gods Commandments, and the *Bible* to be had in English, with divers other points moe, necessary for Religion: The words of which Injunctions here also ensue:

Other Injunctions given by the Authority of the Kings Highness, to the Clergy of this his Realm.

IN the Name of God, Amen. In the year of our Lord God 1536, and of the most Noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, King of England, and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in the Earth Supreme Head of the Church of England, the twenty eighth, &c. I *Thomas Cromwel*, Knight, Lord Cromwel, Keeper of the Privy Seal of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent to the same, for and concerning all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the Kings Highness Honour, the publick Weal of this Realm, and increase of Vertue in the same, have appointed and assigned these Injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed of the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendiaries, resident or having cure of Souls, or any other Spiritual Administration within this Deany, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

THE first is, That the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other having cure of Soul any where within this Deany, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of all other, all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of *Rome*s pretended and usurped Power and Jurisdiction within this Realm, and for the Establishment and Confirmation of the Kings Authority and Jurisdiction within the same, as of the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and shall to the uttermost of their Wit, Knowledge, and Learning, purely, sincerely and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, by the space of one quarter of a year now next ensuing, once every Sunday, and after at the least twice every quarter of a year, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Bishop of *Rome*s, usurped Power and Jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the Law of God, was for most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection, and that the Kings power is within his Dominion the Highest Potentate and Power under God, to whom all Men within the same Dominion, by Gods Commandment owe most Loyalty and Obedience afore and above all other Potentates in Earth.

Item, Whereas certain Articles were lately devised and put forth by the Kings Highness Authority, and condemned unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm

E-ster

Trinity

Michaelmas

Hilary

Trinity

Other Injunctions.

Confirmati-
on of the
Kings Su-
premacy.Against the
Popes
Pretensions.

in Convocation (whereof part were necessary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do concern and touch certain laudable Ceremonies, Rights, and Usages of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politick order in the same) the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates shall so open and declare, in their Sermons and other Collations, the said Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their Salvation, and which be not necessary, but only do concern the decent and politick order of the said Church, according to such Commandment and Admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore by the Authority of the Kings Highness in that behalf.

The Kings
Articles to
be read to
the People.

Moreover, That they shall declare unto all such as be under their Cure the Articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorised of late, for and concerning the abrogating of certain superstitious Holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the same Articles, and persuade their Parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolably, as things wholesome, provided, decreed, and established by the common consent and publick authority for the Commonweals commodity, and profit of all this Realm.

Images
abolished.

Besides this, to the intent that all Superstition and Hypocrite, crept into divers Mens hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any Images, Relicks, or Miracles, for any Superstition or lucre, nor allure the People by any intreatments to Pilgrimages of any Saints, or otherwise than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the Kings Majesty, and condescended unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, as though it were proper and peculiar to that Saint to give this commodity or that, seeing all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both looked and asked for only of God, as of the very Author of the same, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given; but they shall exhort as well their Parishioners, as other Pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of Gods Commandments, and the fulfilling of his works of Charity; perswading them that they shall please God more by the true exercise of their bodily labour, travel, or occupation, and providing for their Families, than if they went about to the said Pilgrimages; and it shall profit more their Souls health, if they do bestow that on the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said Images or Relicks.

Pilgrimages
forbidden.

Also in the same their Sermons and other Collations, the Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates aforesaid shall diligently admonish the Fathers and Mothers, Masters and Governors of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach or cause to be taught their Children and Servants, even from their infancy, the *Pater-Noster*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in their Mother-Tongue, and the same so taught shall cause the said Youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent this may be the more easily done, the said Curates shall in their Sermons deliberately and plainly recite of the said *Pater-Noster*, Articles, or Commandments, one Clause or Article one day, and another another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little and little, and shall deliver the same in Writing, or shew where Printed Books containing the same be to be sold to them that can read, or will desire the same; and thereto that the said Fathers and Mothers, Masters and Governors do bestow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said Sermons and Collations, as otherwise, the said Fathers, Mothers, Masters, and other Governors being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and force, that the said Youth be in no manner-wise kept or brought up in idleness, left at any time afterward they be driven, for lack of some mystery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unchristlike, so far as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness divers valiant Men fall, some to begging, some to theft and murder, which after brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their Friends and Governors, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth;

Prayers in
the Mother-
Tongue.

For bring-
ing up of
youth in
some Art or
occupation.

where if they had been brought up and educated in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they should (being rulers of their own Families) have profited as well themselves, as divers others Persons, to the great Commodity and Ornament of the Commonwealth.

Placing of
good Vicars
and Curates

Also that the said Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates shall diligently provide, that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently Ministrified in their Parishes. And if at any time it happen them either in any of the Cases expressed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of special license given by the Kings Majesty, to be absent from their Benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned Person, but to an honest well-learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure, wholesome Doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they do not err; and always let them see, that neither they nor their Vicars do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the glory of God.

Every Parson
to provide
a Bible in
English.

Item, That every Parson or Proprietary of any Parishes Church within this Realm shall on this side the Feast of St. Peter, ad vincula, next coming, provide a Book of the whole Bible both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the Quire, for every Man that will, to look and read thereon, and shall discourage no Man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every Man to read the same, as the very Word of God, and the Spiritual Food of Mans Soul, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their Sovereign Lord the King, and their Neighbour; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and a modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in no wise flilly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy to the judgment of them that be better learned.

Priests not
to haunt
Ale-houses.

Also the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and other Priests shall in no wife at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any Taverns or Ale-houses, and after their Dinner and supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, at Tables or Cards playing, or any other unlawful Game, but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some honest exercise, and that they always do those things that appertain to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the Commonwealth, having always in mind, that they ought to excel all other in purity of life, and should be example to all other to live well and Christianly.

Furthermore, because the goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor, and in these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same, all Parsons, Vicars, Prebendaries, and other beneficed Men within this Deanry, not being resident upon their Benefices, which may dispense yearly twenty pounds or above, either within this Deanry or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poor Parishioners or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the Churchwardens or some other honest Men of the Parish, the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of their said Benefices, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor people of that Parish that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

Every beneficed Man
worth 200
pounds to
find a Scholar at the
University.

And to the intent that learned Men may hereafter spring the more, for the executing of the said Premises, every Parson, Vicar, Clerk, or Beneficed Man within this Deanry, having yearly to spend in Benefices or other promotions of the Church, an hundred pounds, shall give competent exhibition to one Scholar, and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispense, to so many Scholars more shall give like exhibition in the University of Oxford or Cambridge, or some Grammar-School, which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their Patrons Cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise

{ KING Hen. 8. } wife in the execution of their Offices, or may when need shall be, otherwise profit the Commonwealth with their counsel and wisdom.

Beneficed Men to maintain their man- sions. Also that all Parsons, Vicars and Clerks, having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions within this Deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same Mansions or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of those their Benefices, till they shall be fully repaired, and the same to be repaired they shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

All which and singular Injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Stipendiaries, and other Clerks and beneficed men, under pain of suspension, and sequestration of the fruits of their Benefices, until they have done their duties according to these Injunctions.

After these Injunctions and Articles afore expressed (which were given about the year of our Lord, 1536 and 1537.) it was not above the space of a year, but other Injunctions also were published, to the further instruction of the people in the proceedings of Religion, whereby both the Parsons of Churches, and the Parishes together, were enjoined to provide in every Church to be a Bible in English: Also for ever Parishioner to be taught by the Minister, to understand and to say the Lords Prayer and Creed in their own Vulgar tongue, with other necessary and most fruitful Injunctions, the Tenor whereof followeth.

Injunctions exhibited, Anno 1538.

Injunctions by the King. IN the Name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the most excellent Prince Henry by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in the Earth supreme head under Christ of the Church of England; I Thomas Lord Cromwell, Lord privy Seal, Vicegerent to the Kings said Highness for all his jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, do for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, increase of Vertue, and discharge of the Kings Majesty, give and exhibit unto you N. these Injunctions following to be kept, observed and fulfilled upon the pain hereafter declared.

First, That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the Kings Highness Injunctions given unto you heretofore in any name by his Graces authority, not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default now after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straightly extended towards you by the Kings Highness arbitrement or his Vicegerent aforesaid.

For the Bible to be set up in Churches. Item, That ye shall provide on this side the Feast of N. next coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largest Volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said Church, that ye have Cure of, whereas your Parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it. The charges of which Book shall be ratably born between you, the Parson and Parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item, That ye shall discourage no Man privily nor apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same; as that which is the very lively Word of God, that every Christian person is bounden to embrace, believe and follow, if he look to be saved, admiring them nevertheless to void all contention and altercation therein, and to use an honest Sobriety in the Inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to refer the explication of the obscure places, to Men of higher judgment in Scripture.

The Lords Prayer to be learned in English. Item, That ye shall every Sunday and Holy-day through the year openly and plainly recite to your Parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftner if need require, one Article or Sentence of the *Pater Noster*, or Creed in English, to the intent they may learn the same by heart, and so from day to day, to give them one like Lesson or Sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noster*, and Creed in English by rote: and as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto

them, exhorting all Parents and Housholders, to teach their Children and Servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do: and that done, ye shall declare unto them, the Ten Commandments, one by one, every Sunday and Holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

Item, That ye shall in Confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to Confession to you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the *Pater Noster* in English, and hear them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to them, that every Christian person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and monish them to learn the same more perfectly by the next year following: or else, like as they ought not to presume to come to Gods board without perfect knowledge of the same (and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls) so ye shall declare unto them that ye look for other Injunctions from the Kings Highness by that time, to stay and repel all such from Gods board, as shall be found ignorant in the premises: wherefore do ye thus admonish them, to the intent they should both chew the pill of their souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

Item, That ye shall make or cause to be made in the said Church, and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every quarter of a year at the least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very Gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the works of Charity, Mercy and Faith, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or assistance in other works devised by Mens fantasies besides Scripture: as in wandering to Pilgrimages, offering of Money, Candles, or Tapers to fained Reliques, or Images, or Kissing or Licking the same, saying over a number of Beads not understood, ne minded on, or such like superstition: for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatry and Superstition, which of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

Item, That such fained Images as ye know in any of your Cures to be so abused with Pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto ye shall for avoiding of that most detestable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take down without delay, and shall suffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax, to be set afore any Images or Picture, but only the light that commonly goeth about the Cross of the Church by the Rood-loft, the light afore the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the Sepulcher: which, for the adorning of the Church and divine Service, ye shall suffer to remain still, admonishing your Parishioners, that Images serve for none other purpose, but as the Books of unlearned Men, that can no Letters, whereby they might be admonished of the lives and conversation of them, that the said Images do represent. Which Images if they abuse for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the same to the great danger of their souls: and therefore the Kings Highness, graciously tendering the weal of his Subjects souls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter travel for the abolishing of such Images as might be occasion of so great offence to God, and so great danger to the souls of his loving Subjects.

Item, That in all such Benefices or Cures, as ye have, whereupon you be not your self resident, ye shall appoint such Curates in your stead, as both can by ability, and will also promptly execute these Injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, that ye are bound to do in every behalf accordingly, and profit their Cure no less with good example of living than with declaration of the Word of God, or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straightly answer for the same, if they do otherwise.

Item, That you shall admit no Man to preach within any of your Benefices or Cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereto by the Kings Highness, or his Graces authority, or the Bishop of the Diocess, and such as shall be so licensed, ye shall gladly receive,

Sermons? quarterly to be made.

Images pulled down.

Good whil' there to be placed.

ceive, to declare the Word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

Pilgrimages
and Images
abolished.

Item, If ye have heretofore declared to your Parishioners any thing to the extolling and setting forth of Pilgrimages to feigned Reliques or Images, or any such superstition, you shall now openly afore the same recant and reprove the same, shewing them, as the truth is, that ye did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and seduced by a common error and abuse crept into the Church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

The word
of God to
be preached
without
stop or in-
terruption.

Item, If ye do or shall know any within your Parish, or elsewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in English, or sincerely Preached, or of the execution of these Injunctions, or a fautor of the Bishop of Rome pretended power, now by the Laws of this Realm justly rejected and extirped: ye shall detect the same to the Kings Highness, or his Honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent afore said, or to the Justice of Peace next adjoining.

Register
Book for
every Parish.

Item, That you and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, within this Diocese, shall for every Church keep one Book of Register, wherein ye shall write the day and year of every Wedding, Christening, and Burying, made within your Parish for your time, and so for every Man succeeding you likewise, and also therein set every persons name that shall be so Wedded, Christened or Buried, and for the safe keeping of the same Book, the Parish shall be bound to provide of their common charges one sure Coffer with two Locks and Keys; whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every such Parish wherein the said Book shall be layed up: which Book ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said Wardens or one of them, write and record in the same, all the Weddings, Christenings and Burys, made the whole week before: and that done, to lay up the said Book in the said Coffer as afore, and for every time the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said Church three Shillings four Pence, to be employed on the reparation of the same Church.

Item, That ye shall once every quarter of a year, read these and the other former Injunctions given unto you by authority of the Kings Highness, openly and deliberately before all your Parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said Parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

Tithes to be
paid.

Item, Forasmuch as by a Law established, every Man is bound to pay his Tithes, no Man shall by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, detain their Tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another; and be his own judge, but shall truly pay the same as hath been accustomed to their Parsons and Curates without any restraint or diminution: and such lack and default as they can justly find in their Parsons and Curates, to call for reformation thereof, at their Ordinaries and other Superiors hands, who upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

Item, That no Parson shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Fastings day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of divine Prayer, nor of Service, otherwise than is specified in the said Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the Kings Highness authority: the Evens of such Saints, whose Holy-days be abrogated, only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no fasting days, except also the Commemoration of *Thomas Becket* sometimes Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which shall be clean omitted, and instead thereof, the ferial Service used.

Becket's day
abrogated.

Knolling of
Aves for-
bidden.

Item, That the knolling of the Aves after Service and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Bishop of Rome's Pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the people do hereafter trust to have Pardon for the saying of their Aves between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

Suffrages of
Saints re-
jected.

Item, Where in times past, Men have used in divers places in their processions, to sing, *Ora pro nobis*, to so many Saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following: as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos*

Domine, it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other suffrages being most necessary and effectual. All which singular Injunctions, I minister unto you and to your Parishioners by the Kings Highness authority to be committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the King or his Vicegerent for the time being shall be seen convenient.

By these Articles and Injunctions thus coming forth one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear, how well the King then deserved the title of his supreme Government, given to him over the Church of *England*: By the which title and authority he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christs Church and Religion here in *England*, in these three years, than the Pope, the great Vicar of Christs, with all his Bishops and Prelates had done the space of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the King and in his Council, how by all ways and means to redress Religion, to reform Errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christs Flock drowned in blind Popery, Superstition, Customs, and Idolatry, to some better form of more perfect reformation. Whereunto he provided not only these Articles, Precepts, and Injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people; but also procured the Bishops to help forward in the same cause of decayed Doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534 during the whole time of Parliament, there was appointed every Sunday a Bishop to Preach at *Pauls Cross*, against the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Amongst which Bishops, *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Kings Confessor, and a great persecutor of the poor Flock of Christs (as is before sufficiently recorded) made a Sermon before the King, upon *Good-Friday*, this present year 1538 at *Greenwich*, seriously and effectuously preaching on the Kings behalf, against the usurped Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, the Contents of whose Sermon wholly to express were here too long and tedious. So much as may suffice for our purpose I thought should remain to the posterity, beginning at his Theme, which when he took in hand to intreat upon, written in the thirteenth Chapter to the *Hebrews*, as followeth.

The Sermon of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, on Good-Friday, before the King at Greenwich.

The words of the Apostle are these, *Habemus altare de quo edere non habent potestatem qui tabernaculo deserviunt. Quorum enim animalium inferius sanguis pro peccato in sancta per pontificem, horum corpora cremantur extra castra, Propter quod & Jesus extra portam passus est. Esecamus igitur ad eum extra castra improprium ejus portantes.*

These are the words of the Apostle: Many things contained in few words, and the English thereof is this; 1538 We have an Altar, we have an Altar (saith the Apostle) an Altar, and a Sacrifice upon this Altar. And they that serve at the Tabernacle may not eat of this Altar, may not eat of this Sacrifice, that is offered upon this Altar. For the Apostle here (Per metonymiam) doth put the Altar for that that is Sacrifice upon the Altar. The blood of those Beasts that were slain for the Sacrifice was brought into the holy secret high place of the Temple where the Ark was, between the high Altar, (as we will say) and the veil by the Bishop, and there offered up for the sin of the people. The bodies of the Beasts that were burned without the Pavilions or Tents, for the which, *Propter quod*, for which, what? for the fulfilling of which mystery. Alfo to verifie and fulfil the figure, and that thing figured might be correspondent to the figure, Jesus suffered without the Gate, to sanctifie the people by his blood. Let us go out therefore and suffer with Christs, bearing his opprobries and rebukes. These be the words of the Apostle now taken.

I will

KING
H. 8.

The King
better de-
serving the
name of su-
preme go-
vernour than
the Pope.

Read be-
fore.

Read be-
fore.

Ann. 1538
A Sermon of
Bishop Long-
land before
the King
An. 1538.
The Theme,
Heb. 13.

KING} I will by the help of our Lord God declare these words in order, even as they do stand. Here is an Altar, here is a Sacrifice, here is a Bishop which did offer this Sacrifice, here is a Tabernacle, a serving of the Tabernacle, the Blood of the Sacrifice which was offered by the Bishop for the sins of the people, in the most holy place of the Temple, and the bodies of the Beasts (whose blood was offered) were burned without the Tents. And this was done the Tenth day of the seventh Month. Ye hear now the words of the Apostle, wherein appeareth the manifest figure of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which we this day do honour.

Numb. 19. In these words the Apostle toucheth the figure of the Law, and bringeth it to a spiritual understanding; For it was commanded in the Law, in the Book of Numbers, the Tenth day of the seventh Month, in the Feast that was called the Feast of the propitiation of mercy of remission, or the Feast of Purgation, when the people were purged. At which time they should take a Colt and a Kid and slay them; whose blood the only Bishop should bring *In sancta sanctorum*, into the most holy, solemn, and secret place of the Temple, wherein the Bishop never came unless he brought with him Blood to offer in Sacrifice. *Quia omnia fere in sanguine secundum legem mundabantur, & sine sanguinis effusione non fit remissio*, saith the Apostle. Almost all things after the Law, or in the Law, were cleansed in Blood, and by Blood, and without the effusion of Blood was no remission: and in that place of the Temple called *Sancta sanctorum*, the Bishop prayed and offered for the People. The Flesh and Corps of the Sacrifice was burned without the Tents, without their pavilions. And it was not lawful to any that did serve the Tabernacle to eat of the Flesh of that Sacrifice.

1 Pet. 2. Here is a manifest figure (as I said) of the passion of our Saviour Christ. The Altar that was consecrated and hallowed in this solemnity of the Blood of the eternal Testament, was that holy Cross that Christ suffered on. Which as on this day he did consecrate, hallow, dignify, and dedicate, and did adorn and deck the same with the Members of his most precious Body, more gloriously than if it had been imbroided and inserted with precious stones. For as Gold which is the most precious Metal is made more precious when it is set with precious Stones, and is dignified therewith, whether it be Altar, Image, Crown, Ring or Ouch; so was the Altar the holy Cross, beautified, dignified, adorned, and made precious with the Members of that most precious Stone Christ, which is as Peter saith, *Lapis vivus, ab hominibus reprobatus, a Deo electus, probatus angularis, & pretiosus*. This Christ is (he saith) the lively stone, which men did reprove, which God did elect for the approved stone, for a Corner stone, for the chief stone in the building of his Church, for the stone that joyneth the Walls of the Church together, for the stone whereupon the Faith of Christ and his Church is builded. A precious stone, a stone of price, a stone of high value, far passing in the estimation of a good Christian Man all other precious stones in the world. This precious stone Christ, with the members of his most precious body, did deck, adorn, and make precious this Altar of the Cross, when his body was by the Jews, with violence, extremely strained upon the same, that all his bones (as reftified the Prophet) might be numbered. Upon this Altar was the great Sacrifice of the World offered, Christ himself. He was the Sacrifice, and he was the Priest. He offered up himself to God his Father, for the sin of Man; *Obrulit semetipsum immaculatum Deo, ut sanctificaret iniquitatis*, saith the Apostle. He offered himself a pure, clean, immaculate Host to God, to redeem the world, to sanctifie sinners, to justifie man.

2 Pet. 2. This Christ the Bishop of good things to come (as the Apostle witnesseth) entred once into the place called *Sancta sanctorum*, not only of the Temple, but *In Sancta sanctorum*, into the holy place of places, into Heaven. He entred with Sacrificed Blood like a Bishop. Not with the Blood of Goats or Calves, not with the Blood of Rams or Bulls, but with his own precious Blood. For if the Blood of Goats and Bulls, and the ashes of the burned Calves sprinkled abroad, were sufficient to the making clean of the flesh, how much more then is the Blood of Christ, who by the Holy Ghost did offer up himself to God, a most pure, most clean, and immaculate Sacrifice, able to purge,

cleans, and make fair our Consciences from the works of Death, and to live in the living God?

This is our great Bishop, as the Apostle saith, *Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetravit celos: Jesum Filium Dei*. We have a great Bishop, which did penetrate the Heavens, whose name is Jesus the Son of God. This is our great Bishop, our high Bishop, our universal Bishop. This is the head Bishop of all Bishops and of all the world, named of God (as the Apostle saith) to be our great Bishop, properly called *Summus Pontifex*, the highest Bishop, the Bishop of Bishops. For this is he only that is, *Summus, maximus, & universalis Pontifex*.

The Bishop of Rome therefore ought herein to be abashed, astounded, and to abhor his own pride. For in this he outrageously doth offend God, and blasphemeth him, in that he presumeth to take this high Name from our Bishop Christ; in that he taketh away, as much as lieth in him, the glory of God, the majesty appertaining unto Christ; in that he taketh upon him these names appropriate only to Christ, *Summus Pontifex, maximus Pontifex, universalis Pontifex*, the highest Bishop, the greatest Bishop, the universal Bishop, the Bishop of all the world. I much marvel how he dare be so bold to usurp and take these great names upon him. Greater Blasphemy cannot be, than to take from God that that naturally be- longeth unto him; than to take from God his glory and honour; than to vindicate and take upon him such high names, as becometh no Christian Man to usurp. God said by his Prophet, *Non dabo gloriam meam alteri*, I will not give my glory away to any other, to any creature. He doth relieve the glory, that laud and honour that be- longeth only unto him, unto himself; no Man may at- tempt so far, no Man may take so much upon him.

1 Pet. 2. Peter, Peter, thou wast once Bishop of Rome, and the first Bishop of Rome; Didst thou ever take this Name up- on thee, *Summus, Maximus, Universalis*; No, no, no. And why? for the Holy Ghost was in thee. Thou wouldest take no more upon thee than God gave thee. Thou wast not desirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou soughtest for, was for the glory of God; as all that will read thy Sermons, thy Epistles, and thy Life, shall soon per- ceive. Look a great number of Bishops that next follow- ed Peter in the same See; what were they? Holy Martyrs, Holy Livers, which never attempted thus far. Let the Bishop of Rome therefore acknowledge his great fault, his high folly, his unlawful usurpation, his unchristly pre- sumption, and humble himself to Christ and God his great Bishop. Would God he would reform himself, would God he would keep himself within that compass of his authority, and encroach no more upon other Men's jurisdictions, but diligently keep and overlook his own Diocels and be content with that; would God he would look upon his predecessor Saint Gregory in his Register, which was a Bishop of Rome, a holy Man. Let him learn there how he did rebuke John, that time the Bishop of Constantinople, for taking on him so highly, in such names; universal Bishop, highest Bishop, greatest Bishop; and how he proved it to be against the Law of God. He saith there in one place to this proud Bishop John, What answer shalt thou make in that strict examination at that last judgment to Christ the head of the Universal Church, that goest about to have subject unto thee all the Members of Christ, by taking on thee the name of Uni- versal Bishop? In another place again in the same Book *140.* he saith unto him, who art thou that dost presume to usurp a new name upon thee of Universal Bishop, con- trary to the Statutes of the Gospel and Decrees?

God forbid that ever this Blasphemy should come in the hearts of Christian people. In the which the honour of all Priesthood is taken away, when a Man shall rashly and arrogantly take that name upon him. Let this Bi- shop of Rome therefore humble himself unto our great Uni- versal Bishop Christ, humble himself under the mighty hand of God, and know what the Apostle doth write of the honour and power of this Christ our great high Bishop. He is (he saith) *Pontifex misericors, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis, penetrans celum, compatiens infirmi- tatibus nostris, offerens dona & sacrificia pro peccatis nostris, condolens iis qui ignorant & errant: Qui potest saluum facere a morte, offerens preces & supplicationes* *Ecce*

Leade. 111
lib. 4.

lib. 5.

The pride
of the Pope.
The Pope
blasphemeth
God.

No greater
blasphemy
than in the
Pope.

1 Pet. 2.

The Peter
never
look upon
him at Rome
no, no, no
as the Pope
doth.

Gregory in
register, lib.
4. indidit
pro Greg. 140.

1 Pet. 2.
lib. 5.

The titles and properties attributed to Christ in the Scripture.

cum clamore valido & lacrymis, & exauditus est pro reverentia sua: Pontifex appellatus a Deo: Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsus calis: Non habens necessitatem (quemadmodum alii) prius pro suis delictis hostias offerre, deinde pro populo: Pontifex sedens in dextris Dei interpellans pro nobis, amundans conscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis, intrantem Sancta sanctorum, per proprium sanguinem. Hic est Pontifex confestim nostrum.

Let earthly Bishops learn of this heavenly Bishop Christ: some of these properties are appropriate and belong only to God, and not to Man. In some we ought to follow him, in some we cannot, nor ought to do. This our high and great Bishop is *Misericors* (saith the Apostle) merciful. A merciful Bishop, ready to forgive, ready to remit those that have offended him. He is not cruel, nor vengeable, but full of pity, full of mercy. And in this we ought to follow him.

Misericors.

Potens.

He is *Potens* potent, a mighty Bishop, mighty and full of power. We be but weak and feeble Bishops, not able to do any thing, but by his permission and help. He is able to make sick, to make whole, to make rich, to make poor, to set up, to put down. *Potens*, a mighty Bishop, mighty and able to remit sin, to forgive, to save both body and soul from damnation. *Potens*, a mighty Bishop, and full of power. No power in this world but of him: *Omnis potestas a Domino Deo est*: All power is of him. And as he witnesseth, *Data est mihi omnis potestas in Cælo & in Terra*: All power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. *Potens salvare a morte*: He can save the body and save the soul. He can deliver the one and deliver the other from the everlasting death. Who can forgive sin but he? *Quis potest dimittere peccatum nisi solus Deus? Est potens*: He is a mighty Bishop: Of him and by him Emperors, Kings, Magistrates, and Potestates, Bishops, Priests, with all other that have power, have their power and authority. Who is able to turn the Wind, to make the Wind blow or cease, but he? Who is able to say and prove, I will now have it Rain, now clear? The Sun to shine, the Water to flow, to ebb, with such other, but only he? This is our mighty Bishop.

Rom. 14.

Matth. 28.

Mark. 16.

Omnipotens.

Id. 30.

Fidelis.

The office of a Bishop.

If he had placed here, administering Sacraments, for sacrifice, his pardon, his might, have stood.

Matth. 14.

Matth. 15.

The second office of a Bishop is to pray.

Potens potent, a mighty Bishop, mighty and full of power. We be but weak and feeble Bishops, not able to do any thing, but by his permission and help. He is able to make sick, to make whole, to make rich, to make poor, to set up, to put down. *Potens*, a mighty Bishop, mighty and able to remit sin, to forgive, to save both body and soul from damnation. *Potens*, a mighty Bishop, and full of power. No power in this world but of him: *Omnis potestas a Domino Deo est*: All power is of him. And as he witnesseth, *Data est mihi omnis potestas in Cælo & in Terra*: All power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. *Potens salvare a morte*: He can save the body and save the soul. He can deliver the one and deliver the other from the everlasting death. Who can forgive sin but he? *Quis potest dimittere peccatum nisi solus Deus? Est potens*: He is a mighty Bishop: Of him and by him Emperors, Kings, Magistrates, and Potestates, Bishops, Priests, with all other that have power, have their power and authority. Who is able to turn the Wind, to make the Wind blow or cease, but he? Who is able to say and prove, I will now have it Rain, now clear? The Sun to shine, the Water to flow, to ebb, with such other, but only he? This is our mighty Bishop.

Potens potent, yea, *Omnipotens*, Almighty. He can do all: nothing is to him impossible. *Ipse dixit, & facta sunt omnia. Mandavit, & creata sunt universa. Potens ergo est*. He is a mighty Bishop. We are not so. *Fidelis* Pontifex. He is a faithful Bishop: faithful. He is a faithful Bishop to God, referring all lauds, all honour and glory to his Father. In all things that he did, miracles or other, he took never the more upon himself. He was also a faithful Bishop to the world: for he did all that belonged to the Office of a good Bishop. The very Office of a Bishop is, *Prædicare, orare & sacrificare, sive offerre*. To preach, to pray, to do sacrifice, or to offer. He preached to his people: he taught the world most wholesome Doctrine, whereby he called the people to God, he converted sinners, he called them to Penance. He made them weep and lament their sins, they followed his person, they followed his word, they followed his example. They came out of all the Coasts to see him, to hear him, to learn of him. They forsook Meat and Drink, House and Home, and followed him, wheresoever he went, as well in Wildernesses as elsewhere. Inasmuch that after they had followed him three days, he being moved with pity, lest they should perish for lack of Food, being in Wilderness far from succour, he fed them twice miraculously. Once in the Desert with five loaves and two fishes he fed five thousand men, besides women and children, and there were left twelve Baskets, twelve Maunds full of brokelets and offalls at that meal. At another time he fed in the Wilderness to the number of four thousand men, besides women and children, with seven loaves, and a few little fishes, and there was left of fragments, seven Maunds full.

The second Office of a Bishop he fulfilled also, for he prayed. He was most devout in Prayer, so to teach all Bishops and Preachers not to presume in their wit or learning, neither in their capacity, memory, fair tongue or utterance; but that the Preacher do studiously apply his Book with all diligence to study, how to speak, what to speak, afore whom he shall speak, and to shape his Sermon after

the audience. The Preacher ought also besides his study and preaching to pray. For by devout Prayer he shall attain percale as much or more, as by study or learning. For without Prayer the words will little prevail. Look in Christ his Life, and thou shalt find, that in every thing he went about, he prayed, to shew the valiancy, the virtue and strength of Prayer; to shew our necessities, our weakness and feebleness of nature. He prayed for his people (as Luke witnesseth) the space of one whole night. And what a marvelous devout Prayer made he for his people in the Mount the night afore his Passion, when the Chalice of death was represented unto him? When he sweat water and blood? When he cried thrice, *Transat a me Calix iste*, Let this Chalice, let this passion and blood, let the virtue thereof pass from me unto all mankind. Let every Man have the virtue and merit thereof: Let it work in all folks, let every faithful Man and Woman be, partaker thereof: let it not be lost, but work to the worlds end. This was a marvelous devout merciful Prayer. And again, he suffering and hanging on the Cross, offered up for his people, *Preces & supplicationes cum clamore valido & lacrymis*. He offered up his prayers and supplications with a huge cry, with a piteous voice, with a lamentable and deadly shriek, and with weeping tears to God his Father: he hanging on the Cross, even when the Spirit should depart the Body, not then forgetting his people at the hour when all the people forgetteth both the world and themselves. Which cry was so huge and great, so marvelous, and of that effect that the Heavens trembled thereat, the Angels mourned for pity, the Sun lost his light, the Veil in the Temple rived in two, the Earth quaked, the Stones rent asunder and brake in Cobbles, the Graves opened, the Dead bodies rose to life, and appeared in the City. *Centurio*, and those that kept Christ to see the execution done, cried, *Vere, Filius Dei erat iste*: This was the undoubted Son of God. His prayer and weeping tears were so pleasant to the Father that he was heard: *Exauditus est pro reverentia sua*. He was heard, and why? For it was so entire, so devout, so reverently done, in such a manner and fashion, with such a zeal grounded upon such a charity, suffering for our guilt, and not for his own. And for that he did the very Office of a Bishop, so intirely to pray, and so reverently to offer up himself in Sacrifice for his people, he was heard, he was heard, his Prayer was heard of God. And that is the third property of a good Bishop to offer Sacrifice for his people. Every Bishop, every Bishop, for his Diocessans and for the whole Universal Church. In these three we ought as much as we may to follow Christ.

Thus this Christ was and is *Pontifex fidelis*, a faithful Bishop. Faithful: faithful in his Word, true in his Promise, deceiving no Man, but profiting all. In all that he did or spake, or sought nothing his own glory, but the glory of God: teaching thereby all Bishops of the World in all that they go about, to do it unto the praise and glory of God. And herein we ought also to follow him.

Magnus Pontifex, he is the great Bishop, the high Bishop, the supreme Bishop, the universal Bishop over all the World. No great Bishop but he. None high, none Supreme nor Universal Bishop but he.

And herein the Bishop of Rome outrageously usurpeth upon God, as he doth upon the World, to take the honour and name (only to God appropriate) to himself, and doth grievously blasphemous and offend God therein. Greater blasphemy cannot be, than to ascribe to God that that no ways belongeth unto him, or to take from God, that that is to him appropriate. It is meet therefore he do betimes, and in season leave his unjust incroachments both against his Lord God, and also against the World, lest he do provoke God to pour out all his vials of wrath upon him: the *Vae*, I mean the maledictions and vengeance that *Isaiah* speaketh of in the *Apocaply*. I would advise him to cease the injuries which he hath, and daily doth against thee Christ our great high Universal Bishop, lest thou excommunicate and strike him, lest thou shew thy wrath and judgment against him, and utterly extinct his pride, and ambitious pretended authority. For thou wilt be known, thou wilt be known to be God. And thou art and wilt be our great Universal

{ KING }

{ Isa. 8. }

Isa. 6.

Matth. 26.

Isa. 9.

The cry of Christ on the Cross.

The heavens trembled.

The Angels mourned.

The Sun lost his light.

The Veil shed.

The Earth quaked.

The Stones rent.

The Graves opened.

The Dead rose.

The third

office of a Bishop is to minister, and not to sacrifice.

Magnus.

No great Bishop but only Christ.

The Pope blasphemeth God.

What is blasphemy?

It is to ascribe to God that that no ways belongeth unto him, or to take from God, that that is to him appropriate.

It is meet therefore he do betimes, and in season leave his unjust incroachments both against his Lord God, and also against the World, lest he do provoke God to pour out all his vials of wrath upon him: the *Vae*, I mean the maledictions and vengeance that *Isaiah* speaketh of in the *Apocaply*. I would advise him to cease the injuries which he hath, and daily doth against thee Christ our great high Universal Bishop, lest thou excommunicate and strike him, lest thou shew thy wrath and judgment against him, and utterly extinct his pride, and ambitious pretended authority. For thou wilt be known, thou wilt be known to be God. And thou art and wilt be our great Universal

Apoc. 9.

Isa.

KING {al and Supreme Bishop, whatsoever the Bishop of Rome shall attempt to the contrary; and thou wilt punish his worldly arrogance, and strike when thou seest thy time. And though it be long ere thou strike, yet let him beware, for strike thou wilt if thou be utterly provoked, and when thou dost strike, thy stroke is great, thy stroke is dreadful and sore. It vanquisheth the Body, it slayeth the Soul, it dameth both. Beware therefore, thou Bishop of Rome, and be content with thine own Diocess, with thine own charge, as other Bishops are with theirs: for further than thine own Diocess thy jurisdiction doth not stretch.

A marvelous blindness in thee therefore, to take upon thee to answer for all the World, and art not able to answer our great Bishop Christ for thy self at the dreadful day of Judgment, when he shall ask but these few questions of thee; *Quomodo intrasti? Quomodo existi? Quomodo vivisti? Quomodo parasti? Qua & qualia exempla dedisti? Quid ad meam gloriam fecisti? & hujusmodi.* How didst thou enter into the Bishoprick? By me, or by the world? unlawfully, or lawfully? By Symony or freely? By labour, by passion, or called of God? How didst thou rule thy Cure, thy Diocess? Didst thou pray for thy people? Didst thou preach me to thy Diocessans? Didst thou give them ghostly and bodily food? Didst thou minister spiritual and ghostly selves (the Sacraments I mean) to heal the Sores of their souls? How didst thou live? Didst thou cast away the care, the glory and pomp of the World? Didst thou follow me in humility, in charity, in compassion, in poverty, in cleanness, and in chaste living?

How didst thou govern thy Diocessans? Didst thou not make of all things that thou didst meddle with, a Money matter, in selling that which was not in thee to sell nor give, which thou callest thy Pardons, thy Commiſſions, thy Brevies, thy Delegates, Recessations, Exemptions, Appellations, Bulls, and Dispensations? Didst not thou under these pretences, and like other doings, deceive the world? What answer shalt thou make to this at that day, to our and thy great Bishop Christ, when he shall visit thee and all thy Diocess, me and all my Diocess; yea, when he shall visit all the World? What answer shalt thou then make? I think verily thou shalt then have enough to do, yea, and more than thou canst wind thy self out of to make answer for thy self, for thine own Diocess, and for thine own Diocessans, though thou usurp not upon other Mens as thou dost. The Apostle writeth of Christ humbly, and calleth him *Magnum Pontificem*, the Great Bishop. And he of Rome is not with this word contented, but will have a higher word for himself in the superlative Degree, *Maximum Pontificem*. The greatest Bishop. Oh, where is the humbleness and meekness that should be in him? Alas, he that taketh on him to teach all the World, how can he for shame suffer for blasphemous words to pass in his name, to his great shame and rebuke; to the great danger of his soul, and to the perilous ensample unto other? Oh, he upon pride! It is a common Proverb, *Pride will have a fall*.

Our Bishop Christ was *humilis*, meek, lowly, and humble in heart. He rode not upon any Palfrey or courageous Horse, but upon an Ass, and that but once. He never was born pompously abroad in a Chair upon Mens shoulders. He never proffered his Foot to any body to Kiss. We read that he washed the feet of his Disciples and wiped them. We read that *Mary Magdalen* proffered to have kissed his feet, but he did prohibit her, saying, *Noli me tangere*; Touch me not. He would not suffer the Woman then to touch him. He never had Guard to defend him. He never followed the pomp of the world. He did not go upon the ground with his bare Feet. What shall I say? He gave ensamples enough to the Bishop of Rome, to me, and all other Bishops, to be meek and humble: he to know himself, and we our selves, as if he and we diligently look in Scripture, we shall find. And herein in meekness we are bound to follow him.

Compatiens infirmitates. This Bishop Christ, had compassion of our infirmities; of our frailties. It is impossible for a Man to know the afflictions of a miserable person, that never suffered himself affliction, that never had experience of pains, that never felt what pain meant. But this Bishop Christ, had experience of our nature,

how weak, how feeble the nature of Man is, how weak, of himself to do any good work without the help of God, how feeble to resist temptations. He suffered and felt the infirmities and pains of this natural body. He hath therefore compassion upon Man, when he doth see him fall. He sorroweth his ruine, teaching Bishops in especial afore all other, to have compassion and pity upon the sinner, to help him spiritually, to comfort him ghostly, to help him to arise from sin, to allure him to Penance, to draw him to Vertue, to make him know God, to fear his Justice, to love his Laws, and thus to seek all the ways that he and we can, to save the sinners soul, for whom he shall make answer to God for his own Diocessans; Soul for Soul, Blood for Blood, Pain for Pain, Hell for Hell, Damnation for Damnation. For which which soul, our great Bishop Christ (as the Apostle doth witness) did offer Gifts and Sacrifice himself, having compassion of them that by ignorance and by error did sin and offend God. Even when he was in his greatest agony upon the Cross, he cried to his Father; Forgive them Father, forgive them, they know not what they do, they are ignorant people, they know not what is what, or what danger they run into by thus intreating me. They know not their offences, forgive them Father, forgive them. In this compassion we ought also to follow our great Bishop Christ.

It followeth in the former Letter, *Esse Pontifex appellatus a Deo*. He is a Bishop, and so named of God: he is the very Bishop. He offered up the very Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of his own most blessed Body and Blood, wherewith the sin of the World was put away. Every Bishop of the World is not named a Bishop by God. For some come into that Office not by the Holy Ghost, nor elect of God (as *John* faith) not entering in *voie ovium per osium*, *sed ascendens alvande*. Some there are that enter into the fold of the Sheep of God not by the door. Some there be that enter in, having charge and cure of soul, not by God, but by worldly means, by worldly labour, by importune suites and intercessions of friends, or by their own unlawful labour, by symony, and such other ways. Such are named Bishops by God. Such enter not by the door, not by him that faith, *Ego sum osium*, *Ego sum via, veritas & vita*, I am the door, I am the way, I am the life, I am the Truth, I am *Pastor Bonus*, the very true and good Bishop that entered by God. And all that enter otherwise than by God, Christ calleth them *Fures & Latrones*, Thieves, Spoyleers, Ravens, Devourers, and Deceivers of the Sheep. Their living shall declare the same. For such as so wilfully do enter, do study their own profits and commodities. Such receive the fruits, and do nothing for them, such suffer their sheep to perish for lack of bodily and ghostly food and sustenance, for lack of preaching, for lack of giving good counsel, for lack of good living, for lack of good ensample. And such for the most part, live naughtily, carnally, fleshly, viciously, pompously, worldly, and not Bishoply nor Priestly. For they came not in by God; nor by grace. Christ faith, *Qui intrat per me salvabitur, & ingredietur, & egredietur, & pasqua inveniet*. He that entereth by me shall be saved. *Et ingredietur, & egredietur*. And he shall go in, and he shall go out. What is that to say, He shall go in, and he shall go out? I think and suppose he meaneth thereby going in, that he shall have grace to enter studiously into the holy Scripture, daily and nightly to meditate, to study, and to profit in the Laws of God. *Et egredietur*. And he shall explain and truly interpret and publish it unto the people. *Et pasqua inveniet*. And he shall find there plenty of spiritual food for himself and for his people, to edify their souls, to instruct and call them to the knowledge of God, to feed them plentifully, that they shall not lack necessities to their souls. Let us therefore so live, that we may be called *Pontifices appellati a Deo*.

This our great Bishop Christ is also *Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior cælis, sedens a dextris Dei, emundatus conscientiae nostrae a peccatis, intrans sancta sanctorum per proprium sanguinem*. He is *sanctus*, a holy Bishop, and willesh us to be holy in our conversation, applying our selves unto godliness, to the service of God, to live like Bishops, like Priests, pure, clean, chaste, devout, studious, faithfully labouring.

ing in his Word, praying, doing Sacrifice, and ever to be godly and virtuously occupied.

Innocent. He is *Innocent*, an Innocent. He never sinned, he never offended in word, thought, nor deed. *Innocent*, annoying no creature, profiting all folks, meekly suffering aduities, opprobries, rages, rebukes, and reproaches, without grudge or contradiction. *Innocent & simplex*, *simplex sine plica*. An innocent, without plet or wrinkle, without error or doubleness, without hypocrite or dissimulation, without flattering or glofing, without fraud or deceit; not serving the Body nor the World, but God. In this we ought also to follow our heavenly Bishop.

Impollutus. He was undefiled. He lived clean without spot or blot, without wem or stain. No *immunditia* in him, no uncleanness nor filthiness; but all pure and clean, chaste and immaculate, all bright and shining in grace and godliness; Infomuch that he was *segregatus a peccatoribus*, clean segrege from all kind of uncleannels, from all manner of sins, and from all sinners. Segrege from them, not from their company; for as *Matthew* writeth, Publicans and Sinners came and eat and drank with him and his Disciples in the Houle of *Levi*. And he also came as a Physician to heal the sinner. And yet he was segrege from them, *Quantum ad participationem eam eis in peccato*; as touching their ill livings, not being participant with them in sin, but came only to heal them, and to rid them from sin and fore of the foul. He entred the Heavens, not with the blood of Kid nor Goat, but with his own proper blood. For which, and for holiness and perfectness, *Excelsior calis factus est*. He is extolled and exalted above all Angels and beatitudes; above all the Heavens, sitting on the right hand of the Father. Whom all the heavenly Creatures do worship, honour, and do reverence unto. Where he prayeth for his people, and is Mediator in his manhood to his Father for us.

Manib. 9. This our Bishop purgeth our conscience (as witnesseth the Apostle) he cleanseth our Souls, he maketh us inwardly beautiful and fair. The Bishop of *Rome* lacketh many of these notable virtues. He hath few or none of these properties, few or none of these qualities. He is (as we all are sinners) a sinner. To whom this word *Magnus*, great, is not convenient, nor can be in him any ways verified. For he cannot forgive sin as our Bishop doth, nor justice as he doth, neither enter in *sancta sanctorum*, with his own blood, as he did. How can he then be called a great Bishop, that is, (as we be all sinners) a sinner, a breaker of the Laws of God, and daily doth, or may fall and sin? And for that cause the Law commanded that every Bishop and Priest should first offer Holts and Sacrifice for his own sins, and afterward for the sins of the people. How can he therefore be called a great Bishop or Priest?

Magni. Our Bishop we speak of is the very great Bishop. No dole, no fraud, no guile was ever found in his mouth. And when the Prince of the World, the Devil, came to him, he could find no point of sin in him. Wherefore *Gabriel* the Archangel shewing his Nativity unto *Mary* his Mother, said, *Hic erit magnus*, & *Filius Altissimi vocabitur*. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of God. And again it is written of him, *Propheta magnus surrexit inter nos*. A great Prophet is risen among us. Sin maketh a Man small and little; little in reputation before God and Man. Virtue maketh Man great and of high reputation. Shew me one place in Scripture where you have read, that a sinner was called great; I trow it shall not be found. Will you hear who were called great in Virtue; It is written of *Isaac*, *Quod proficiebat, & factus est magnus valde*. He prouted greatly in Virtue, and was made great, great in reputation of the world. *Moses* was called *Magnus*, Great for his Virtue. *Abraham* and *John Baptist* likewise. Now *Jesus* our Bishop, is called *Magnus Episcopus, magnus Sacerdos*. And after him never Bishop called *Magnus* in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of Man, unless it be in comparison one of another (and so Saints and holy lives are called great in respect of sinners, or other mean lives) But where Christ our Bishop cometh, there he, not in comparison of other, but *simpliciter*, by his own magnitude and greatness, and of himself, ever was and is great, of whom it is written, *A summo calo egressus ejus*; &

accursus ejus usque ad summum ejus. And as the Apostle *KING* also proveth in many places by expres word. But now there is no Bishop or Priest in this world that may worthily of himself be called great, nor ought to take this name *Magnus* upon him. *1 Hm. 8.*

This is he therefore of whom it is written, *Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis*. The great Bishop above all other. And as he is called, and in very deed is, *Pastor pauperum, Pontifex pontificum, Propeta prophetarum, Sanctus sanctorum, Dominus dominantium, Rex regum; ita & Magnus magnorum est*. And as he is called the Herdman of Herdmen, the Bishop of Bishops, the Prophet of Prophets, the Holy of Holies, the Lord of Lords, the King of Kings; even so he is called, and verily is *Episcopus magnus*. Therefore the Prophet did add; *Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis*. The great Bishop or Priest. Great of himself, great in virtue and power: great of himself, and great in comparison afore all other. And therefore the Apostle said, *Habemus Pontificem magnum, qui penetravit calos, Jesum Filium Dei*; We have a great Bishop which did penetrate the Heavens, *Jesus* the Son of God.

Here may ye now see, how the Bishop of *Rome* doth wrongfully incoach upon our great Bishop, *Jesus* Christ, to take from him not only this name *Magnus*; and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, *viz. Maximus, Summus, Sanctissimus, Beatissimus, Universalis*, and such other; The Greatest, the Highest, the Holiest, the Blessedst and Universal, in the superlative Degree, and yet there is no great Bishop but Christ only, no supreme Bishop but he only, none Holy, none Blessed, none Universal Bishop but only he. The Bishop of *Rome* and all other Bishops are but Underlings and unworthy Suffragans unto this Bishop Christ.

This our Christ (as witnesseth the Apostle) is *Pontifex nostrae confessionis*. The Bishop whom we do confesse to be our Great Bishop, our High Bishop, our Supreme Bishop, our Holy Bishop, Blessed and Universal Bishop. Which names are reserved only unto Christ, and to no Earthly Bishop; Not to the Bishop of *Rome*, nor to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, nor to the Bishop of *Antioch*, nor of *Constantinople*, nor to any other Bishop. No Earthly Bishop may presume to take upon him the high and holy Names, only to God appropriate. *The Pope Incoacheth upon Christ.*

God of thy goodness thou mayest, and I trust wilt once make this Vain-glorious Bishop of *Rome* first to know and acknowledge thy Son Christ to be the only Supreme and Universal Bishop of the World. Secondly to know himself, his weakness, his frailty, and his presumption; To know his Office and bounden duty unto thee: To know his own Diocels, and to usurp no further: Thirdly, to have a low, humble, meek heart and stomach, to fear thee God, and thy judgments, to know ledge his own faults and usurpations, and to redress the same.

Now to return unto our matter, it followeth in the Letter first taken; *De quo edere non habent potestatem qui Tabernaculo deservunt, &c.* And thus much out of *John Longlands* Sermon against the Pope.

You heard before by the Kings Injunctions above expressed, and directed out Anno 1538, how all such Images and Pictures which were abused with Pilgrimage or offerings of any Idolatry were abolished: By virtue of which Injunctions, divers Idols, and specially the most notable Stocks of Idolatry, were taken down the same year, 1538 as the Images of *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, *Worcester*, the Lady of *Willesden*, *Thomas Becket*, with many more, having Engines to make their eyes to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false juggings, as the blood of *Hayles*, and such like, wherewith the simple People a long time had been deceived. All which were eiped out, and destroyed. *Ann. 1538*

Among divers other of these foul Idols, there went also in the same reckoning a certain old Idolatrous Image in *Wales*, named *Darvel Gathern*; which in the Month of *May*, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to *London*, and burned in *Smithfield*. With the which Idol also was burnt the same time and hanged for Treason, *Frier Forrest*, of whom some mention was partly touched before in the Story of *Cardinal Wolfe*. *The Idol of Darvel Gathern in Wales.*

KING
Hen. 8.

Frier Forrest.

Frier Forrest
executed
for rebel-
ling against
the Kings
supremacy.Frier Forrest
burnt in
Smithfield.A Witch
Prophecie
of Darvill
Gatheren.The ruine
and disolu-
tion of
Abbeys and
Monasteries
in England.

Mat. 15.

This Forrest was an observant Frier, and had secretly in Confessions declared to many of the Kings Subjects that the King was not supreme Head; and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the King was not supreme Head of the Church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, *That he took his Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented therunto.* And being further accused of divers damnable Articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly submitted himself to abide the punishment of the Church. Upon this submission, having more liberty than before he had to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his submission as ever he was. And when his Abjuration was sent him to read, he utterly refused it, and obstinately persevered in his Errors: wherefore he was justly condemned, after hanged in Smithfield in Chains upon a Gallows quick, by the middle and armoles, and fire was made under him, and so was he consumed and burnt to death.

In the place of Execution, there was a Scaffold prepared for the Kings most honourable Council, and the Nobles of the Realm to sit upon, to grant him Pardon, if he had any spark of Repentance in him. There was also a Pulpit prepared, where the right reverend Father, Hugh Laitman, Bishop of Worcester declared his Errors, and manifestly confuted them by the Scripture, with many godly Exhortations to move him to Repentance. But he was so forewarned, that he neither would hear, neither speak. A little before, the foresaid Image, called *Darvill Gatheren*, coming out of Wales, was brought to the Gallows, and there also with the foresaid Frier, as is said, was set on fire: whom the *Welshmen* much worshipped, and had a Prophecie amongst them, That this Image should set a whole Forrest on fire. Which Prophecie took effect; for he set this Frier Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The Frier, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, he caught hold upon the Ladder, and would not let it go, but so unpatiently took his death, as never any man that put his trust in God, at any time so ungodly or unquietly ended his life.

In the month of October and November the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these Images and Pilgrimages, followed also the ruine of the Abbeys and religious Houses, which by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell (or rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God) were suppressed, being given a little before by Act of Parliament into the Kings hand; whereupon not only the Houses were rased, but their Possessions also disparted among the Nobility in such sort, as all Friers, Monks, Chanons, Nuns, and other Sects of Religion were then so rooted out of this Realm from the very foundation, that there seemeth, by Gods Grace, no possibility hereafter left for the Generation of those strange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true Verdict of our Lord and Saviour Christ in his Gospel, saying, *Every Plantation being not planted of my Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, &c.*

The History of the worthy Martyr of God John Lambert, otherwise named Nicolson, with his Troubles, Examinations and Answers, as well before the Archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, and other Bishops: as also before King Henry the Eighth, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in Anno 1538.

Immediately upon the ruine and destruction of the Monasteries, the same year, and in the month of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, and Martyr of blessed Memory. This Lambert being born and brought up in Norfolk, was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the University of Cambridge. Where after that he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and

Greek, and had translated out of both Tongues sundry things into the English-Tongue, being informed at last by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the Seas, to Tindall and Friib, and there remained the space of a year and more, being Preacher and Chaplain to the English-House at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and by the Accusation of one Barlow, was carried from Antwerp to London: where he was brought to Examination first at Lambeth, then at the Bishops Houle at Oxford, before Warham the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Adversaries, having five and forty Articles minilisted against him, whereunto he rendered Answer again by writing. The which Answers forasmuch as they contain great learning, and may give some light to the better understanding of the common causes of Religion now in controversy, I thought here to exemplifie the same, as they came right happily to our hands. The Copy both of the Articles, and also of his Answers, here in order followeth.

Articles to the number of five and forty laid to Lambert.

1. *Item*, Whether thou wast suspect or infamed of Heresie?

2. Whether ever thou hadst any of Luthers Books, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long thou keptst them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?

3. Whether thou wast constitute Priest, and in what Diocess, and of what Bishop?

4. Whether it be lawful for a Priest to marry a wife, and whether a Priest in some case be bound by the Law of God to marry a wife?

5. Whether thou believest that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity?

6. Whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament necessary unto Salvation, and whether after the consecration of the Bread and Wine done by the Priest, as by the Minister of God, there is the very Body and Blood of Christ, in likeness of Bread and Wine?

7. *Item*, What opinion thou holdest touching the Sacrament of Baptism, whether thou dost believe that it is a Sacrament of the Church, and a necessary Sacrament unto Salvation, and that a Priest may Baptize, and that the Order of Baptizing ordained by the Church, is necessary and wholesome?

8. *Item*, Whether thou believe that Matrimony be a Sacrament of the Church necessary to be observed in the Church, and that the Order appointed by the Church for the solemnizing thereof, is allowable and to be holden?

9. *Item*, Whether thou dost believe Orders to be a Sacrament of the Church, and that saying of Mass ordained by the Church is to be observed of Priests; whether it be deadly sin or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the order of Priesthood were invented by mans imagination, or ordained by God?

10. *Item*, Whether Penance be a Sacrament of the Church, and necessary unto Salvation, and whether any particular Confession is to be made unto the Priest, or is necessary unto Salvation; and whether thou believest that a Christian is bound, besides contrition of heart, having the free use of an apt or free Priest, under necessity of Salvation, to be confessed unto a Priest, and not unto any Layman, be he never so good and devout; and whether thou believest that a Priest in cases permitted to him may absolve a Sinner (being contrite and confessed) from his sins, and enjoy him wholesome Penance?

11. *Item*, Whether thou dost believe and hold, that the Sacrament of Confirmation and extreme Unction be Sacraments of the Church, and whether that they do profit the Souls of them which receive them, and whether thou believest the foresaid seven Sacraments to give Grace unto them that do duly receive them?

12. Whether all things necessary unto Salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things upon necessity of Salvation are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture?

13. Whether

Lambert
preached to
the English
House at
Antwerp.
Lambert also
called by
our Barlow.
Lambert
brought
from Ant-
werp to
London.

Articles
palath
John Lam-
bert.

Sacrament
of Orders.

Sacrament
of Penance.

Sacrament
of Confir-
mation.

Unwritten
Positive.

- Purgatory.** 13. Whether thou believest that Purgatory is, and whether that Souls departed be therein tormented and purged?
- Praying to Saints.** 14. Whether holy Martyrs, Apostles, and Confessors departed from this World, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?
15. Whether the Saints in Heaven as Mediators pray for us?
- Pilgrimage.** 16. Whether thou believest that Oblations and Pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the Sepulchres and Reliques of Saints?
- Lent-Fast.** 17. Whether the Fast in *Lent*, and other appointed by the Canon Law, and received in common usage of Christian people (unless necessity otherwise requireth) are to be observed?
18. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worshipful Images be set in Churches for the remembrance of Christ and his Saints?
- Worshipful Images.** 19. Whether thou believest that Prayers of men living, do profit Souls departed, and being in Purgatory?
- Praying for Souls departed.** 20. Whether men may merit and deserve both by their Fastings, and also by their other deeds of devotion?
- Meets.** 21. Whether thou dost believe that men prohibited of Bishops to preach, as suspect of Heresie, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspicion before an higher Judge?
- Preaching without licence.** 22. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for all Priests freely to preach the Word of God or no?
23. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for Lay-men of both kinds; that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the Word of God, or no?
- Lay-men to preach.** 24. Whether Excommunication denounced by the Pope against all Heretics, do oblige and bind them before God?
- The Popes Excommunication.** 25. Whether every Priest is bound to say daily his Mattens and Even-song, according as it is ordained by the Church, or whether he may leave them unsaid without offence or deadly sin?
- Saying of Mattens.** 26. Whether thou believest that the Heads or Rulers, by necessity of Salvation, are bound to give unto the people holy Scripture in their Mother-Language?
- Scripture in the Mother-tongue.** 27. Whether it is lawful for the Rulers for some cause, upon their reasonable advicement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the Vulgar Language?
28. Whether thou believest that Consecrations, Hallowings, and Blessings used in the Church are to be praised?
- Making of Laws in the Church.** 29. Whether thou believest that the Pope may make Laws and Statutes, to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under pain of deadly sin, so that such Laws and Statutes be not contrary to the Law of God?
30. Whether thou believest that the Pope and other Prelates, and their Deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate Priests and Lay-people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the Church, and so suspend or let them from administration of the Sacraments of the same?
- Justification.** 31. Whether Faith only without good Works may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his Baptism, for his salvation and justifying?
32. Whether a Priest marrying a Wife, and that without the dispensation of the Pope, and begetting also Children of her without slander giving, do sin deadly?
- Difference between a Latin Priest and a Greek Priest.** 33. *Item*, Whether a Latin-Priest after he hath taken the Order of Priesthood, being fore troubled and stirred with pricking of Lust and Lechery, and therefore marrying a Wife for remedy of the same, do sin deadly?
- Praying for Wickliffe, Hus, and Hierome of Prague.** 34. *Item*, Whether thou dost ever pray for *John Wickliffe*, *John Hus*, or *Hierome of Prague*, condemned of Heresie in the Council of *Constance*, or for any of them since they died; or whether thou hast done openly or secretly any deeds of Charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss, and saved?
35. *Item*, Whether thou hast recounted them or any of them to be Saints, and worshipped them as Saints?
- General Council.** 36. *Item*, Whether thou dost believe, hold and affirm, that every general Council, and the Council of *Constance* also, do represent the universal Congregation or Church?
37. *Item*, Whether thou dost believe the same things which the Council of *Constance*, representing the universal Church, hath approved and doth approve for the maintenance of Faith, and Souls health, and that the same is to be approved and holden of all Christians?
38. Whether the condemnations of *John Wickliffe*, *John Hus*, and *Hierome of Prague*, done upon their Persons, Books and Documents, by the whole general Council of *Constance*, were duly and rightly done, and so for such of every Catholick Person they are to be holden?
39. Whether thou believest that *John Wickliffe* of *England*, *John Hus* of *Boheme*, and *Hierome of Prague*, were Heretics, and for Heretics to be named, and their Books and Doctrines to have been and now be perverse, for the which Books and pertinacy of their persons, they are condemned by the holy Council of *Constance* for Heretics?
- The Council of Constance.** 40. *Item*, Whether thou believe or affirm, that it is not lawful in any case to swear?
- Whether to swear.** 41. Whether thou believe that it is lawful at the Commandment of a Judge to make an Oath to say the truth, or any other Oath in case convenient, and that also for purgation of Infamy?
42. *Item*, Whether a Christian person despising the receipt of the Sacraments of Confirmation, extreme Unction, or solemnizing of Matrimony, do sin deadly?
- The number of Sacraments.** 43. *Item*, Whether thou believe that *Saint Peter*, as Christ's Vicar, have Power upon Earth to bind and loose?
- The power of Peter.** 44. *Item*, Whether the Pope ordinarily chosen for a time, his proper name being exprest, be the Successor of *St. Peter*?
- The power of the Pope.** 45. *Item*, Whether thou hast ever promised at any time by an Oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that you would always hold and defend certain Conclusions or Articles, seeming to you and your Accomplishes right and consonant unto the Faith, and that you certify us touching the order and tenor of the said Opinions and Conclusions, and of the names and surnames of them that were your Adherents, and promised to be adherent unto you in this behalf?

¶ The Answer of John Lambert to the first Article.

UNTO your first demand, wherein you do ask whether I was suspect of infamed of Heresie? I answer, That I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me, peradventure some better, some worse, like as that opinion of the people was never one, but thought diversly of all the famous Prophets, and of the Apostles, yea, and of Christ himself: as appeareth in *Saint John*, how when he came into *Jerusalem* in the Feast called *Scenopogia*, anon there arose upon him a great noise, some saying that he was a very good man, other said nay, and called him a *Seducer*, because he led the people from the right ways of *Moses* Law into Error. Seeing therefore that all men could not say well by Christ, which is the Author of Verity and Truth, yea the very Truth it self, and likewise of his best Servants: what should I need to regard, if at some time, some person for a like cause should suspect of me amiss, and evil report of me. Saying, moreover it is said in the Gospel, *Vos vobis cum laudaverint vos omnes homines, &c.* Was he to you when all men speak well of you: for so did their Fathers to the false Prophets. If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded the same, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any such, yet were I more than twice a fool to shew you thereof: for it is written in your own Law, *Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*, no man is bound to bewray himself. But this I censure you, I was never so charged with suspicion or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any time convicted and reproved afore any Judge afore that I was troubled for these causes, for which I was at the first put into your hands: and of them, seeing

KING feeling you could not prove me faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce me quit and innocent, according as I have even lowly desired of you, and required full instantly the same. But letting those things pass, you have imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I think certainly, that you could no more have proved me culpable, than you did in the first; that is to wit, no whit culpable in neither, had it not been, that by long imprisonment you enforced me to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely do; and that indifferently considered, I suppose shall not deserve any fore punishment, unless you will beard the truth, wherein I hope it shall not disagree.

Answer to the second Article. To your second demand, where you do inquire whether ever I had any of *Luthers* Books, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether ever I have spent any study in them? I say that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and also since, but I never will, ne can tell you, how long I kept them; but truth it is, that I have studied upon them, and I thank God that ever I did: for by them hath God shewed unto me, and also to a huge multitude of other, such light, as the deceiverable darkness of them (I beseech God amend it) that name themselves, but amils, to be the holy Church, cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not stand to any trial. He coveteth above all things, as all his Adversaries do well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his Adversaries, might be translated into all Languages, to the intent that all people might see and know, what is said of every part, whereby men should the better judge what the truth is. And in this re thinketh he requirerh nothing but equity; for the Law would have no man condemned, ne justified, until his cause were heard and known.

But the contrary part, I mean our over-rich Prelacy, which is so drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to study Gods Scripture, ne preach the same, which should be the principal part of their Office, abhor this fashion (albeit it is right indifferent and full equity) no less than they do abhor death. And no marvel, for doubtless, if it so could be obtained, that the Writings of all Parties might openly be seen and conferred, we should soon see their slight dealing and facing Doctrine, with all other cloaked abusion, lightly overthrown, as appeareth well in *Almaine*: for there be the Books of every Party seen openly, and translated in the Vulgar Language, that all people may see and read upon them; and so upon the light of the Books, they lightly follow the true light of Gods Word, refusing the horror of darkness and false Doctrine, whereby before they have been seduced from the right teaching and way shewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hundred, ne of a thousand, but generally of whole Cities and Countries, both high and low, few or none except.

But our Prelates seeing this, and that their dealing should, if this light were set up, soon be detect and discovered, have sent out Commandments, that if any person should adventure to keep any such Books, they shall be in so doing Excommunicate from God, and all his Saints, and cursed as black a *Pitch*, whether the Books be in *Latin*, *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, or any other Tongue; as indeed men seeing the fruit contained in them have set them forth in all Languages. But this ought not Christian men to think any novelty; for so did their Forefathers the Prelates in Christs time, and after to the Apostles; yea, and if it were well tried, I think it should be soon found out, that they have so dealt ever since unto this day. For when Christ went about preaching, the Scribes and Pharisees, which were Bishops then and Prelates, gave a general Commandment, *That whosoever confessed him to be Christ, should be accursed, and put out of the Synagogue*, that we call the Church, and so they were.

Look in the *Acts of the Apostles*; and you shall find how they were in like manner served; yea, look in the *Old Testament*, and you shall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a Temporal Ruler at that season, to have the Prophecie of *Jeremy* (for he of all other is most vehement against the diminution of Priests) to be burned: why then should we chide them, or their

works (unless we knew a better cause why) whom our Prelates reject and cast away, seeing they render no reasonable cause of their enterprise; but presuming of their power, without any due authority that I can find, granted unto them so to do, will; because they so command, so have all done, according to the tyrannical saying, as *Ixtrow, of Sardanapalus, Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas*; That is to say, So will I, so do I command, and that my will for reason stand.

But I would to God that such knew what spirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the Spirit which they claim and pretend to have, I mean the Spirit of Christ, I dare say it should soon alter thee from such haughty Language and doting, and cause them to turn a new leaf; for that Spirit is full of softness and lenity, lowliness and humility, patience and temperancy, void of wilfulness and tyranny, yea, it should cause them not to prevent, but easily to follow the Counsel and Doctrine of Christs Apostles and holy Saints that be their Interpreters. As Saint *Paul*, which writing unto the *Thessalonians* would have them all to prove all things; and to retain or hold that only which is good, *refraining from all that hath semblance of evil*. And Saint *John* would have Christian people to try the Spirits of them that should speak, whether they were of God or no. Also he writing in another Epistle unto a Noble woman, and unto her Children, saith, *If any person shall come unto you, bringing with them the Doctrine that is not of Christ, receive him not into your house, ne make him any cheer*. So that in this he would have Women to know the Doctrine of Christ, and to love that, refusing to give Credence unto foreign Teaching, not favouring the same.

In the first Epistle also to the *Corinthians*, Saint *Paul* writing in general to all the Inhabitants of that City, saith, *Brethren, be ye not Children in wit and understanding, but as concerning maliciousness, be you Children*. In wit I would have you perfect; and why? Verily for none other cause, but that we should (as he writeth unto the *Hebrews*) have discretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so to be like men differing from beasts, according unto the saying of the Prophet, *See that ye be not like unto an Horse or a Mule which lack understanding*. And we should pray with him in another Psalm, *O Lord teach me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my Soul unto thee*.

Saint Chrysostome according unto this, in a certain Book of his Commentaries upon *Matthew*, the Book is called *Jesus Opus imperfectum*, writeth after this manner, so near as my remembrance doth serve, and certain I am that I shall not mis-report him, and in that I will be tried whensoever it shall please you to bring the Book. The Priests that were Pharisees in the time (saith he) of Christ, made an Ordinance, *That whosoever should acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, should be accursed and Excommunicate*. If then the Pharisees or Priests that now do occupy their rooms should make a like Ordinance, because they would not have Christs Doctrine to be professed for hindering of their lucre, should we therefore give in all points credence unto them, and leave off to seek after the knowledge of Christs Doctrine? Nay truly, *Why* (quoth he) shall we not be excused herein by ignorance, seeing we be forewarned by the Rulers to have knowledge? He answereth, *No verily; for if (saith he) when thou desirest to buy Cloth, thou wilt not be content to see one Merchant; Ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so further, to know where is the best Cloth and best cheap; thou using such careful diligence for a Temporal profit, art well worthy great reproach, that wilt be more remiss and negligent for thy Souls health. Seek therefore about from one Doctor or Teacher unto another, that thou mayst know who doth most duly and truly teach Christ, and him follow, according to the saying of the Apostle, Prove all, and hold the good; and as it is said in the Gospel, that thou mayst know Qui sunt probati numismatici, & qui non; that is to wit, know who be true or lawfull Changers or Coiners; and who be not*.

He also addeth another similitude or parable. *When thou goest (quoth he) a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, lest thou shouldst fail of the right way, enquire of one man and after of another, and if thou shouldst chance to go somewhat wide, yet thou wilt*

The Papist-render no reason of their doing
The proud proceedings of the Papists, only upon will, and commandment, without all reason.
The spirit of Charity, and the spirit of the Papist fast unlikelike

1 Thes. 5.
Christians bidden to try spirits.
1 Joh. 4.

2 Job. 1.

1 Cor. 14

Isa. 32.
Ps. 143

Christ. in

per. super.

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wilt not so leave off thy Journey undone, but make inquiry again to come where thou wouldst rest. So likewise (saith he) ought we to seek out intensively for the wealth of our Soul, Qui sunt probi clavigeri, & qui non; that is to say, who are the right Key-bearers, and who not; meaning thereby the Key-bearers, Christs Apostles, and Bearers of his Testimony or Message. Which saying although it were written of no authentical Author (howbeit it is written even of him whom I shewed you in the said work) but uttered of one that were in little estimation, every indifferent person having wit and reason would assent, I doubt not, that it is full true.

Ifsgman
Coryell.

Lavful to
read and
cry all
Books.

Elizama.

The same Author also, in an Epistle which you shall find in a work called *Esquima Chrysolami*, sheweth, as I remember, how certain men deemed ill of him, because he did study *Origens* Work, which afore was condemned for an Heretick: But he maketh an Apology to the same, shewing, that Christian men ought not to be reprehended for so doing. In which Apology he bringeth for his defence the saying of *Paul* above rehearsed, *Prove all things; &c.* Likewise did *St. Hierome*, I wrote not well in what place of his Works, but you shall find it in a Treatise called *Unio disidentium*, where he entreateth *De mandatis hominum*. When it was objected against him that he retained by him the Works of *Eusebius* and of *Origen*, studying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was so lawfull, the said place of the Apostle, making therewith an answer worthy to be greatly noted.

The same is also reported in the Book called *Ecclesiastica Historia*, or else *Historia Tripartita*, I wrote not now precisely whether. So that these and other more Authorities of the Scripture, and semblable ensamples of holy Interpreters shall prove, that I and other may fairly (no good Law inhibiting, unless Constitutions Pharisaical) read and search the Works not only of *Luther*, but also of all other, be they never so ill or good; namely, seeing I am a Priest; whom the Bishop of *Norwich* ought not to have admitted into Orders, unless he had seen me to have had judgment to discern good from ill, neither ought any of you to give Orders to any such, in whom you do not find like ability to judge the light from darkness, and the truth from falsehood: and therefore if for this you would punish me, I cannot see but you shall condemn your selves, judging rather of sensual pleasure than of equity, which in men of your Order were a great shame, and much uncomely.

Answer to
the third
Article.
Lambert
made Priest
in Norwich.

¶ Unto your third Demand, wherein you do ask whether I was Constituted a Priest, and in what Diocess, and of what Bishop: I say that I was made a Priest in *Norwich*, and of the Bishops Suffragan of the same Diocess.

Answer to
the fourth
Article.
Marriage of
Priests, whether it
be lawfull and
expedient.

¶ Unto the fourth, wherein you do demand whether it be lawfull for a Priest to marry a Wife, and whether a Priest in some case be bound by the Law of God to marry a Wife: I say that it is lawfull, yea, and necessary for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of Chastity, to marry a Wife, and that sheweth both Christ and Saint Paul. In the nineteenth of *Matthew* Christ speaking unto the *Pharisees* that came to tempt him, in the conclusion, faith in this wise, *Whosoever shall forsake his Wife except it be for Fornication, and marryeth another, committeth Adultery; and whosoever marryeth her so forsaken, doth also commit Adultery.*

Mat. 19.

Gal. 2.

Rom. 9.

With that speak his Disciples, if thus the case stand betwix a Man and his Wife, it shall be hurtful and not expedient to contract Matrimony. He made answer, *Mat. 19.* Every man cannot away with that saying, but they unto whom it is given of God; meaning, that every man could not abide single or unmarried, but such unto whom was given of God a special Grace so to continue. And if with your better advice I might be somewhat herein bold, I would suppose that whereas he doth say, *Non omnes sunt capaces huius dicti* (Every man cannot away with that saying) this word *Non omnes* ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture, as where in the *Psalms* it is said, *Non iudicabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens*; It is meant that no person living shall be justified afore God. And in the Epistle to the *Galaicians*, and to the *Romans*, where it is said, *Ex operibus Legis*

Non omnes
taken un-
derstandly in
Scripture.

non iustificabitur omnis caro; (By the Works of the Law no flesh shall be justified in his sight) it is meant thereby. *Nulla caro*: so that, *Non omnis*, after the rule of equipollence, should be taken for as much as *nullus*, and then the sense should be thus, *Nulli sunt capaces huius dicti nisi hi quibus datum sit*. No man can be capable of this saying, or can so pass their life without marriage, except those which have it given them by a singular Grace of God to live chaste.

Then he proceeded further, saying, *There be gelded Men which so were born from their Mothers Womb, and there be some gelded men, which have been so made by men, and there be gelded men that have so made themselves for love of the Kingdom of Heaven.* In conclusion he saith, Who that receiveth this saying, thinketh that it should be unexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaste through the gift given him of God, let him take it and so live. So he leaveth single life to all mens election, without any compelling them thereto.

Hereunto assenteth Saint Paul, when that by many reasons he had perverted the *Corinthians* to single life; finally, he concludeth thus, *This* (quoth he) *I unto you, willing that which should be for your profit, but not to bring you into bondage. And a little afore, I would* (quoth he) *that all men were even as my self am. But every one hath a several Gift from God, one one wife, another another wife*: shewing thereby, that unto some it is given of God to live continent, and to other to engender and procreate Children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may easily perceive in this, that after he had shewed forth his good will and desire, saying, *Velim omnes homines, &c.* I would that all men were even as I am, he putteth a Conjunction adverbative, that declareth an obstacle or stop, saying, *Sed unusquisque proprium donum habet, &c.* But every man hath his proper Gift of God. Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may aptly see, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. *This* (quoth he) *I say to the unmarried and Widows; expedient it were for them to remain as I do; but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage, for better is it to marry than to burn.* This proveth well, that all Priests, wanting continency of heart, had need to marry to avoid burning ill, unless they be inobedient to the mind of Christ that spake in Paul, in observing the Traditions of men. In the beginning of the same Chapter also he saith, *It is good that a man should not deal with a woman; notwithstanding for avoiding Fornication* (quoth he) *let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband.* He saith here, *Quisquis & quæque*, every man and every woman. And not *quisquam* and *quædam*, some man nor some woman; he excepteth neither Priest nor Nun, but every one both man and woman is bound, for avoiding of burning and Fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of Chastity.

The same also confirmeth your own Law, *Dispositio. 29. Dispositio. 29.* where it is written thus, *Si quis discernit Presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, anathema sit.* If any man do hold that a Priest being married, in that respect that he is married, ought not to minister in his Function, be he accused. And in the 31. *Dispositio*, *Si quis vituperat nuptias, & dormientem cum viro suo fidelem, ac religiosam detestatur, aut culpabilem estimat, veluti quæ Regnum Dei intrare non possit, anathema sit.* If any man shall find fault with Matrimony, and detest a faithful and devout woman lying with her husband, and think her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the Kingdom of God, be he accused. And every where else such like are to be seen.

Moreover, in *Historia tripartita* it is written, that a noble Martyr of Christ called *Papinianus*, in the *Nicens* Council, when all other Bishops were purposed to have excommunicated those that Priests should live unmarried, this holy man resisted them so mightily both with Reasons, and also with Authority of Scripture, that then their purpose altered, and their first devise could not pass. And one Authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of Paul in the second Epistle to *Timothy*, *Tuus devotus* (quoth he) *may have a semblance of Holiness; but indeed it shall be the destruction and undoing of the same.*

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More-

KING
H. 8.

Chastity is
a gift only
of God.

Gelded men
three ways
in Scripture.

Stipend
ought not
to be com-
pelled.

I Cor. 7.

Marriage
necessary
for all men,
whosoever
lack contin-
ency of
heart.

Dispositio,
quædam, not
quædam quæ-
dam.

Dispositio. 31.
Marriage
left free by
the Pope's
Lave.

papinianus

Marriage
permitted
free by the
Council of
Nica.

KING. Moreover, in one of the principal Histories of France, called *Les illustrations de Gaules*, Whosoever pleads may there read it as it standeth, with six leaves afore the end of the same; how the Author with deep sorrow lamenteth the Ordinance that decreed first, Priests to live unmarried, shewing and that amply, the miseries that have ensued in France thereby, imputing it unto *Celiste* the Pope, of whom he maketh a doleful mention in meter, whereof the first I yet remember, and it is thus, *O Sancte Calixte, totus mundus odit te, &c.* O holy Calixte, all the world hateth thee. Which followeth in writing to all that lust to behold therein. But what need I to make longer *Transits* hereof, so far as you do daily both hear and see, what foul abomination ariseth in every corner, of this pitious Law made of men that would presume to be wiser than God, thinking (as we ever do) that either he would not, or else for lack of wisdom he could not give us a sufficient Law or way, to direct our life and conversation, to come to the joy and resting place of him promised, and so of us longed and looked for. Whereby we both be far unreasonable in so deeming of him after our unwise way, and he much dishonoured. The which I beseech him to help. Amen.

Answer to the fifth Article. Free will to deserve, joy or pain. ¶ Unto the fifth, where ye do ask, whether I believe that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity; that is (as you continue) to wit, whether man hath free will so that he may deserve joy or pain? I say (as I said at the beginning) that unto the first part of your Riddle, I neither can, nor will give any definitive answer, forasmuch as it surmounteth my capacity, trusting that God shall send hereafter other that shall be of better learning and wit than I, to indite it. As concerning the second part, whereas you do interpret; that is to say, whether man hath free will or no, so that he may deserve joy or pain; as for our deserving specially of joy, I think it very little or none, even when we do the very Commandments and Law of God, and that am I taught by our Saviour in St. Luke, where he saith thus, *Which of you, quoth he, having a Servant that hath eared your Land, or fed your Beasts, will say unto him when he cometh home out of the field, go thy way quickly, and sit down to thy meat; and rather will not say unto him, make ready my Supper, sewing me therat till I have made an end thereof; and afterward take thy self meat and drink. Think you that he is bound to thank his Servant which thus shall do his Commandment? I trow (saith he) nay. Even so you, saith he, when you have done all things to your Commandment, say yet you be unprofitable Servants, and have done that which you were bound to do.*

Merits not to be esteemed. In which words you may clearly see, that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, when we have done that is commanded by God, but rather reckoning our selves to be but Servants unprofitable to God, forasmuch as he hath no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loveth to see us do well for our own behoof: and moreover, that when we have done his bidding, we ought not to so magnify, neither our self, nor our own free will, but laud him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure; not regarding our merit, but his Grace and Benefit: Whereby only is done all that in any wise is to him acceptable. And thus if we ought not to attend our merits in doing the Commandment of God, much less should we look for merit, for observing of our own inventions or traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all Scripture, which *Paul* calleth the word of Truth and of Faith, promised.

Observing of Gods works worketh in us no merit. But here may be objected against me, that the Reward is promised in many places to them that do observe the Precepts of God. That I affirm to be very sooth. Notwithstanding such Reward shall never be attained of us, except by the Grace and Benefit of him which worketh all things in all Creatures. And this affirmeth well Saint *Augustine*, Saint *Ambrose*, *Augustinus*, with other, as ye may see every where in their Works, and especially in the *Treatise* called *Unio dissidentium*, wherein he entreateth de *gratia & meritis*. And of St. *Augustine* I remember two or three right notable Sentences concerning the same. One is in the ninth Book of his Confessions, in this form, *Vae etiam laudabili vitæ bonum, si remota misericordia discentia eam. Quia vere non exquiris delicta*

*vehementer, fiducialiter speramus aliquem locum apud te invenire indulgentie. Quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? O si cognoscerent se omnes, & qui gloriatur in domino gloria-retur: Voe be to the life of men, be they never so holy, if thou shalt examine them, setting thy mercy aside. Be-cause thou dost not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and trust to find some place of mercy with thee. And whosoever recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would see and know themselves, and that he which glorieth, would glory in the Lord. Again, in the first Book he saith thus unto God: *Namquid inopi es & gaudes lucris? Namquid avarus & usuras exigis? Supererogatur tibi ut de-beas? & quis habet quicquam non tuum? Reddi debita nulli debent, domas debita nihil perdunt.* Doth any man give that he oweth not unto thee, that thou shouldst be in his debt? and hath any man ought that is not thine? Thou rendrest debt, and yet owest to no man. Thou forgivest debt, and yet lovest nothing. And therefore his usual prayer was this, *Domine da quod jubet, & jube quod vis*, Lord give that thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.*

Also in the Book called *Manuale Augustini*, or de *contemplatione Christi*, he saith in this wise, *Tota spes mea est in morte Domini. Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, salus mea, & resurrectio mea. Meritum meum, misericordia Domini. Non sum meritis inopi quoniam illa misericordia Domini non defuerit. Et si misericordia Domini multæ, multus ego sum in meritis.* All my hope is in the Lords death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, so long as the Lord of mercy shall continue. And if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I also great and rich in merits.

And to conclude, they be Christs own Merits and good Works (as saith Saint *Ambrose* well nigh every where) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crown, and not ours, if one should look narrowly upon the things and speak properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheless are ours by him, forasmuch as his merciful bounty imputeth his goods to be ours. So that in this, I wot not how other do mean, which lust to sell their Merits unto their Neighbours that happily have scarce enough for themselves: but I do wholly deem and believe, according as the Scripture with these holy Doctors and such other do teach, willing that men ever for good doing should not so much (as the common people doth) regard their merit or reward, for that it is not the thing that ingendred the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a fervile fashion, and for the love of themselves, in doing works for love of reward, or for dread of pain, more then because it so pleaseth God, and liketh him: whereas if we regarded first, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to do well (which is the keeping of his Commandments) and that so we should content his pleasure, reward should undoubtedly ensue good deeds, although we refused no whit the fame, as heat followeth evermore the fire unseparate there from. And thus we should serve God with hearty love as Children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thralls and servants.

Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth Saint *Augustine*, that of our selves we have no liberty or hability to do the Will of God, but are subject unto sin and thralls of the same, *Conclusi sub peccato, & vœmandati sub eodem*; Shut up and fold under sin, as witnesseth both *Esay* and also *Paul*: but by the Grace of God we are rid and set at liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the same, some more, some less.

¶ Whereas in your sixth demand, you do enquire whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament necessary unto Salvation, and whether after the consecration of the Bread and Wine done by the Priest, as by the Minister of God, there is the very Body and Blood of Christ in likeness of Bread and Wine, neither can he will answer one word, otherwise than I have told since I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have answered one whit thereunto, knowing so much at the first as now I do, till you had brought forth some that would have

Reward how it is promised to works.

Confess. lib. 1.

Good works how they be Gods, and how they be ours.

To walk with God: after a fervile fashion, is to work for merit.

Reward followeth good works but yet good works be not done for reward.

No ability in man to do the Will of God.

Rom. 7. 11.

Answer to the sixth Article. The Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

have accused me to have trespassed in the same, which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honest and credible.

Answer to the seventh Article. ¶ As concerning the other six Sacraments, I make you that same answer that I have done to the Sacrament of the Altar, and none other. That is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in the same, unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I should do so. But as touching the form and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far forth as any rudeness will serve; I hold well that such as be duly elect Ministers in the Church ought to baptize, except necessity require otherwise: and that the form used in the Church is in mine opinion not uncommendable. Nevertheless it should edifie much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar Language, and cause people in the Baptism of Children more effectually to thank God for his Institution and high benefit thereby repented.

Baptism to be in the vulgar Tongue. Answer to the eighth Article. In like condition do I also deem of ministration in all the other, that it should be expedient to have them ministered openly in the vulgar Language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the form used in Matrimony, I like it right well, and think it commendable, saving in all Countries lightly *Judas* hath set in his foot over far, and taken in hand to sell his Master, accompanied with *Simon Magnus*, saying, *What will you give me if I deliver unto you Christ?* This is the saying of all them that require, without any lawful authority, in some places twelve pence, in some six pence, in some more, in some less, but in every place lightly some money when a couple should be married: and this they call *The Churches Right*. Moreover, that they will not suffer Marriage to be solemnized at all times of the year, I think it standeth not with Christs Rule, but rather is against the same: and that they will not suffer the Banes upon all Holy-days to be proclaimed, unless a Dispensation for money be purchased therefore. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be given for this, no more should any be taken for any other. But the contrary is seen, which is great pity, yea even at the receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar, Priests every where use to claim somewhat, and in some parts of the West-Country, no less than two pence of every Pole.

Answer to the ninth Article. As touching Priesthood in the Primitive-Church, when vertue bare (as ancient Doctors do deem), and Scripture in mine opinion recordeth the same) most room, there were no more Officers in the Churches of God, than Bishops and Deacons; that is to say, Ministers, as witnesseth beside Scripture full openly, *Asterius* in his *Commentaries* upon the Epistles of *Paul*, whereas he saith, That those whom we call Priests were all one and none other but Bishops, and the Bishops none other but Priests, men ancient both in age and learning, so near as they could be chosen. Neither were they instituted and chosen as they be now adays, with small regard of a Bishop or his Officer, only appointing them if they can contrive a Collect; but they were chosen not only of the Bishops, but also with the consent of the people among whom they should have their living, as sheweth *Saint Cyprian*; and the people (as he saith) ought to have power to choose Priests that be men of good Learning, of good and honest report: but alack for pity, such Elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in. Which if we should confer with the form of the Election shewed of Christ by his Apostle *Paul*, we should find no small diversity, but all turned upside down. To conclude, I say, the order or state of Priests and Deacons was ordained by God, but Subdeacons and Conjurers, otherwise called *Exorcistes* and *Accolites*, which we call *Benei* and *Collects*, were instituted by the invention of men. And this you may find in the Law, *Dist. 21.* and other places where it is written, *Subdiaconatus tempore Apostolorum non fuit sacer*, Subdeaconship in the time of the Apostles was no holy Order.

Answer to the tenth Article. As touching ear-Confession, I say, that the common fashion now used was never ordained by Christs Law, that is, written in the Bible, neither can you prove by any authority of the same, that we ought to confess all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all and of every such, to any man. Again, for the main-

tenance of this which I have said, you shall know that *Chrysostome* standeth stiffly with me, in his *Commentaries* upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, in a Homily also that he maketh upon the *Psalm Miserere*, and moreover in a Sermon that he maketh, *De Penitentia*, belide many other *Treatises*, wherein he continueth ever one, testifying in semblable wise.

In like manner doth one of your principal Doctors, writing upon your Canon-Law, named *Panormitanus*, testify that it is made by the Law of man, and not of God, in *cap. Omnis utriusque sexus*. In the Book also called *Historia tripartita*, you shall find how it was first instituted (as I remember) and after undone again, because of a huge Villany committed with a Woman by a Minister of the Church, thorow Confession.

Also it is mentioned in the end of the first *Dist. de Penitentia*, how the *Greek Church*, whom I think you do not note to be Heretics, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to prove that Confession made to a Priest should not be necessary, and also that Confession made unto God should suffice, concluding in this wise, *Quibus auctoritatibus, &c.* I could bring forth other that be yet living, men of summounting and excellent literature, which exactly by many and mighty, both authorities and reasons, do shew and confirm this my saying to be just: but I keep silence, and will not name them, lest I should bring them in hatred. Notwithstanding I never said, we will say, but that men feeling themselves aggrieved in Conscience with some great temptation, had need to go unto such whome they know and trust to be of stedfast Credence, and to have good skill in the Law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, thorow counsel, some ease and remedy thereof.

But in this I mean not that they ought to go unto their Curate, or to any other Priest, whose Credence they deem not all truly, or their counsel not sage, but to any other whatsoever he be, whom they know most sufficient in properties above-shewed, when their Curate doth lack them. And this thing is most behoveable, when men needing counsel be void of knowledge in Christs Law, that they cannot find therein remedy themselves. For the Doctrine of Christ, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, so that men by spiritual knowledge might cure themselves.

To the other part of your question, where you do ask whether a Priest in cases unto him limited may loose a Sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, injoining him wholesome penance? I say that only Christ looseth a Sinner which is contrite, by his word and promise, and the Priest doth nothing but shew and declare the word: Neither doth declaration or ministry of the Priest any whit avail for to loose any person, unless he that should be loosed give Credence unto the Word ministered and shewed by the Priest, which word or promise of Christ is called *The word of Reconciliation or Atonement making betwixt God and man*. And this testified *St. Paul* in the second to the *Corinthians*, where he saith in this wise, *God hath reconciled us unto him through Jesus Christ*. See how it is God that looseth us from sin, which is to make Reconciliation or Atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Christ whom he caused to die for the same purpose. And he (quoth *St. Paul*) hath ordained us Ministers of the said Atonement. See how Christs Apostles called not themselves the Authors of binding and loosing, but Ministers; For he (that is to wit God) reconciled the World unto him, forgiving their sins. Where you may know what reconciling is. And hath committed (saith *Paul*) unto us to be Messengers of the same Word, or sayings of atonement or reconciling.

Also that the Power, whereby men are loosed from sin, is not the Priests power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true; yea and with leisure, I doubt not but that I can shew the same in the Decrees, which is thus, *Solus Deus remittit peccata*, Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our sins. And this was preached at *Pauls Cross* the Sunday next after the Epiphany last, the Bishop of London sitting by, the Preacher speaking after this form, treating of this Text, *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi*, Behold the Lamb of God.

KING
1 Hen. 8. 1

Chrysost.
in Epist. ad
Hebr.
in Epist. Vi-
toris Ser-
monis de peni-
tentia.

Panormi-
tanus Abbas
in cap. omni-
utrisque
sexus.
Historia tri-
partita.

Dist. de
penitentia.
The Greek
Church al-
lowed not
confession
sacerdotal.

Quibus auctoritatibus, &c.
I could bring forth other that be yet living, men of summounting and excellent literature, which exactly by many and mighty, both authorities and reasons, do shew and confirm this my saying to be just: but I keep silence, and will not name them, lest I should bring them in hatred. Notwithstanding I never said, we will say, but that men feeling themselves aggrieved in Conscience with some great temptation, had need to go unto such whome they know and trust to be of stedfast Credence, and to have good skill in the Law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, thorow counsel, some ease and remedy thereof.

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The second part of the question, whether a Priest looseth a Sinner. Christ, and not the Priest, looseth the Sinner.

2 Cor. 5.

Christ only looseth us from sin. The Apostles use the Authority of binding and loosing, but Ministers.

This saying is taken out of Pauls Lambard, and cited in the Decrees.

KING God which taketh away the sins of the World. In that, said the Preacher, testimony is given of Christ to be a Lamb, it is shewed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is said, *That he taketh away the sins of the World*, is shewed that he was God, alledging there for the confirmation of this part of his purpose, the vulgar saying above said by me, *Solus Deus remittit peccata*. And the same Proposition, or another equal with the same, wth Saint Chrysostome in an Homily that is made upon this Text of St. Matthew, *Vocabitur nomen ejus Jesus, &c.* His Name shall be called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins. Alfo Saint Chrysostome, in opere imperfecto, upon this Text, *Va vobis Scribae & Pharisei, qui clauditis Regnum Celorum, &c.* Who be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, because ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, &c. As near as my remembrance doth serve me, or else in some other place, but in the same

Mat. 1. Book (as I suppose) he affirmeth that the Keys of Heaven are the Word and Doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreover Saint Gregory, I trow, in his Book called *Pastoralia*, or else it is an Epistle that he writeth ad Episcopum Constantinopolitanum, in these words, *Clavis aperiens est sermo correctoris, qui increpando culpam detegit, quam saepe nescit qui perpetravit.* The Key of loosing is the word of the corrector, who rebuking doth disclose the fault, which many times he knoweth not that committeth the same.

Mat. 23. The Keys of binding and loosing in the word of God, Greg. in p^{er}son.

Acts 26. Saint Ambrose, agreeing to the same, faith, *Verbum Dei dimittit peccata. The Word of God forgiveth sin.* But shall we then say, that Gods Ministers do not bind and loose? I say no, not as the authors of so doing, but they do loose and bind in like manner, as it is said of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, where our Saviour spake unto him in this manner: *I shall (said our Saviour) deliver thee from the People and Nations, unto whom I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light.* Here Paul is said to open the eyes of mens hearts, albeit to speak properly, it is God that do doth; and therefore David prayeth unto him, *Revela oculos meos. Open mine eyes, O Lord.* And in like manner it is spoken of John Baptist in the first of Luke, *That he should go before Christ in the spirit and power of Elias, and turn the hearts of the fathers to their Children, and the unbelieveurs to the wisdom of the righteous.* Albeit to turn mens hearts, and to work in them belongeth to God. But so use we to speak, *Metonymice*. As if your Lordship had defined me to be excommunicate, and thereupon should send a commandment to the Parson of Knoll to declare the same, the people would say that the Parson of Knoll proclaiming your commandment, had accused me; but yet doth he not properly curse me, but you rather, when he in pronouncing the same, doth your act and commandment, rather than his own.

Phil. 119. Touching cases limited to Priests and Ministers, for loosing from sin or binding in the same, I do know no such things shewed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life. Neither can any man, I suppose, shew by authority thereof, that one should have more or less limited him than another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I shall thank you for your doing, and pray God to requite you.

Luke 1. Concerning enjoying of Penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoy the same, except it be renovation of living in casting apart old vice, and taking them unto new virtue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend verily by the grace and assistance of our Saviour Christ, to shew and perform.

Answer to the 11th Article. Unto the eleventh Article I say, That grace is given unto them that duly receive the Sacraments of Christ and his Church, but whether by them or no, that I cannot define; for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, and how and when. Moreover, many a lewd person receiveth the Sacraments, that are destitute of grace, to their

confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the Sacraments give grace; yet in due receipt of the Sacraments, I suppose, and think that God giveth unto them grace that so take them, as he doth unto all good, even without them also.

¶ Whereas in your twelfth Article you do ask, Whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things upon necessity of salvation, are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture: This is the question, as great learned men have shewed me, whom I do count my friends, sith the time I appeared at your Lordships assignment before Mr. Dr. Lesse, and Mr. Mellings with other, in your Chappel of Lambeth, when these questions were first propounded, this I say is the question which (as they told me) is the head: whole content of all other objected against me. Yea, this is both the helm and rudder of all together, and that which doth contend right fore to impugn: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yield to their will, thinking quod Sanctum est veritatem praeferre amicitiae; that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and affinity; and also, *Si dextra manus scandalizet, delebat praefata dextera & abijci, si dext. right hand offendit, it ought to be cut off and cast away.*

But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had Saint Cyprian's Works by me, I should not need to shew any other answer in this than he hath shewed aforetime, waiting upon this saying of Saint John, *Sunt & alia multa quae fecit Jesus.* There are many things more which Jesus did. Notwithstanding, so much as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, and therefore must make other shift, such as he may: I say, as I suppose the first part of your question to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needful for mans salvation be mentioned and shewed in holy Scripture, and that the things only there put be sufficient for the regiment of spiritual living, and mans souls health. And in this shall you find both the ancient Doctors standing with me; and moreover, the suffrage of holy Wit, whose authority is of most sovereign and infallible steadfastness.

Look what S. Jerome faith upon this Verse, *Domini narrabit in scripturis populum, The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people.* S. Ambrose also in a Treatise, *De Paradiso*, doth shew likewise, where he bringeth this Text of Paul, written in the 2d to the Corinthians, *I am afraid lest it may by some means be brought to pass, that as the Serpent deceived Eve through subtilty, so your minds may be corrupt from the simple verity that is in Christ.* And also in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Colossians, upon this Text, *In Christ Jesus is all treasure of wisdom*, and in divers other places of the same work.

Saint Chrysostome also in his Commentaries upon Paul 2 Tim. 3. declaring this saying, *Omnia scriptura divinitus inspirata, &c.* The whole Scripture given by inspiration of God, &c. And in his Book called *Opus imperfectum, unperfected*, I wot not precisely upon what Text, but there you shall find, that he would have a true Preacher of Gods law not swarving therefrom, neither on the right hand, neither on the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Solomon: for he that should thereunto add or withdraw, should enterpise, as faith S. Chrysostome, to be wiser than God. These or else such like words doth he say. I will be deemed by the Book brought forth, because my remembrance cannot retain perfectly all such things.

Saint Cyprian maintaineth well the same in an Epistle that he writeth ad Cecilium fratrem, which I would to God were in English, that all men might learn the devout goodnes in it contained. In the same he teacheth clearly, how we ought to hear Christ only, and his learning, not regarding ne attending to the traditions of men, like as he doth also in many other places.

Sacraments
Whether
they give
grace or no

Answer to
the 12th
Article

Dr. Lesse,
Mr. Mellings

Truth to be
preferred
before
friendship

Cyprian in
Epist. ad
John 21,

All things
necessary to
salvation,
contained
in Scripture

Hierome.
Fial. 87.
Ambros. lib.
de Paradiso

Paul 2 Tim. 3.
Epist. Pauli
& in opera
unperfected.
The Preacher
must not
swear or
use on the
right hand
or left,
from divers
places
of God.

Op. ad Cecili-
um fratrem.

Scriptures, how many needs it hath.

The Word sufficient for all our direction

Scripture sufficient to salvation, without any other addition.

Psal. 25. *truth.* And again, the Prophet willing us to do as he did, faith in this manner, *Adhesi testimonio tuis Domine, noli me confundere: I have cleaved to thy testimonies, O Lord, confound me not.* In like manner the said whole Psalm warneth us; yea, all the Scripture biddeth us stick fast to the steady and true Word of God, saying, that he is *verax, & via ejus veritas: omnis autem homo vanitas & mendax: For he is true, and all his ways are truth, but all men are vain and liars.* For that is the sure foundation which cannot fail them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Christ; *Every one, faith he, that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wise man that buildeth upon a sure foundation.* And there ought to be none other foundation to Christian men, but only the undoubted truth of Jesus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as sheweth Saint Paul, saying *Fundamentum aliud nemo, &c.* Other Foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. And likewise in the Epistle unto the Ephesians, where he faith, *Eam non estis hospites & advene, sed concives sanctorum, & domestici Dei, &c.* Now ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the Household of God.

And in the same Epistle, Saint Paul, dilating of Christs beneficence, sheweth how that he ordained in the Church divers Officers, to the edifying of Christian people, that he calleth Christs body, until all we may come unto the unity of Faith, which cometh by following of one Doctrine which is Christs, whereby we may grow to be perfect men, and that we should not be here like to children, carried about with every wind of Doctrine, by deceit and wilfulness of men that study to deceive us.

In like form doth he warn us in his Epistle to the Hebrews, that we should not be carried about as the wind with divers and strange Doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable as mens Constitutions be, whereof look what one doth counsel, or ordain to be of effect, another annulls the same, according as mens minds do always alter and are full unsteady. Neither do such pertain unto all men; for the Greeks, with other (whom the Pope, no none of his people will yet deny to be of Christs Church) will in no condition admit such, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the Doctrine that persevereth every one, and is immutable, as sheweth Saint Paul, saying, *Jesus Christ yesterday and to day is all one, and so ever shall be.* He is white Bread, without any fower leaven of Pharisical Traditions; vinity without guile, light without any darkness, the very straight way that hath neither hook ne crook. From this ought we not to turn, neither upon one hand ne other unless we will go from him that is our felicity and anchor of safety.

But what should I more intreat of this, except I would recite all Scriptures, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast unto this way, which is the Doctrine of the Gospel? which God I beseech him grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by Laws and Doctrines of men. Look also into *Colestians, Chap. 2.* and in the Epistle to *Timothy and Titus.* So that I conclude, In holy Scripture to be contained sufficiently enough of Doctrine, for the regiment and salvation of our souls; and this, because learned men do call the head Article laid against me, I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying therein hereafter, whatsoever shall betide of me; for the truth is so indeed, that hereupon hangeth the summe of all. Therefore I shall recite it once again; I say, *That in holy Scripture the Doctrine there only contained, is sufficient for the salvation of Christian mens souls;* God give us grace we may know it, to build our faith stedfastly upon the same, in working thereafter.

As touching the later part of your question, I say, That there are many things both to be observed, and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture; as the Civil Laws of Princes and Commonalties, ordained for civil regiment of the body, and all other, so that they be not hurtful to faith or charity, but helpful to the same. I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for Conscience sake, although such ordinances be not expressly and particularly in Scripture expressed, for they are generally therein contained and spoken of.

Moreover, if you mean by this word expressed, that which in Scripture is clearly shewed out, and appeareth evidently to every Reader or hearer that hath but a mean understanding, so do I affirm that there are some things which a man ought to believe, although they be not of him expressly understood: As I have ever believed that the Virgin Mary was and is a perpetual Virgin, and that the same might be gathered by the Scripture. But if by this word expressed, you mean comprehended or contained (as methinks the mind of him that wrote the demand should be) so that he meaneth by this question thus: whether any thing ought to be observed and believed, which is not contained in Scripture, and that upon necessity of salvation; then I say, that there is nothing either to be observed, or to be believed upon necessity of salvation, which is not contained in Scripture, and mentioned in the same, either generally or specially. Yet do I not deny but other things are to be believed, as I believed that Doctor Warham, was Archbishop of Canterbury, ere ever I saw your Lordship, and I believe verily who was my Father and Mother, albeit I had none intelligence when they begot me, and such like; and yet in such points, although a man have not stedfast belief he may be saved.

¶ To the thirteenth Article, where you do ask whether I believe that Purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged? I say that there is a Purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and also the holy Doctors call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as testifieth Saint Paul in the second Chapter of the second Epistle to *Timothy*, whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that few do know it, and fewer peradventure, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people, and know, that they be his, and not mine. They be thus, *All that will live godly in Jesus Christ, shall suffer persecution.* In this Purgatory do I now reckon my self to stand; God send me well to persevere unto his honor. Of this speaketh also Saint Peter in these words which pertain to the instruction of all Christian people; *Virgine Dei custodimini per fidem ad salutem, qua in hoc parata est ut pateat in tempore supremo, in quo oculatis nunc, ad breve tempus afflictis in variis experimentis si opus sit, quo exploratio fidei vestre multo pretiosior auro quod perit, & tamen per ignem probatur, reperitur in gloriam*

RING
1. Item 8.

The chief
Article objected
against John
Lambert.

Doctrine in
the holy
Scripture
sufficient to
salvation of
Christian
mens souls.

The thirteen
Articles.

Answer to
the 13th
Article.
A Purgatory
in this
World.
2 Tim. 2.
The Purga-
tory of
Christians.

1 Pet. 3.

KING riam & honorem. To (quoth he) are preferred
Hm. 3. through the power of God by faith unto salvation, which is prepared to be revealed in the last time, wherein ye now rejoice, though for a season (if need require) ye are sundry ways afflicted and tormented, that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that periseth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, glory and honour, at the appearing of Jesus Christ, &c. Other Purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unless it be by one place of the same, which well examined, I trow, shall make but little against me, for the maintenance of any other than I have shewed.

But whatsoever they brought against me, I trust that holy Doctors shall by their interpretation sustain the part, the which I do take upon me, making answer for me sufficient, so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speak; yet that you should see even now somewhat written of ancient Doctors concerning the same, I shall shew you what I have read in Saint Augustine's first in a Sermon that he maketh De Ebrietate, in this wise saying, Nemo se decipiat fratres; duo enim loca sunt, & tertium non est visus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, cum Diabolo oblique ulla dubitatione peribit. That is to say, Brethren, let no man deceive himself, for there be two places, and the third is not known. He that with Christ hath not deserved to reign, shall without doubt perish with the Devil. In another also that he maketh, De vanitate huius seculi, it is said thus: Scitote vos, quod cum anima a corpore avellitur, statim in Paradiso pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certe pro peccatis, in inferni tartarus precipitatur. Eligite modo quod vultis, aut perpetualliter gaudere cum Sanctis, aut sine fine cruciari cum impiis. Which is to say, Know you that when the soul is departed from the body, it is committed, for his good deeds, put in Paradise, or else thrown headlong into the Dungeons of Hell for his sins. Choose ye now which ye list, and purpose while ye be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with the Saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners. Thus saith holy Augustine.

To make an end, I hope surely, that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to Heaven, and reign with Christ, ere that I shall feel any Purgatory, beside that I have and shall sustain in this life. And he that believeth not steadfastly any other to be, shall yet be saved as well (and God woteth whether better or no, but I think no whit less) as such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one Altar to another, they shall cause souls to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say, that a man, being buried in a Gray Friars Frock, shall so have remission of the third part of his sins, as is granted in a Bull unto the said Religion, and such like. For Saint Augustine shall make with me in his Book called Enchiridion, after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the Church of Christ living in mischief, ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsely deem that they should be saved through the cleansing of Purgatory, where he concludeth thus: Such a thing after this life to be, saith he, is not incredible, but whether it be so or no, doubt may be thereof moved, or a question demanded. The same words doth he again recite in a Book called Quaestiones ad Dulcium, or Dulcium, I wot not whether it is called, and there he entreateth the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once again.

To this agreeth Saint Paul, writing thus to the Corinthians, Omnes nos manifestari oportet coram Tribunali Christi, ut reportet quicque ea qua sunt per corpus, juxta id quod fecit, sive bonum, sive malum. For we must all appear before the Judgment Seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done,

whether it be good or evil. And again, where he writeth unto the Hebrews, I trow it be said in this wise, Memores sitis vincitorum, tanquam una cum illis vincti: eorum qui affliguntur veluti ipsi quoque versantes in corpore. Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them: be mindful of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.

¶ To the fourteenth Article, where you ask whether holy Martyrs, Apostles and Confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto? I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of Saint Augustine, in his Book, De vera Religione, in his last leaf, where he saith thus: Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales querant honores, sed illam a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante letantur meriti sui nos esse consortes: honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi. Again, a little after the same, he saith, Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, & Dei sapientia incommutabilis, & consubstantialis patri & coeternus suscipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali & rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos Angelos, & excellentissimos Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cuius contemplatione beati sumus: neque enim & nos videndo Angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus Angelos & his congratulamur.

Nec invidemus quod ea parationes, vel nullis mortuorum interdependentibus perficiuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam & nos tale aliquid sperare a communi Domino iussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute: nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se ipsi honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsi cum bonis sumus, Temple sumus Dei esse doceremur. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab Angelo prohiberi ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset & confiteretur. This saith S. Augustine, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

The content of this unto you I expound, that know no Latine, for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this, and all manner of doing, to the intent that all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. Saint Augustine in these words would have, that we should worship no men departed, be they never so good and holy, for they seek no such honour, but would have us to worship God alone; no, nor yet no Angel, no honour the same, but only in the imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive, not building Churches in the name or honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them; it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the Angels will not that we should build any Churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the original, maker, and performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called honor charitatis, which is nothing else, but to be loved. Thus saith Saint Augustine. Which love we shall testify in following their good acts, by helping the poor or helples with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and Man; which is no light matter to them, that do consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feel it (I dare say) as the burthen of Christs Cross was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it, to Calvary; saving that we need not to fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the Prophet David saith, Cum ceciderit Iustus non collidetur, quia Dominus supponit manum suam.

Mat. 11. *suam. That is, to wit, When a just person beginneth to fall, he shall not be born flat down to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand under him to rear him up again. And in the Gospel he biddeth, Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati estis, & ego reficiam vos. That is to say, Come you unto me all that do travel and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of me that am soft and meek minded, and you shall find ease thereby in your souls, for my yoke is easy, and my burthen is light. See you here how he is ever ready to support them that for truth shall sustain the chargeable and fore vexations put upon them of the World, which cannot endure the truth to prevail, and the untruth to be disclosed.*

Invocation. *As touching Invocation, That is, to wit, a calling upon them, we have in Scripture, how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities and tribulations. As in the Psalms every where, as in this, Psal. 50. Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I shall deliver you. Mark how he saith here, call upon me, appointing neither Saint Thomas, ne Master John Shorn. And also in another place, The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truly, and with that he sheweth who calleth truly upon him, saying thus, He shall do the will or desire of them that reverence him, and shall hear graciously their prayer, and make them safe, for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all sinners shall be destroyed.*

Psal. 4. *And thus used the holy Prophets, Patriarchs, Apostles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort unto the head Fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is shewed in other places in this wise; In my trouble I called upon the Lord (saith David) and he heard me graciously: when I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me. Also I lift mine eyes unto the Mountains; but from whence shall help come unto me? Mine help (quoth he) shall come from the Lord that made both Heaven and Earth. I read the first of these Verses in form of interrogation, following Saint Augustine, which (as I remember) interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the most perfect form, I would pray you somewhat to pardon me, for you know that I want Books, and have not them lying by me. Notwithstanding, I am certain, I shall not decline much from him. The Hills toward the which David did lift up his eyes, were Saints and holy men, of whom when he could not have his mind satisfied, he turned another way, saying, From whence shall help come unto me? Anon he remembering himself better, fixed unto God himself, of whom incontinent he obtained the accomplishment of his will, and so witnessed the same for our instruction saying, Mine help is of the Lord, or cometh from the Lord, which made Heaven and Earth. This interpretation (as near as I remember) is after the mind of Saint Augustine; And I suppose verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, ne disagreeing with the sequel of Scripture.*

3. *Also in this wise it is reported in the New Testament by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. And mark how, cum energia, it is said, upon the name of the Lord, without any sending of us, either to Saint Christopher, (though he be painted never so stout) either to Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland, or to Saint James in Galicia, in the year of Grace, or yet to any other Saint or place; but he would have us that we should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Christ, who*

is always our Advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins; and not for our sins only, quoth Saint John (who is the Writer of this saying and testimony) but also for the sins of all the World. Saint Augustine upon the same noteth, that Saint John in that place saith, We have an Advocate, and that Christ is Advocate for him like as he is for all other to purchase mercy for him, like as he doth for all other that shall be saved; and that Saint John will not be known for our Advocate, but that Christ should be taken for Advocate of all.

Saint Bede (as I remember) upon the same, maketh as much for this purpose, as doth Saint Augustine, or well more; so that by course of Scripture we are taught to resort for all aid and relief (as I have said) unto the head Spring and Fountain of all comfort and mercy, as Saint Paul calleth him, the Father of all mercies, and of all comfort, which is ready to comfort us in all tribulation: Which (as the Psalm reporteth) healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities. For he is sweet (as is said in another place) and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all those that call upon him. Yet he sheweth us no where, I trow, of benefits that we shall purchase by praying unto Saints departed; and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach me that, by some authority of Scripture, I would think my self highly beholding to him, whatsoever he were, either great or small, young or old; but I ween it cannot be.

I have made truly long search, yet could I never find any such substantial teaching; howbeit, I offer my self ever to learn, and know that my rude wit, foolish youth, unexpert experience, and feeble discretion had need of good instruction as much as any other. Howbeit I see (thanked be God) that sometime he sheweth some sparkle of light and wisdom to children, hiding the same from other that are reputed of higher prudence; so that the World thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing such facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat sometime with indignation, as the Pharisees did at the blind man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him, Thou John 9. Caiiff wast born blind for thy sins, and wilt thou teach us that are a great multitude of high officers of the Temple, and Doctors to teach the Law? As who would say, It becometh thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marvel greatly at such doing, for so much as Saint Paul, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Chapter 1. sheweth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all Ages after ensuing, so that it appertaineth (like as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was first written in. The Doctrine of Christ Cross, that is, to wit, of the New Testament, is to them that perish, folly, (saith he) but to us that obtain thereby salvation, (meaning thereby to such as believe) it is the might or power of God; for it is written (saith he) by the Prophet Esay, That God sometime, said, he would destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and despise.

KING This Prophecy alleged, *Paul* thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the *Corinthians* from the foolish affiance, vain-glory, or opinion that they had in men, whom they peradventure over-highly esteemed for their offices or solemn titles. So that he proceedeth forth in the same; *Where are ye now* (quoth he) *the worldly wife, the Scribes*, that is to say, Doctors, and such other like Officers, *Hath not God shewed the wisdom of the world to be foolish and unawoory? For after that by the wisdom of God (which is shewed in Scripture, I suppose) the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdom is hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishness of preaching.* He calleth the Word of God foolish preaching, not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdom, but he spake after the opinion of them that set little or nought thereby, esteeming it as *Eso's* Cock did the precious stone, and as Swine do Pearls.

After long process in the same matter, he concludes thus: *Brethren* (saith he) *you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh are called to the belief of the Gospel, nor many mighty men, nor many of noble Parentage, but those that be fools after the estimation of the world, hath God chosen to confound the wise, &c.*

Therefore I say (as I said afore) that thanks be to God, albeit I am (as I shewed before) void of such great prudence that other be well ended with, yet I see partly now their great reasons be not very substantial, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to shew that weought to pray to Saints departed, to be Mediators for us to Christ. And amongst other, this is one that they lean much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh altogether harp upon the same; some favouring it, other contrariwise esteeming it of no value.

The reason is this; If when one should desire to come to the speech of our Sovereign to obtain some boon of him, need it were, first to purchase the favour of his Chamberlains, or some other like Officers to bring him to the Kings presence, for else he may wait long in vain, until he be full a cold, ere that he shall speak with his Grace, and much less is he like to obtain his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first break unto the Saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as Mediators, and intercessors. But such (with their leave I would speak it) I think are deceived, in that they resemble God and the King together. For though the King be a full gracious Prince (as I hear by common report he is) yet is he not in graciousness to be conferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the World, and is every where, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all mens hearts; so that benedeth no Mediators to inform him of our desires, as the King doth need. And he is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon obtain of him that which is for my behoof, as I should win by praying holy Saints to be intercessors to him for me.

Therefore I passing such apparent reasons, take me to the ensample of Antiquity, I mean of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and the Apostles, and authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort unto Christ himself, and his holy Father, sofar as he bids us in these words and other like, so to do, saying, *Come unto me all ye that travel, are vexed and sore charged, and I will refresh and ease you.* Mark how he biddeth us to resort unto himself, and that without fear. For he and his Father, which are all one, giveth abundantly of all goodness unto all men, and upbraideth no man for their unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of him, we must, all doubtfulness (as I said before) put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, ask of him that we would have; so that I leave unto other what they list to do, praying Jesus that we all may lust for that is most pleasing to him.

But I think concerning my self, that according to Christs own commandment I may without any doubt

casting, resort in all incumbrances, to seek ease thereof, even unto himself and to his blessed Father. Therefore he biddeth us when we should pray, to say after this fashion, *Our Father which, &c.* For there is no creature, no creature, that ever were or be, that have more, nor so much, neither of might, whereby cometh ability to give help; ne of mercy and tendernes, which should make them willing in proportion agreeable with ability; ne of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God, which not only is Almighty, all-merciful, and all-wise, but also infinite in all these glorious properties, so that undoubtedly he can, will, and best knoweth how to relieve and succour us in all necessity and anguish. To whom be honour without end for ever, Amen.

One thing yet I will shew you in this case; of which I was once advertised by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this, I will (quoth he) pray unto Saints, but that shall be when I think that God either cannot, or will not give me my petition. But that (as I shewed in the Convocation-house) shall never be I hope. And therefore it is to me needs to seek any further about, standing in such trust and belief, as I hope I have found upon Gods sure promise.

¶ To the fifteenth Article, where you demand whether the Saints in Heaven, as Mediators, pray for us? I say, That I believe Saints in Heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their souls being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortal. Albeit I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be intangled and clogged with, as sheweth *Augustine*, or else some other (as I think rather) under his name, in a certain work, saying, in this wise, *Ibi sunt spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quacunq; aguntur aut eveniunt in ista vita hominum. Quomodo ergo vident tumulos suos, aut corpora sua, utrum abjecta jaceant an sepulta? Quomodo inter sunt miseria vivorum? cum vel sua ipsi mala patiuntur, ista talia miseria contraxerunt, vel in pace requiescant, ubi mala nulla nec patiendi nec compatiendi sustinent, liberati ab omnibus malis que patiendi & compatiendo cum hic vivunt, sustinebant.* The summe herof is, That souls departed feel, nor know of no particular miseries sustained of men living in this World, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, sofar as they know in general, that all men living are clad with frailty, and their charity is not diminished after they be hence departed, but created; therefore I believe verily, that they do pray for us as petitioners, but not as Mediators, so far forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speak but of one Mediator, which I think signifieth a maker of peace, or atonement betwixt God the Father and Man. Record I take of *Paul*, which in the Epistle to *Timothy*, Chapter 2, saith, *Unus est Deus, Unus est & Mediator Dei & Hominum, Homo Christus Jesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro omnibus.* Erasmus translateth it, *coordinator Dei & hominum.* That is to say, *There is one God, & one Mediator or Peacemaker betwixt God and Man, the Man called Christ Jesus, which gave himself for the redemption of all.*

Thus I say, I believe Saints in Heaven do pray for us as Petitioners, but not as Mediators. Yea, all the Saints, I ween, do pray, and long that the Day of Judgment may soon come, according to the saying of *St. Paul*, *Solicita creatura expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat.* The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the Sons of God shall be revealed. And again, *Omnia creatura congemiscit, & nobiscum parturit usque ad hoc tempus.* Every creature groweth with us, and travaileth in pain together unto this present; which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and all other elect of God, to be his Children and Co-inheritors with Christ.

God is might, mercy and knowledge incarnate.

Might, mercy, knowledge, holiness, and wisdom to help.

The flying of a learned man.

Saints are to be prayed to when God is not able or will not hear us.

Answer to the 15th Article.

Saints know no particular miseries on earth.

Saints in Heaven vouchsafe they pray for us.

One Mediator, and what a Mediator is.

1 Tim. 2.

1 Tim. 2.

Rom. 8.

¶ In the sixteenth Article, where you demand, whether I believe that Oblations and Pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the Sepulchres and Relicks of Saints? I say, That what they may be I cannot perfectly tell; for God can so work, that unto those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turn to a good conclusion, as faith Saint Paul to the Romans, in this wise, *Unto those that love God all things shall well succeed and work together for their furtherance in goodness*: Of whom it is written in the Psalm, *Blessed is that Nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors*: Yea, their evil deeds shall not hurt them, but come well to pass for the increase of virtue. For as it is said in the Epistle, *Cui minus remittitur, minus diligitur. To whom less is forgiven, he loveth less*. And again, it hurteth not *Onesimus*, that he ran away from his Master *Philemon*, but God wrought, that by occasion thereof he met with *Paul*, which converted him to the faith of the Gospel, who before was without belief. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or no, I will not define, God woteth. But this I say, That God did never institute any such thing in the New Testament, which is the verity and rule of all Christian people to follow and believe, Yea, that only is of perfect purity, and none other, but as it is agreeable and hath ground of the same. And like as we have no certain Doctrine institute of Christ, neither his Disciples, teaching us thusto do; no more is there any merit appointed of him therefore, as I shewed afore, where I told my mind of our merits.

Moreover, where ye put *Pie*, which I call devoutly, very true devotion (that is called in *Latin Pies*) is that which hath annexed therewith divine promises for this present life, and for that which is to come, as witnesseth *Paul*, 1 Tim. 4. which is nothing else but the observation of Christs Law, that in the Psalm, for the pureness thereof is called *Argentum igne examinatum, purgatum septuagies*, Silver tried often, and many times through the fire. It hath no chaff in it, as have Mens Traditions, but is pure and clean. Wheat, as sheweth *Jeremy*, writing in this wise, *Quid paleis ad triticum? Propter hoc ego ad Prophetas, dicit Dominus, qui furantur verba mea unusquisque a proximo suo, & seducunt populum meum in mendaciis suis, & in erroribus suis: What is the chaff to the Wheat? Therefore behold, I will come against the Prophets, faith the Lord, that steal my Word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in their errors*. And this devotion is that which Saint James calleth the pure Religion of Christ, saying, *Pure and immaculate Religion before God the Father is, to visit fatherless Children and Widows in their vexation*. Whereby he meaneth all needy people that are succourless and helpless, with our counsel and other alms, according to our ability, whensoever we see them in need and distress.

The other part of this Religion shewed by St. James, is, *That a man should keep himself clean from the World*; and that do they which be not affectionate so unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can find in their heart to depart from them when God shall please or charity so requireth.

Thus doing, we shall follow the exhortation of blessed *Paul*, which writing to the *Corinthians*, faith thus, *Brethren, the time is short: this remaineth, that they which have Wives should be as they had them not; and those that weep should be as they wept not; and those that buy, as if they were without possession; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not; for the fashion of this world passeth away*. And this meaneth none other thing, but that we should not love ne dread any worldly thing, passing measure or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him; and he that thus doth, fulfils the commandment of Christ spoken to the rich man in the Gospel, where he faith, *Go and sell all that ever thou hast, and come follow me*. For he hath sold away all that ever he hath, that surely intendeth for the love of Christ to help the Poor with all that he may, *Voluntat reputatur pro factis*, The will is accepted for the deed, as is commonly said. And this saying both of James, and also of

the Evangelist, I think verily belongeth to all Christian men that they should perform it, none except, neither lay man, ne woman (as we use to say) but to them as well as to any whom we call religious.

As concerning the Relicks and Tombs of Saints, I have said to your Lordship afore, what I do think of the Milk of our Lady, the Bloud which they say is at *Hails, Norwich*, and other places, with such other, whereof I trust you do what ought to be done. And I beseech God you may do therein as your office doth require, so shewing example to other Prelats to follow your Lordship in good doing, as is comely for a Primat to do; remembering always, as *Paul* faith, *the time is short*, and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

Finally, Holy Moses when he died, would be so buried, that no man should know which was his Grave, as it is witnessed in the Book of *Deuteronomy*; and that (as the Expositors testify) was, because the Jews, which were prone to new fangled worshipping, should not fall into Idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold Miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

To conclude, I say, It is no point of my belief, to think that Oblations and Pilgrimages at Saints Graves and Relicks, are meritorious works, ne yet, that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by Scripture. If you think contrary, I would desire to know for mine instruction, what part of Scripture should make therefore against me.

¶ In the seventeenth, where you do ask, Whether the Fast in Lent, and other appointed by the Common Law, and received in common usage of Christian people (unless necessity otherwise requireth) are to be observed? I say, that in mine opinion they are to be observed, and fasting discreetly done is commendable, for so shall a man avoid sloth, and be the more ready to serve God, and also his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiscence, according to the saying of the Poet, *Sine Cere & Baccho friget Venus*, without Wine and good fare, lust waxeth cold. And as *St. Hierome*, *Venero mero astutus spernat in libidinem*, The body enflamed with Wine burleth out into lust.

Yet shall not the breaking of these Fasts make a man to do deadly sin, except in his mind be some other malicious affection therewith annexed, as rashness of mind, despiteful, or such like, forsooth as no positive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking of such, he shall therefore sin deadly. And of this sort made by man, is the Fast of Lent, and other days ordained in your Laws without authority of Scripture, which willett us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuousness, as many, that recount themselves great fasters, I fear have done) yea, and that sparsely, foreseeing always that our stomachs be never cloyed with drunkenness or surfeiting, as is commanded by our Saviour in *Luke*; but contrariwise, after the fashion rather of a certain Prince that is mentioned (I trow) in *Valerius Maximus*, that never rose from his Meals meat with a full stomach, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the story testifieth, caused him to live so wonderful a long season, that a man could unneath think it possible for ones life to be so prolonged, had not such a notable Author reported it.

And (to tell the truth) I suppose the Prelats should better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the Word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so fore a multitude of laws and constitutions; for the nature of man is well described by *Horace*, saying, *Nititur in vestitum semper, cupimusque negata: Look what is forbid, that we most desire, and always cover the things that be denied us*. And in another Proverb, *Fanis plus equo tenus rumpitur, The Rope by overmuch straining bursteth asunder*. According to this said a good old Father in *Cambridge*. I remember his saying well yet. He was an old Doctor of Divinity; when a Legat came into *England* at a time, and he, with certain Bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all Churches through *England* (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and Priests should

KING
1 Hen. 3.

Relicks and
Tombs of
Saints.
Our Ladies
Milk.
The bloud of
Hails.

Moses
Tomb was
unknown.

To think
Pilgrimage
to be meri-
torious, is
no point of
our belief.

Answer to
the 17th
Article.

The saying
of Hierome.

Fast broken
is of it felt
no sin.

No positive
law without
the founda-
tion of
Scripture
bindeth to
deadly sin.
How to fast
only after
the Scrip-
ture.

fasting ra-
ther to be
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Church bei-
ng days so-
lemnized in
England.
should

Answer to
the 16th
Article.

Pilgrimage
and Obla-
tion.

Rom. 8.

Psalm. 33.

Execc. 33.

Luke 7.

All things
work to the
good to the
godly.

Pie Pies
defined.

1 Tim. 4.

Psalm. 11.

Jer. 23.

True devo-
tion or pure
Religion
what it is.

James 1.

Pure Reli-
gion.

1 Cor. 7.

Mat. 19.

What is
to be layd
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Gos. el.

Y KING should have their Gowns made close before, with such other like Ordinances, he refuted, not condescending to have them put in execution, when his Diocesan required him; declaring how this multitude of Laws pleased him not: For we had enough and abundantly before: adding this reason, *Adam* being in Paradise had but one Law to observe, and yet he brake it: What other thing then shall this multitude do (quoth he) but multiply transgression? For when a Faggot is bound over-haite, the bond must break.

God therefore I beseech him send us of the sweet dew of his Heavenly Doctrine, to moisten and supple the earthly ground of our hearts, that we may grow like fashioned unto him, putting apart our old *Adam*, with all his dissimulation and painted shew, that is much caused by humane Laws and Constitutions, and putting on Christ, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the same, Amen.

Unto the eighteenth, where you ask, Whether it be laudable and profitable that worshipful Images be set in Churches for the remembrance of Christ and his Saints? I say, that I know of no Images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the Psalm saith, *Confusion or shame be upon them that worship and make obeisance unto carved Images, and that glory in their pictures.* Moreover, Saint *Augustine* in his Book, *De Vera Religione*, saith thus, Let us not have devotion in worshipping the works of men. Or else thus, Let us not be bound to worship the works of men; for the workmen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithstanding we ought not to worship. The Latin is thus, *Non sit nobis Religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim sunt ipsi artifices qui talia fabricantur: quos tamen colere non debemus.*

Lactantius also makes strongly with the same; I cannot without Book recite his saying, for he teacheth largely of the same matter. *Origen* also, contra *Celsum*, (I trow) will likewise testify; where (as I remember) he concludeth, saying, That he would have no Goldsmiths nor Gravers in a Communality, for they do but little profit or none thereto.

And Saint *Gregory* that was chief, either inventor that Images should be set in Churches, or else maintainer thereof, would not, as I have read, (I trow it is in an Epistle which he writeth ad *Seruum*) have them worshipped.

And as concerning the exciting of mens memory, I would suppose that if Christs Doctrine were so shewed and opened that people might clearly understand it (and that is the principal office of Prelates and Curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof) I think verily we should have little need of any other Images, than that which should by wholesome Doctrine be shewed unto us by word of mouth and writing, *Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad commonefaciendum Discipulos, quam circa eos: No* thing is so effectual to excite the remembrance of Disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers; as it is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of Learned men.

So that I suppose if this lively Doctrine of God had aforetime been aptly and diligently opened unto the people, as Curates ought to have done, we should have such profit thereby, that we should not need to contend for setting up or taking down of other dumb stocks, and liveless stones, carved or made by men; and if Prelates would begin to ferre out Christs word (which alas for pity is not looked upon, but rather trodden down and despised, so that many are not ashamed to say, I will have no more learning in Christs Law than my Predecessors; for they that magnifie it must be fore punished, and taken for Heretics, with such other grievous words) if this Doctrine were yet let up in Churches, I say, and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby reformed and made clear, I think we should not greatly need the profit that cometh by Images made of men, to excite our remembrances to live Christianly.

For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written of other that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, sheweth

full perfectly his blessed Will, which is the true and certain Image of his mind and device. If this therefore were diligently inculcate, I think we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of Paul, which writing to the *Colossians*, saith thus, *See that you live not one to another, after that now you have put off the old man with his works, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovate after the knowledge and image of him that made us.* Yea, thus should we all be *Docti a Deo*, taught of God, as is said in *John*, and all should know God both small and great, according to the promise recited in the *Hebrews*; yea, thus should we be reformed to goodness, that we should have the image of God carved in our hearts full expressly. For every man is transformed into the fashion of virtuous things, that he is accustomed to read and hear. And therefore it were a great grace, if we might have the word of God diligently and often spoken and sung unto us in such wise, that the people might understand it. Yea, then it should come to pass, that Christians should sing Spiritual Psalms sitting at their works, and the Husbandman at his Plough, as wilteeth Saint *Hierome*.

Yea, this holy Image of Christ, I mean his blessed Doctrine, doth appoint us also to consider the works made by the hand of God, such as no man can make like, whereby, as saith Saint Paul, writing to the *Romans*, *The invisible power and Divinity of God is known and seen by the creation of the World, of such as will consider his works that are therein by him made.* Look in the Psalm, *Psal. 145. Laudate Dominum de Caelis, Celi enarrant, &c. Praise ye the Lord from Heaven. The Heavens declare the Glory of God.* With others. And these two Images, Gods Works and his Doctrine, have, e're any Images made by men were set up in Churches, well and sufficiently instructed the Primitive Church, and should yet instruct us well, if they were well considered; so that we should not need to fore to contend for setting up of other made by men. Whereby I have perceived much harm to arise, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them but rather contrary. As concerning which matter, I would your Lordship would please to read the Epistle of *Baruch* once again, writing of the same matter.

Unto the nineteenth, where you ask, whether I believe that Prayers of men living do profit souls departed, and being in Purgatory? I made answer in the thirteenth Article.

Unto the twentieth, where you do ask, whether men merit and deserve both by their fasting, and also by other deeds of Devotion? I have shewed what I do think thereof, in the fifth demand.

In the one and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that men prohibited of Bishops to preach, as suspect of Heresie, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspicion, afore an higher Judge? I say, that men may be wrongfully suspected of Heresie, either because they never thought to believe such Errors, as men by false suspicion do deem them to favour; or else, when men as well of high estate, as of low, by sinister judgment may think that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh *Esay*, *We be to them, quoth he, that call the light darkness, and the darkness light; the truth falsehood, and the falsehood truth.* As the Bishops and the Priests, with their Orator *Tertullus*, called Paul, saying thus before a Judge called Felix, unto whose Court they brought him to be condemned to death, *We have, quoth they, gotten here a pestilent fellow, a sower of sedition or discord among all the Jews of the world, and a bringer up of the Sect of the Nazarens, which was also minded to have polluted our Temple, &c.* This is to call by perverse judgment, truth falsehood. And thus did their Predecessors speak of the Prophets, yea, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of Heresie: which is written for our instruction. And men being thus suspected (as I would none were) ought in no wise therefore to cease neither from preaching, nor teaching.

Ensamble of this we have in the Acts of the Apostles, where is shewed, that when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity (whom by the power of Christ they healed, and caused

Col. 3.

Joh. 6.

Heb. 8.

As a man

readeth, as

he is falli-

oned.

The best Image of God is his Word.

Rom. 1

Psal. 145.

Psal. 19.

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Psal. 19.

caused to go where he pleased) the people hearing of this, came running about Peter and John. Peter seeing this, did exhort the people in a Sermon, that they should not think him and his fellow Saint John, to have done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head-rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the Priests and Officers of the Temple, accompanied with the Sadducees, being fore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from death by the Name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified, and therewith they laid hands upon them, and put them in ward until next day. The next day they sent for the Apostles before them, demanding by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle? Peter made answer, *if you, quoth he, that are head rulers over the people, lust by examination to know by what means we did it, we would you should all know, that we did it through the Name of Christ Jesus of Nazareth, whom you did crucifie: but God did cause him to arise again. In the virtue of his Name doth this man, that afore was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and sound. For Christ is that head corner-stone, whom you cast away, which should have builded the people faith upon him, neither is there any Salvation without him.*

Acts 4.

Peter and the Apostles prohibited by the Pharisees to preach Christ.

Acts 4.

These great men seeing that Peter spake so freely, and that he, with his fellow John, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great guard of servants, being like idiots, and men unlearned, wondered thereat. At the last they did command them to depart out of their Council-house, whiles they should continue more largely of the matter. Afterward they called the Apostles afore them again, commanding them that they should no more preach, ne teach in the Name of Jesus. But the Apostles answered, *saying, I beseech you judge better. Ought we to obey you more than God, or no? For certainly we must needs testify of those things which we have both heard and seen.* Then the head Priests threatening them fore, did give them strait charge not to break their Precept, and to did let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest the people would have taken part with the Apostles, for the people gave glory unto God for the miracle shewed by them.

Peter disobeyed the Precept of the Pharisees.

Peter delivered out of prison.

Acts 5.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought Miracles still amongst the people, doing them to know that glory therefore ought to be given to Jesus, by whose Power and Name they were done. Wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy; so that they followed after the Apostles whithersoever they went.

The Primate of the Priests hearing of this, and all that were about him repleat with indignation, laid hands upon the Apostles, putting them in the common Prison. But the Angel of God in the night opened the Prison-doors, and brought them out, saying, *Go you into the Temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life.* That is to say, Christs Doctrine; and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief Priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a Council, in which were all the Priests of Israel, or Ancients of Israel. So they sent unto the Prison-house to have the Apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came thence, they returned to their Masters, saying, *We found the Prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without full diligently. But when we had opened the Prison, we could find no body within.*

Then as the High Priests and Officers of the Temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and shewed them, saying, Behold the men that ye put in Prison are standing in the Temple, preaching unto the people. Then went they thither, and brought the Apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people would have beaten them down with stones.

Then they caused the Apostles to be brought into their Council-house, the High Priest beginning his Proposition against the Apostles in this form: Have we not straitly commanded you (said he) that you should

not preach in the Name of Christ? And see, you have filled all Hierusalem with your Doctrine. Will you bring this mans blood upon us, that we should unrighteously have caused him to suffer death? Then answered Peter and the other Apostles, saying, *We ought to obey God more than any man. The God of our Fathers hath raised Jesus from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.*

These great Rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the Apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the Apostles again afore them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Jesus, and so did let them depart.

Then went they away out of the Council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his Names sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ, every day in the Temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not; for such practice is shewed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or infamed of Heresie, and so prohibited by Bishops to preach the Word of God, that they ought for no mans commandment to leave or stop, though they do never purge themselves afore them, for such will admit no just purgation many times, but judg in their own causes, and that as they lust, which methinks, is not at all comely. Therefore in the old Law the Priests and other Judges do sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversy.

Yet this I think reasonable, that a man justly and not causeless suspected, and namely if he be so found faulty of Heresie, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, until he have made his Purgation before some Judge. But in my rude opinion, it were necessary and convenient that our heads should not be over ready of suspicion, and so inhibiting men approved, from preaching, especially in this season, when the people do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre, or honour, than to do it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

In the two and twentieth, where you demand whether I believe that it is lawful for all Priests freely to preach the Word of God or no, and that in all places, at all places, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that Priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *Presbyters & Sacerdotes*. The first is to say, ancient men, Seniors, or Elders, and by that word or vocable are the Secular Judges, or such like head Officers, sometime also signified, as we read in Daniel, that they were so called which defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna: that this is seldom, and nothing so customable as those to be called *Presbyteri*, which are set to be Prelates in the Church to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed Doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christs Faith. And Priests thus called *Presbyteri*, in the Primitive Church (what time were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or infirmation made by Christ and his Apostles) were the very same and none other but Bishops, as I shewed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of St. Hierome.

Paul also recordeth the same right evidently in the first to Titus, in this form: *I left thee Titus (quoth blessed Paul) behind me in Crete, that thou shouldst set in due order such things as lack, or be not else perfectly framed, and that thou shouldst set Priests in every Town, like as I did appoint thee, if any be without reproach, or blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not given to riot, or that be not unruly, for so ought a Bishop*

RING 1

Will God to be copied more than men.

Acts 5.

our Fathers hath raised Jesus from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.

The Council of Gamaliel.

Acts 4.5.

Wrongful prohibition ought not to stop the preaching of Gods Word. Priests Judges in their own causes.

Sufficient of suspicion corrected.

Answer to the 12 Article.

Priests whether they ought to preach, that they be not sent.

Bishops or Presbyteri all one.

Priests have two names set in Scripture Presbyters & Sacerdotes.

Titus 1.

Bishop

KING I. Bishop to be, &c. These are not my words, but Saint Paul's in the Epistle to Titus. Where you may see that a Priest called *Presbyter*, should be the same that we call a Bishop, whom he requireth a little after, to be able by wholesome Doctrine of Gods Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same Doctrine, and if any shall speak against it, to reprove them thereby. And mark ye how he would have a Bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a Priest) to make exhortation by holy Scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speak against the truth, and not to condemn them by might or authority only, or else by traditions of men made in General Councils. And as many as are in this wise Priests, which are commonly called *Presbyteri* (otherwise Bishops) such as in the Church are set to take Cure of souls, and to be spiritual Pastors, ought to preach freely the Word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edifie and profit.

**What Min-
isters be first
Gregor in
Falsheit.**

Dist. 43.

And whereas you add this Particle; *Though they were not sent*; I say, that all such are chosen to be Preachers, and therefore. For of this speaketh St. Gregory in his Pastorals, in this wise; *Prædicationis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit*: Whosoever taketh Priesthood upon him, taketh also upon him the Office of preaching. Yea, your Law reporteth in like manner, *Distinct. 43.* where it is thus said, A Priest ought to be honest, that he may show honesty both in words and conditions. Wherefore it is said in the *Canticles*, *The cheeks of the Sponse*, that is, to wit, of Preachers, are to be compared to a turtle Dove.

Where is moreover added, He must also have the gift of teaching, because (as faith S. Hierome) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is available by example giving, so much doth it hurt again by silence keeping; for Wolves must be driven away by barking of Dogs, and by the Shepherds staff, which (as the Glo's sheweth) signifieth preaching, and sharp words of the Priest. And this I understand of gods as should be Priests elect both by God and Men, in such Church, whose office is to preach.

**And Mode
serveth for
authority.**

And though many of them which now do minister in the Church, and are elect by Bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christs Institution, and the form of the Primitive Church, neither do, nor can preach; yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me, or other, that are compelled to shew the truth and right ordinances of the Apostles, that was used aforetime in the Primitive Church: God bring it in again. Neither ought we for the negligence of Bishops, which have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principal duty of Priests is grown out of knowledge, when we do shew you thereof, to be so enforced by a Book-Oath, and therefore noted as Heretics, imprisoned and burned.

Sacredot.

Other he called Priests in the New Testament, by this word *Sacerdotes*, that is to say, I think, Sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called *Rex & Sacerdos*, King and Priest, so be all Christian men in the New Testament (as is testified *Apoc. 1.*) by Christ made Kings and Priests. The words in the *Apocalyp* be thus, *To Jesus Christ which hath loved us, and washed us from our sins through his blood, and made us Kings and Priests unto God, even his Father unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever. Amen.*

1 Pet. 2.

**Bede upon
the E. Epistle
of S. Peter.**

Thus faith S. John, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said, *1 Pet. 2.* where he writeth unto all Christian men, *You, quoth he, be a chosen Generation, a royal Priesthood, an holy People.* S. Bede expounding the same (as my remembrance doth serve) hath testified plainly with me. And S. Augustine, I wot well, in divers places recordeth that all Christian men be so called, *Regale Sacerdotium*. And likewise doth *Faber*, in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the Treatise called *Unio dissidentium*, shall find a multitude of ancient Fathers sayings, declaring the same.

**How all
men are
Priests.**

But this may yet seem a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called Priests, and that in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to divers, as it did to me and many other, when we read it first; because we never read he heard of the same before; and so did Christs Doctrine and his Apostles seem new to his Audience, when he himself preached.

Albeit he yet proved his doings and sayings by authority of the Law and Prophets, as is shewed in the first of the *Romans*, where Paul reporteth; *That he was chosen afore to be a Minister of the Gospel that was promised before by the Prophets.* And our Saviour telleth the same in St. John, saying to the Jews, *Think you not, quoth he, that I shall accuse you before my Father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye do trust. But if ye believed Moses, you should certainly believe me, for he writeth of me, &c.* Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

But although these sayings do seem new, for lack that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same (God amend and help it, when it shall please him) yet truly so standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the Doctors above named, and so was it preached of a certain Doctor also of Divinity in London, the second day of *Advent* last past, in this sentence. I wote not whether these were the self words or no. The Church, quoth the Doctor, is nothing, else but the Congregation of faithful people: as you all, quoth he to the people, are of the Church, as well as I, or any other, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are Priests, but yet are not all alike ordained Ministers, said he, to consecrate the Body of Christ in the Church. Thus said the Preacher: whom when I see opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these I say ought not all to preach openly in general Conventions or Assemblies, neither can they, but they rather should come to learn: yet privately are they bound for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolks, and such like, to speak that should be for the destruction of vice, and increase or upholding of virtue, whensoever time and place requireth, as sheweth St. Paul, saying in this wise, *You that are Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath or anger, but bring them up in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Lord.*

In the three and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for lay-men of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women to sacrifice and preach the Word of God? I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion to preach openly the Word of God, except they be chosen and elect to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both, and therefore St. Paul calleth himself in all his Epistles, an Apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the *Galatians* he writeth thus, *Paul an Apostle, not sent of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ.* Also to the *Romans*, *How shall men preach truly*, quoth he, *except they be sent?*

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supposition of Gods Law, and also of Laws written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity lay-people may preach, and that of both kinds, both men and women, as you may see in the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where he faith, *That it is a shame for a woman to speak in a multitude or congregation.* Yet in another place he faith, *That every woman praying or prophesying, having nothing upon her head doth dishonour her head.*

To this accords the Prophecie of *Joel* recited *Act. 2.* *Joel 2.* where in the person of God it is said thus, *I shall pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophesie.* Thus did *Anna* the Prophetess, daughter of *Panneel*, give praise unto Christ in the Temple, and spake of him to all men of *Jerusalem*, that looked after the redemption of *Israel*.

This also doth yet speak unto us in the Scripture the Virgin *Mary*, by the Song which she made, that is daily recited in the Church, called *Magnificat*. Yea *Stephen* also being no Priest, but a Deacon, made a wonderful good Sermon, *Act. 7.* This also willett your Decrees, *Dist. 9. de Confe.* where it is thus said, A woman although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the Congregation, ne Baptize, except necessity requireth. So that where need is, I shall add this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the Law, like as a woman may baptize, so may she teach the Word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, *Cap. 16. Quest. 1. & in Glossa. 11. Cap. ad iudicium. Distinct. 18.* And I beseech God, that for lack of true and well learned Officers such necessity do not come now upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach.

Rom. 1.

Job. 5.

**The sayings
of a Doctor
reaching
at Paris.
All be
Priests, but
not all be
ministers pub-
lick.**

**Every man
Minister of
good instru-
ction in his
own house.
Ephel. 6.**

**Answer to
the three
and twen-
tieth Arti-
cle.
No man to
preach o-
penly, ex-
cept he be
chosen.
Gal. 1.
Rom. 5.**

**In time of
great need.
ity, lay-
people may
preach, par-
ticularly
women;
may preach:
1 Cor. 14
1 Cor. 11**

**Act. 7.
Dist. 9. de
Confe.**

**Cap. 16. de
Quest. 1. &
in Glossa.
11. Cap. ad
iudicium.**

There is a learned man, which in a Dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude Abbot and a Gentlewoman having skill in learning, jesteth, but with pretty earnest (as his manner is) and giveth a watch-word touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the Dialogue. The Gentlewoman answering the Abbot for that he had partly checked her, because she was quick in utterance of learning. Sir, smooth life, if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily do, the world perceiving it (as they begin to grow quick in fiddle) it is to be feared, lest they will set you beside the Saddle, and put us in your rooms.

As concerning Sacrifice-doing, (do I understand by the word which you do use, *Libare*, not knowing else what it should mean) I say that it is lawful for all men and women to do Sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I mean not by Sacrifice doing, to say Mass, as Priests used to do, thereunto appointed: but like as Christian people be *Sacerdotes*, that is to say, Sacrificers, as is shewed afore, so ought they to offer, and do offer Spiritual sacrifices, as writeth Saint Paul to the Romans, saying, *I beseech you brethren, for the love of God mercy, that you will give your body a living (Sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshiping). In that he faith our body should be a sacrifice, he would have it flain: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed, should be flain flit. But he joyneeth therewith, Living; saying, Give your body to be a living (Sacrifice). So that he would we should continue to live in this body to Gods pleasure, but fleeing the evil lusts and appetites thereof, and so flail our worshipment be reasonable, if we do die, give unto our reason overmuch of the Brinot whereby it may run at riot, in following fleshy concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy, as when men will take in hand to devise, by their own wit, a more godly way of living than is institute by Christ (which is the wisdom of his Heavenly Father) saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow. Of whom it is said by the*

Elay 29. *Prophet Elay in these words, This people approach near unto me, and bowdown me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but they do worship me in vain, teaching Doctrines that are laws or precepts of men.*

Rom. 12 *Then Paul proceedeth shewing of this Christian sacrifice, saying, And apply not your selves unto the fashion of this world, but be ye transformed by renovation of your mind, that you may know what is the will of God: what is good, acceptable, and righteous before him. See how he would have us do this sacrifice, and mortifie our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the Will of God, and following after the same.*

Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth, is sacrifice of that we should always offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, *Psalm 134.* that is to wit, the fruits of our lips, that *Ofsee* calleth *Tributus Labiorum*, giving laud unto his name; and that we *Ofc.* 14. should not forget to do good, and to be beneficial to our *Heb.* 13. neighbours: *For in such sacrifice (saith he) God hath delighted.*

Thus I say, that by plain suffrage of your Law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay-persons in necessity and in time of need may lawfully preach or shew the Word of God, and also do sacrifice; but I think, except great need require, they ought not so to do.

Thus have you herein my mind: which if it be not firm and substantial, I will yet reform it when any better is shewed, as I will also do in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit methink the Decrees do pass evidently with me.

To the 24
Article.

Excommu-
pication.
Excommu-
nication re-
quirit
consent of
other.

Excommunication. Excommunication is a spiritual censure consisting of others.

To ¶ The twenty-ath where you do ask, Whether Excommunication, denounced by the Pope against all Heretics, do oblige and bind them before God? I say, Th^t it bindeth them before God, if they be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named, and if he denounce them so to be out of his own proper head or affection only, but with the consent of other gathered with him in Christs name, for the behoof of Christs Church: For so used Saint *Paul*, when he did Excommunicate the man of *Corinth*, which had full horribly defiled his mother-in-law, as appeareth I Cor. 5.

Mat. 18. ¶ And the same form declareth the Gospel, Mat. 18.

in these words, *If thy brother hath trespassed against thee, go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will bear thee thou hast won thy brother. If he will not hear thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three every thing may be assured. If he will not hear them, thrust him into the congregation. If he will not follow the mind of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a Pagan, or a notable Infidel. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven. So that such Excommunication ought to be done (as methinketh) by the Congregation assembled together with their Pastor, whose advice they ought principally to cleave and follow, if he be virtuous and godly.*

And thus it is convenient to be done. For the Pope is made of flesh as well as other men, and therefore he may sometime judge awry, cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise may other Prelates, judging the Christian to be Hereticks, and Hereticks Christian. Of whom it is also written in the Prophesie of Ezechiel, *Mortificabant animas que non moriuntur, & vivificabant* Ezek. 13 *animas que non vivunt: They flew the souls of them that should not die, and gave life to the souls that should not live.* As did the Pharisees when they did call Christ out of the Vineyard, which signifieth the Church, *Mat. 21. Mat. 21.* And as our Saviour prophesied in the nineteenth of *John*, saying unto his Disciples, *There shall be* (quoth he) *some that shall Excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that whosoever shall flay you, shall think to do honour to God; and this shall they do unto you, because they do neither know my Father nor me.* These words were written in the Gospel of *John. 19.* Whereby you see, that for lack of knowledge of God, which is taught and feen by the light of Scripture, Christ prophesied how lewd men should lewdly Excommunicate the good, yea and flay his true servants, thinking through such facks to please God, and to do him good service.

Wherefore I end, O Lord, I beseech thee, the know-
ledge of thee to be dilated upon earth, which *Ouse* bewail-
eth fore, seeing it absent, whereby mens judgments may
be rectified, and so do accordingly to the leading of the
same.

¶ In the five and twentieth, where you do ask whether every Priest is bound to say daily his Mattens and Evening-Prayer, according as it is ordained by the Church, or whether he may leave them, unaid, without offence or deadly sin ? I say that Prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and unmeasurable benefits are shewed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily give themselves thereto. With prayer doth Saint *Paul* bid us to fight in divres places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in *Exod. 17* verses, when the *Israelites* fought in battel against a Nation of Infidels ; I trow their Captain was called *Amaaleck*, *Moses* stood upon a mountain to behold what should be the conclusion, and lifting up his hands prayed that it might well succed with the *Israelites*, but in long holding them up, at last his fervor began to grow cold and faint, and his hands lagged downward, and ever as his hands grew heavy (which signifieth that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold) the Infidels prevailed, but as he kept them heaved upward (whereby was meant intensive prayer of a devout mind) he purchased victory to the *Israelites*. *Aaron* and *Hur*, which indited the Law to the people, and were thereof the Interpreters, stood with *Moses* ; which always as they did fee his arms to faint, did uphold them, so that finally the victory came unto *Israel*.

By *Moses* is signified, as few great Clerks, Devotion : By *Aaron* and *Har*, the knowledge of Gods Doctrine. Which two things (Devotion I mean, and Knowledge) all men had need to have present with them : for Devotion doth elevate the mind to God : but knowledge doth sustain or uphold the same, that it may with courage continue not falling down, but so alway doth incense and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the presence of our Heavenly Father, where they favour together far more sweetly than any fumigation either of *Juniper*, *Incense*, or whatsoever else, be they never so pleasant, do favour in any mans nose.

There-

KING
2. Art. 6. Therefore Saint Paul seeing how necessary the knot of these two, Devotion and Knowledge of Gods Will, was, which is shewed in Scripture (as teacheth Saint Cyprian in these words, The Will of God, faith he, is that which Christ hath taught and wrought) Paul, I say, seeing this wished to be excommunicate and separate from God, to have the Jews come to the knowledge of Christs Church, which is the only right way to salvation, for whom he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a little after, in the tenth Chapter to the Romans, saying, *I bear them record, that they have a zeal and devotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Christs Doctrine, &c.* Where you may clearly see how the Jews (as St. Paul, which is no lyer, recordeth here) had a zeal and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. *Moses* was amongst them, but *Aaron* was away: whose absence pained Paul so fore, that he ravished with exceeding charity, wished no small harm unto himself upon condition that the multitude of them might be holpen, and have better judgment, even to be separated from God.

He is not
to be with-
out Aaron.

Devotion
without
knowledge
hurtful.

Act. 26.

The zeal of
Saul with-
out devo-
tion

Zeal with-
out know-
ledge.

Act. 2.

Zach. 2.

Devotion a
deceivable
thing.

Envy in
Embroider-
ing
Saying
Matters.

in saying of Mattens, yea rather contrariwise he sheweth disliking, and so he doth also in his Exposition of *Psalm 1.* *Beatus vir*, where the Text maketh agreeably for the same: it is written in this wise, *Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsel of the wicked, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, ne sit in the chair of pestilence but hath his will in the Law of God, and shall misse or be occupied in it both day and night.*

Psalm 1.

See how the Prophet (which I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that Will and pleasure of God, as ever did any Pope or general Council, or whatsoever they were betide, that ordained long service to be said of Priests) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the Law of God both day and night, that is, to wit, always. A great promise put of God to such blessed exercise, which we may call right devotion, or true godliness. For Paul defining godliness, saith thus, *Pietas ad omnia iustitiae est, ut quas promissiones habetis praesentis vitae & futurae.* That is, to wit, Godliness is profitable unto all things, for that hath annexed thereto promises of this life present, and of the life to come.

What is
true Godli-
ness, or
Piety.
1 Tim. 4.

But no such promise is made of God, I am certain, to them that say daily Mattens. Neither are we certain by the Word of God, that we shall therefore be blessed of him, no more than we are certain, that for saying over the fifteen Ours, every day once through an whole year, we shall aptly see our Lady to aid us afore our death, as it is testified in the Scripture of the Primer, but not by Scripture of the Bible; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying of her Psalter upon the ten Beads that cometh from the crossed Friars, or upon the five Beads hallowed at the Charter-house, or fasting the Ladies fast, as men call it; ne for fasting on the Wednesday, as is shewed by a Book that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that listeth, for it is neither the New Testament nor the old.

No promise
of God for
saying of
Mattens.

The 15
Ours.

Our Ladies
Psalter.

Fasting on
Ladies Fast.

They are condemned you wot well, and I perhaps shall have a little less favour because I tell the truth freely, for such things are called offensive. But would God, that all persons so thinking, would remember what answer Christ made unto his Disciples in the 15th of *Matthew*, when they came to him, and warned him to beware, saying, *Tu know that the Pharisees are offended, hearing such words spoken.* I will leave out Christs answer, lest I should be thought over free and plain in taxing or uttering of abusive, and speak no further.

Mat. 15.

A like demand, with answer therunto annexed, shall you find in the eleventh of *Luke*, where Christ would not refrain to speak any deal more easily. Therefore I beseech them that deem me (God wot whether righteously, or no) slanderously, to revise the said places, and then counsel me to do that shall be most expedient, to follow, if their charity will so require. Yet would I that all people should know that I do not reprove that saying of the fifteen Ours, which (so far forth as my remembrance doth serve) is a very good prayer, or such like prayers; ne would I that any person should think me to disallow any secret sayings; for such, not only present with you, but even from hence absent, have I commended in earnest speaking, and so intend to do by the assistance of Gods grace. Nevertheless such vain promises I do abhor, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the same. For such do cause vain confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right belief of the Gospel (which Christian men ought only to build their faith upon) unto new inventions of vanity. *S. Paul* calleth such, *old womens tales*, where he writeth unto *Timothy*, bidding him to beware of them, and to throw them away.

Positive
commend.

The Prophet *David* likewise doth accoid thereunto, saying, *Beatus vir cuius est nomen Domini spes ejus, & non respexit in vanitates & insanas falsas:* Blessed, quoth he, is the man that hath in the Name of God his affiance or hope, and hath not looked back to vanities and false dangles or madnes. And this I say again, That the Mattens-saying hath no more promise of God made to the sayers, than hath the other above named, for they were infinite by the fantasie or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither do I think the Priests which will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or incumbered with saying of them, that they thereby should be hindered from the study of that, which know belongeth principally both to their owne souls sal-

Psalm 40.

vation.

vation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of Priests doth require (I mean the study of his Gospel) whereby they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should feed Christs flock, the Congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Saviour in *John*: I, (quoth he) *am the door, who-soever shall come in by me, shall both come in, and go out, and find good pasture or feeding*: that is to say, Who-soever shall enter to be a Pastor or Minister in Christs Church or Congregation by Christ, shall both enter into contemplation of Gods glory, declared abundantly in Scripture, and after go forth and shew the same abroad to other for their wealth and edifying.

Joh. 10.

Luk. 22.

1 Pet. 5.

Ignorance
mother of
Error.

2 Tim. 4.

Dist. 38.

Priests to
give them-
selves rather
to study
than to say-
ing of Mat-
ters.What
Priests
ought to
study.Negl gentes
of Bishops
in making
Priests no-
ted.

To this accordeth that is written in *Luke*, whereas our Saviour speaketh to all his Church signified in the person of St. Peter. Peter, quoth he, *I have prayed that thy faith should not fail, and thou being converted, go then about to confirm thy brethren*. So that he would have Peter established first in faith of his sure Doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach other to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all Priests to be called *Presbyters*, which will be Ministers in the Church; for so biddeth St. Peter in his first Epistle, in the last Chapter, saying thus, *I beseech the Priests, quoth he, that are among you, I myself being a Priest, and a witness bearer of Christs afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, see that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Christ, taking care of the same, not as if forced thereto, but willingly, not desiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind; neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns or ensamples to the flock*. See how he requirith of Priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christs flock, and to shew good ensample of living, making no mention of long Mattens-saying, which then were not mentioned nor spoken of.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form; ignorance, faith the Law (mark it well I beseech you all) is the mother of all errors. Which ought to be eschewed especially of Priests, that among the people of God have taken upon them the office of preaching: Priests are commanded to read holy Scriptures, as faith Paul the Apostle to *Timothy*, *Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching, and continue always in the same*. Let Priests therefore know Holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edifie all men both in knowledge of Faith, and in Discipline of good works. These be the words of the Law in the Decrees, *Dist. 38*. Wherefore you see how the Law lamenteth ignorance in all persons, for it is the original of all errors. God send us therefore the knowledge of his true Gospel. It biddeth that ignorance should be utterly eschewed, and principally of Priests, and labour and diligence should be bestowed all in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same, bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the Apostle, which willett it in like manner.

Moreover, it requirith that Priests should give all their study to edifie other in faith and virtuous living. Whereof I do gather both by the saying of the Prophet, that willett us to be studious in the Law of God day and night, and by the saying of the Apostle, which would have *Timothy* to be occupied ever in reading and teaching, and by the report of your own Law, which faith likewise, That a Priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching: so that a Priest set thus truly to study, that he may stablish himself in the faith of Christs Doctrine, intending after to help other with true preaching of the same, or doing other like deeds of charity, assigned in the Law of God, shall not offend deadly, if so spending his time, he omitteth to say Mattens, which is an Ordinance of men.

Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made Priests by negligent admission of Bishops, and their own presumption, that labour to be made Priests before they be any Clerks, and e're ever they know what is the very office of a Priest, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be a Curate, they recke not of how many, so they may get a good lump of money, never minding after that the study of Scripture, after they are come to *Dominus vobiscum*: for such I do think long Mattens to be needful, to refrain them from other enormities that they should else run into. Of which you may

be weary to see the experience thereof daily arising. Yea, and if such would be content to admit it, I would every one Mattens were as long to them as five, except they could bestow their time better.

¶ In the six and twentieth where you do ask, whether I believe that the Heads or Rulers by necessity of salvation are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their Mother-language? I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know Holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated in the Mother-tongue, that they may have it by them at all times to pass the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto, like as they have in France under the French Kings priviledge, and also the priviledge of the Emperor, and so do I know that they have had it these fifty four years in France at the least, and it was translated at the request of a King called, I trow, *Lewis*, as appeareth by the priviledge put in the beginning of the Book.

In like manner have they it in Flanders, Printed with the priviledge of the Emperor, in *Almain* also and *Italy*, and I suppose through all Nations of Christendom. Likewise hath it been in *England*, as you may find it in the English story called *Polychronicon*. There it is shewed how when the Saxons did inhabit the Land, the King at that time, which was a Saxon, did himself translate the *Psalter* into the Language that then was generally used. Yea I have seen a Book at *Crowland-Abbey*, which is kept there for a Relick, the Book is called *Saint Guthlakes Psalter*, and I weene verily it is a Copy of the same that the King did translate for it is neither English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English, and as I have perceived since the time I was last there, being at *Amwerp*, the Saxon Tongue doth sound likewise after our, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the same story of *Polychronicon* is also shewed, how that *Saint Bede* did translate the Gospel of *John* into English, and the Author of the same Book promised that he would translate into English all the Bible, yea and perhaps he did so, but I wot not how it cometh to pass all such things be kept away. They may not come to light, for there are some walking privily in darkness, that will not have their doings known. It is no lyke that is spoken in the Gospel of *John*, *Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem: All that do naughtily hate the light, and will not have their doings known*. And therefore they keep down the light strongly; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance should anon be disclosed and reprov'd, yea and all men should see anon, whether those that hold against unrighteousness, being therefore sometime horribly infamed and slandered, named Heretics and Schismatics, were in deed as they be called or not.

Yea moreover, I did once see a Book of the New Testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation on this hundred years, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the Church in Latin. But he that shewed it me said, he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had been punished aforetime for keeping of such, and were convicted therefore of Heresie.

Moreover, I was at *Pauls Crofs*, when the New Testament Imprinted of late beyond the Sea, was first forefended, and truly my heart lamented greatly, to hear a great man preaching against it, which shewed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea, and not I, but likewise did many other think verily to be none. But (alack for pity) malice cannot say well. God help us all, and amend it.

So that to conclude, I think verily it would be profitable and expedient, that the Holy Scriptures were delivered, by authority of the Head-rulers, unto the people, truly translated in the vulgar Tongue, in like manner as it is in all other Countries. And whereas you add, whether they be bound by necessity of salvation to deliver it to the people, I will not so narrowly touch that point now; but I say that they are bound by right and equity to cause it to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar Tongue, for their edifying, and consolation which the people by Gods grace should gather thereof, that now it is like they want, and are destitute of.

To the 16 Article.

Scripture in the vulgar Tongue.

The French Bible translated into the French Tongue, with the Kings priviledge about fifty years before Lambert's time. The Psalter translated by the King of England into the Saxon Tongue. Read before

S. Guthlaks

Bede translated the Gospel of St. John into English.

Joh. 3.

The cause why the Scripture is not suffered to come to light.

Private such Testaments are yet to be seen in divers places of a long continuance.

Errors found in late translated Testament where none was before.

{ KING }
{ Hen. 8. }
To the 27th
Article.

Whether
for any
cause the
Scripture
may be re-
strained from
the people.

Prov. 1.

A perfect
reason why
Scripture
ought not
to be with-
drawn from
the people
at any time.

Matth. 5.

To the 18
Article.

Hallowings
and bless-
ings some
allowed and
some not.
Hallowing
of bread.
Blessing of
him that
goeth to
read the
Gospel.

1 Cor. 9.

To the 19
Article.

¶ In the seven and twentieth, where you do demand, Whether it be lawful for the Rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable adviement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language? All men may here see, that whosoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that if so saying could not be well reprov'd; and therefore are layed out all these additions, as it were to snare and trapme in: Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of falsivation, to deliver it to the People: and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordain to refrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable adviement of them taken. *Sed frustra jacturæ ante oculos pennatorum, But without cause you spread the Net before the eyes of the Birds or Fowls.* I shew you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the Bishops have not fith amended it, if so be they could, that the People might have it to use and occupy veruolently.

And here I will add one reason. The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustentance of mans soul. This is shewed to be true in many places of Scripture: like as other corporal meat is the food of the body. Then if he be an unkind Father that keepeth bodily meat away the space of a week or a month from his children; it should seem that our Bishops be no gentle Pastors or Fathers, that keep away the food of mens souls from them (specially when other do offer the same) both months, years, and ages. Neither do I see any opportunity of time or reasonable adviements that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away, but the contrary rather, for it is reasonable, convenient, and needful for men to eat their meat ever when they are right hungry, and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times; for that we do crave every day in our Pater Noster, saying, *Give us Lord our*

ther I believe that the Pope may make Laws and Statutes to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin, so that such Laws and Statutes be not contrary to the Law of God? I say that it may be true that is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, I say whether they bind to deadly sin, or not. I say that the Pope may make Laws bind all Christian men, for the Greeks and the Romanians will (as you do know full well, never admit them, but do refuse them utterly; so that I do not find that his Laws may bind all Christian men.

Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make Laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the King or the Emperor: And to say sooth, I say, (as I have said afore) I think verily that the Church was more full of vertue before the Decrees or Decretals were made (which is not very long ago, but in the time of Constantine, if it be true that is reported in the Decrees, *Dist. 15. Cap. Canonis generalium*) than it hath been since: God repair it, and restore it again to the ancient purity and perfection.

¶ In the thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the Pope and other Prelats, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to Excommunicate Priests, and Lay people that are inobedient and sturdy from entering into the Church, and to suspend or lett them from ministrations of the Sacraments of the same: I think that the Pope and other Prelats have power to Excommunicate both Priests and Lay men, such as be rebellious against the Ordinance of God, and disobedient to his Law: For such are sundred from God, afore the Prelats do give sentence, by reason of their sin and contumacy, according as it is said in *Esaiah* by Almighty God: *Teu sine quo tu he, do make division betwixt you and me.* And the Prelats by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, as that is to pronounce such to be Excommunicate of God, and unworthy to Minister any Sacraments, or to be conversant with Christian folk that will not amend. For thus biddeth Paul, *1 Cor. 5. 1 Cor. 5. If any amongst you called a brother, shall be a glutton, or a covetous person, or a worshipper of images or idols, or a Raylor, or a Drunkard, or an Excommunicator, see that with such you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the Church, and not be suffered to come within it.*

I am not certain that Prelats have any such power: And though they had. I doubt whether charity should permit them to shew it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in Churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through the which the sturdy coming thither and hearing it, might soon be smitten with Compunction and Repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a Law made in the Council of Carthage, which is this: A Bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the Church, and to hear the Word of God, whether he be Gentle or Jew, or Heretick, until the Mass time of them that are called *Catechumens. De Consecr. distinct. 1.*

Moreover, where you speak of Prelats Deputies, I think such be but little behoovable to Christs flock. It were necessary and right, that as the Prelats themselves will have the Revenues, Tithes, and Oblations of their Benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the word of God therefore, and not to thrust the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is) undone. Such doth S. John call *Fures & latrones. Thieves and Murderers*, although they make never so goodly a worldly shew outward, and bear a stout port.

This I say, that the Pope and other Prelats have power to Excommunicate rebels against Gods Ordinance, and to suspend them from receiving or ministrating the Sacrament: But I am not sure, that they have power to suspend them from out of Churches, especially when Gods Word is there preached, unless the sinners be so fore desperate, that they scorn the same. And I would that every Prelate receiving his living of Benefices, should himself work in the same, specially in true preaching of Christs Doctrine, witho it winding his own neck out of the yoke, and charging therewith other called Deputies or Vicars, Curates, and such like. For God would have every man to get his

G g living

Laws and Statutes
of the Pope
whether they bind
to deadly sin,
or not.
The Pope
not receive
of all men.

The Pope
hath no
power to
make laws
binding under
pain of deadly
sin, more
than hath
the King or
Emperor.

To the 30
Article.
The power
of the Pope
and Prelats
to Excommuni-
cate.

Esa. 59.

1 Cor. 5.

Whether
prelats
have any
such power
to exclude
any from
the Church,
Dist. 1. de
Consecr.

Bishops Deputies
not behoovable.

Every Pre-
late and le-
sser pre-
late, ought
himself to
discharge
his cure
witho-
ut Deputy or
Vicar.

living by sweat of his own face, that is to say, by his labour, according to his Estate and calling. And like as every workman is worthy his meat: Contrariwise, they that labour not, unless they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and such lets to take of those, to whom they do no service, Fifty or Fourty pound a year, for waiting after none other thing than the Moon shining in the water. The Canon Law maketh clearly with the fame. Look in the Decrees, Cap. 21. *questi. 2. cap. Prae-* cap. and you shall find plainly as I say.

To the 3rd
Article.
Faith only
to justify.

Unis diffi-
dendum to
be out in
English.
Works
make not a
man justifi-
ed, but a
justified
man maketh
good works.

Aug. in
Joan.

¶ In the one and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether Faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his Baptism, for his Salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, Faith only doth justify, and works Salvation, afore a man do any other good works: and that is shewed by many authorities both of Scripture, and also of many holy Fathers, in a Treatise called, *Unio dissidentium*, which I would to Christ, as it is in French, and other Languages, we had it truly translated into English. And truly I do think in this matter (like as is shewed by many authorities of holy Fathers) that a man fallen into sin after Baptism shall be saved through Faith, and have forgiveness by Christs Patience, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: As when a man having short life, lacketh leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true Faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity cometh, it cannot but work plentifully deeds of charity, which are a testimony and witness bearer of mans true Faith. This declareth Saint *Augustin* upon *John*: I trow it is where he expoundeth this Text: *Si diligitis me, praecepta mea servate: If ye love me keep my commandments.* Whereas within a little after he speaketh in this wise, *Opera bona non faciunt iustum, sed justificatus facit bona opera.* That is to say, good works make not a just or a righteous man, but a man once justified doth good works.

To the 3rd
Article.

A Priest
fornicating
is more to
be punished
than a Priest
marrying
by the
Popes own
Law.

¶ In the two and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether a Priest marrying a Wife, and that without the Dispensation of the Pope, begetting also Children of her without slander giving, do sin deadly? I say, that he doth not so much offend as those which in *Wales* (as I have heard say) and also in many parts beyond the Sea, or rather in all places, do give openly dispensations, for money to Priests to take Concubines: Neither doth he offend so much as the purchasers of such Dispensations: For they on every hand do clearly commit Fornication and Adultery, utterly forbidden by Gods Law; and the Priest of whom speaketh your demand, offendeth but mans Law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written, I wien it be in a Glof, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the Text or no, I can lightly turn it to having a Book. The sentence is thus; *Presbyter fornicans est plus puniendus quam uxorem ducent.* That is to say, A Priest doing Fornication ought to be punished more than one which hath married a Wife. Finally, I think such a Priest as before is named in your demand, sinneth not deadly.

To the 3rd
Article.

Marriage of
Priests as
well Latine
as Greeke,
permitted
alike in the
Scripture.

¶ In the three and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether a Latine Priest, after he hath taken the Order of Priesthood, being fore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust and lechery, and therefore marrying a Wife for a remedy of the same, do sin deadly? I say that a Latine Priest and a Greeke Priest is all one before God, if they follow both one rule of Christ, left to us in holy Scripture; neither doth Christ put any such difference, but the one hath by that rule the same liberty that another, and no more nor less, for there is the same God in *Greece*, that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And therefore, I cannot see by his Law, but that a Latine Priest may marry, as well as they do. And if the Greeks should not follow Christs Law in believing the same, and living there after, you would call them Hereticks. But that will not the Pope have done. Wherefore seeing they do let Priests marry, affirming it may so be done by the Law of God, and yet are not reputed Hereticks, why should other men that say the same be called Hereticks, or be therefore burned? Therefore following the Law of God, I make the same answer of a Latine Priest, that I made before of all Priests, that a Priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry, for avoiding Fornication.

¶ In the thirty fourth, where you ask, Whether ever I prayed for *John Wickliffe*, *John Hus*, and for *Hierom of Prague* condemned of Heresie in the Council of *Constance*, or any one of them, with they dyed, and whether I have openly or secretly done any such deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in Bliss and saved? I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so far forth as I can remember. And though I had, it followeth not, that in so doing I should be an Heretick. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great Country called *Bohemia*, which yet do follow (as men say) that same Doctrine, which *John Hus*, and *Hierom of Prague* taught their Ancestors, whom (as I trow) neither the Pope nor you do recount Hereticks and Infidels.

KING
Item 2. I
The Greek
churches
suffer Priests
to marry.

To the 34
Article.

¶ In the thirty fifth, where you ask, Whether I have recounted and said them or any of them to be Saints, and worshipped them as Saints? I say that in secret and hid things which I do not perfectly know, I follow the Counsel of Saint *Paul*, which biddeth that we should not judge over soon, but to abide (unless the things which we should pass upon, be the more evident) unto the coming of the Lord, which shall illuminate and shew forth clearly things, that now lie hid in darkness. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, nor against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment I wot infallible.

To the 35
Article.

And whereas you say, they were condemned of Heresie in the Council of *Constance*: If so the Council did right, God shall allow it, I doubt not, and that shall suffice to have commendation of him: So that it is not need to ask of me whether the Acts of the same are commendable or no? Neither can I give any direct answer thereto; for I do not verily know them. And though I had, yet am not I verily persuaded, that I, because the Council hath condemned them, must therefore believe them to be damned: For a Council, as I wien, may sometime slip beside the right truth; but what that Council did in condemning them, I time slip away. Cannot precisely say; God woteth. Yea, and that one singular person may judge more rightly, than a great multitude assembled in a Council, appeareth by Gods Law, and by the Law of man. Experience herof may you see by the Council that is spoken of in the eleventh of *John*, where is shewed, that after our Saviour had restored *Lazarus* to life, the Bishops and Pharisees then were gathered together in a Council, saying; What shall we do? Truth it is that this man *Jesus* doth many Miracles, and if we suffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of *Jerusalem*, our dwelling place, and destroy our Nation. At which time *Caiphas* did arise, shewing forth his sentence, which the whole Council did admit.

Joh. 11.

In like wise is shewed, Acts the fifth, wherein a Council of the Bishops and Priests assembled to know what punishment should be done unto Christs Apostles, because they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had commanded the Apostles no more to speak in Christs name) there among a thred multitude of them gathered together, did rise a certain man, called *Gemaliel* (a pitiful thing verily to see but one good man in such a great Convocation or Council of Priests, that should be the lights of virtue to all the people) which *Gemaliel* was a Doctor of the Law, and had in good reputation among the people; much like he was, as seemed to me, to Doctor *Collet*, sometime Dean of *Pauls* in *London*, while *Gemaliel* he lived. I may come no nearer to name some other of our time, lest I should be thought offensive. This *Gemaliel* did bid the Apostles go aside for a while out of the Council, or Convocation House; and so he spake unto the other Priests or Bishops in the Council thus; *You men of Israel* (quoth he) *take heed to yourselves what ye shall do unto these men the Apostles: for afore this time have risen one called Theudas, and after him another named Judas of Galilee; which have turned the people after them, and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now, quoth he, I say unto you, refrain from hurting these men the Apostles, and let them alone, or suffer them. For if the enterprise and work that they have made be of men, undoubtedly it shall perish, and be foredone: but if, quoth he, it be of God, you cannot*

The Council
of Gemaliel
to the Ph-

KING cannot foredo it. And this I tell you, said Gamaliel, lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.

Councils may and do
not always
right.
Unto this sentence of Gamaliel, did all the other of the Convocation or Parliament agree, so that they called the Apostles of Christ afore them, causing them to be scourged and charging them, no more after to preach of Christs name, and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the name of our Saviour and his Apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the Holy Ghost knew afore, that like practice should come in the later time of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearly see, that Councils do not always decern with Christ, but sometime they may do against him. And therefore said David, *Non sedis cum concilio vanitatis, & cum inique agentibus non introibo: Odi Ecclesiam malignantium, & cum impiis non sedabo: sed Iacobus inter innocentes manus meas, &c.* I did not (quoth David) sit with the Assembly or Council of vain doers, or liars, and will not go in amongst them that work iniquity: For I hate the Convocation of them that are malicious or malignant, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: But I will wash my hands among innocents, &c.

Councils may and do
not always
right.
Also in another Psalm he writeth thus; *Dominus dissipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populum, & concilia Principum: Concilium autem Domini in aeternum manet, &c.* The Lord, quoth he, doth destroy or annihilate the Councils of the Gentiles, he reproveth the Councils of the People and of Rulers. But the Counsel or device of the Lord endureth ever, and the purpose of his mind abideth unto the World of Worlds. For that purposedoth S. Peter in the Acts of the Apostles alledge this verse out of the Psalm; *Quare fremuerunt gentes, &c.* Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagin vain things, &c. Like unto this is written, *Elsiah* the first. Also you may see in the Councils of the Pharisees above shewed, that one singular person may sometime perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: For only Gamaliel did see better what was behoveable, than could all the other there congregate.

Palms 2. of the Palm; *Quare fremuerunt gentes, &c.* Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagin vain things, &c. Agreeable unto this we find in the Decrees, *Disposit.* 31. where it is written, that the Council of Nice, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the Church, ordained Laws called Canons or Rules. And as they treated upon such Ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a Law that Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, should not lie with their Wives whom they had married afore they were consecrate into the order. With that acrole *Papinianus* a confessor of Christ, and gainfayd it, testifying that marriage was an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his own proper Wife. And so he perwaded the Council, that they should constitute no such Law: affirming, that it was a fore matter that they were minded to do, which should be either to the Priests, or else to their Wives an occasion of Fornication: And this was *Papinianus* reason. The words of the Canon proceed thus.

The Story of *Papinianus* is in the Council.
chastity standeth not by singleness of life, but purety of Manner.
This declared *Papinianus*, he never being married, nor having experience of Marriage, and the Council commended his sentence, making no Statute in this matter, but put it to every mans Freewill and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity. These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed in *Historia tripartita*, as I have shewed before in the fourth Article. Upon this, that *Papinianus* did thus resist and prevail against all the other Council, doth the Gloſs note in the same Law; that one singular person may gainfay or speak against an universal generality, having a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same have we in *Abbot Panorimianus*, where he saith thus: I would (quoth he) rather believe one lay person, bringing in for him authority of Scripture, than an universal Council, that ordaineth or defineth a thing without Scripture.

Finally, I say, that I never recounted them neither Saints nor Devils, but resigned the judgment thereof to God; neither have I in earnest reported them the one, or the other; neither have done unto them particular worship, so far forth as I can remember.

In the six and thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe, hold, and affirm that every General Council, and the Council of *Constance* also do represent the Universal Congregation or Church? I say, that whatſuch Councils do represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, *pro* or *contra*, with this demand or against it: and no marvel: For I know of no Scripture to certifie me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. And me thinketh this (under correction I speak) that Councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the Universal Church, not being yet the same, as I wrote well they neither are nor were. For the Church I do take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinate to be inheritors of eternal Bliss and Salvation, whether they be Temporal or Spiritual, King or Subject, Bishop or Deacon, Father or Child, Grecian or Roman. And this Church spreadeth through the Universal World, whereas any do call for help truly upon the name of Christ: and there do they ever most grow and assemble commonly, whereas his blessed Word is purely and openly preached and declared; for that is the relief of mans soul, whereunto all men, loving their souls health, lust to resort and seek (as all things do naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life) for in it is shewed that righteousness, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is a hungered for, shall come in the Kingdom of Heaven. Of this may well the Proverb in the Gospel (although it be applied to the judgment of God when he shall appear in the general doom) be verified, *Whereſoever is a dead Carrion, thither will soon be assembled Eagles*: That is to wit, whosoever is declared, by the courſe of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christs death, thither will men seek and flie, to know how they may enjoy and attain them, which I beseech him to grant us, Amen.

C In the seven and thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the same thing which the Council of *Constance*, representing the Universal Church, hath approved, and doth approve for the maintenance of Faith and souls health, is to be approved and holden of all Christian people; and that which the same Council hath condemned and doth condemn to be contrary to Faith and good Manners, ought of the same Christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned? I say, that whatsoever the same Council or any other have approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all Christian people to be likewise approved, holden and allowed. And again, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reproof and condemnation worthy, because it is hurtful to Faith or good living, I say, the same ought of all Christian people to be condemned and reprov'd. But this summounteth my knowledge, to discern in what wise their judgment passed; whether with right or unright, because I did never look upon their Acts, neither do I greatly covet to do: Wherefore I refer the determination to them that have better advised their doings, and thereby have more skill in them than I.

C In the eighth and thirtieth you demand, Whether the condemnations of *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Hierom of Pague*, done upon their Persons, Books and Documents, by the Holy General Council of *Constance*, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such, of every Catholic-like person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed? I answer, That it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discuss the thing determinately, yet my Christendom shall be therefore nevertheless, and I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yea nor nay.

C In the thirty ninth you ask, Whether I believe, hold, and affirm, that *John Wickliff* of England, *John Hus*, of Bohemia, and *Hierom of Prague*, were Hereticks, and for Hereticks to be named, and their Books and Doctrines to have been, and now be perverse, for the which Books and pertinacity of their persons, they are condemned by the Holy Council of *Constance* for Hereticks? I say

Answer to the 26 Article.

Whether every General Council representeth the Universal Church.

What is the Church.

He answered here the Church last Article.

Luke 7.

Answer to the 27 Article.

Touching the authority of the Council of Constance.

Answer to the 28 Article.

Answer to the 29 Article.

that I know not determinately whether they be Hereticks or no, nor whether their Books be erroneous or no, nor whether they ought to be called Hereticks or no.

Anſwer to the 40 Article. ¶ In the Fortieth, where you ask, Whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawfull in any caſe to ſwear? I ſay, that I neither ſo do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

Anſwer to the 41 Article. ¶ In the Forty firſt, where you ask, Whether I believe that it is lawfull at the commandment of a Judge, to make an Oath to ſay the truth, or any other Oath in a caſe convenient, and that alſo for purgation of Infamy? I anſwer, that I never ſaid the contrary, but that I think and have thought it lawfull to give an Oath afore a Judge, to ſay the truth, if the Judge ſo require, and that by requiſite lawfull and convenient. As when a thing is in Controverſie betwixt two perſons, and thereupon they ſue unto a Judge for ſentence; when the Judge can none otherwiſe bolt out the truth, he may require an Oath. As when the two Women which contended before Solomon, to avoid the crime of Murder, which the one had committed in oppreſſing her Child to death, and would have put the ſame upon the other, if Solomon could not by his wiſdom otherwiſe have inveſtigated the truth, he might, I ſuppoſe, to come by the more certain information of the thing, have cauſed one of them, or both, ſeeking it expedient for him, to ſwear; wherein the Women had been bound to obey him: But Judges have need to be ſpare in requiring of Oaths. For in cuſtomable, or oft Juſtices, creepeth in alway betwixt times ſome perjury, as ſheweth Chriſtoſtom in words ſembleable to theſe, and thing pretious, through oft haunt or occupying, loſe their eſtimation. And ſo reverent Oaths, unadviſedly required for every triſle uſually, do cauſe men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I fear to break them.

Therefore in *Almain*, they have made of late (as I have heard ſay by credible perſons, which have come from thence) many notable Ordinances for the Commonwealth within a while, and amongst other this is one: If a man be ſet for to enter Plea againſt another in any Town, the Peers thereof afore whom all Actions are uſed to be debated, hearing ſuch a Plea entered, ſhall call the parties privately together, before they come into an open Court. And the matter examined, they ſhall exhort them to let the Plea ceaſe without further proceſs, ſhewing them the great damage both godly and worldly, coming of waging the Law, and the great eaſe and commodity that is in agreement and concord. Which exhortation they uſe to ſwear with ſo great gravity, and fatherly love (ſuch wonders are wrought where the Goſpel hath free paſſage) that very few will Commence Plea. And though any Plea be Commenced, through ſuch ſage admonition it falleth lightly to Sequeltration and Arbitrement of Neighbours, who do ſet their ſutures at unity, ere the matter do come to diſcuſſion in open Court.

The life and manner of the Germans in cauſes judicial. ¶ Fruit of the Goſpel in Germany.

In Germany few controversies come to the open Court, but commonly are compounded at home.

Notwithſtanding, if ſome be ſo waywardly minded (as in a multitude all are not one mans Children, and therefore unlike of intent) that they will needs proceed and follow the Law, they ſhall be heard to ſpeak their matters in open Court, and taught how the matter is moſt like to proceed, and Counſelled with new exhortation to ſtop their proceſs. If they will not be perſwaded, and then the Judges ſeeing the matter ſo ambiguous, that they cannot give perfect ſentence therein, except by virtue of an Oath made by one of the parties, they be firſt better certified: Then will they ſhew the ſame before the ſuters, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to give a ſolemn Oath for love of winning, ſome worldly profit: And how (unleſs ſuch as ſhall make it, be the better ware to eſchew the ſame) they ſhall (beſide an evil example giving to a multitude) work themſelves happily thame or diſhonour.

Upon this, they ſhall give a reſpite until a certain day appointed. So that in the mean while the ſuters may take deliberation thereof, what is beſt to be done. If after this they will not thus reſt, at the day appointed ſhall they come forth into a common place, and the great Bell of the City ſhould to be rung, whereby the people ſhall be warned, what they are about to do: and the people aſſembled, the Judges ſhall in full chargeable and lamentable wiſe charge the parties, under the virtue of their Oath, to make true relation of that ſhall be demanded.

So that by reaſon of ſoberly and fatherly exhortations made of the Judges or Peers of the Town, and perſwaſion of Neighbours, and for avoiding Gods diſpleaſure and thame of men, there is little ſutes in Courts; and if at any time any be made, they be lightly ſtopped. So that Jury and Swearing is well excluded, and need not much to be required.

This I have ſhewed, becauſe it pitieth me to hear and ſee the contrary uſed in ſome of our Nation, and ſuch alſo as name themſelves ſpiritual men, and ſhould be head Miniſters of the Church; who incontinent as any man cometh before them, anon they call for a Book, and do move him to ſwear, without any longer reſpite yea, and they will charge him by virtue of the contents in the Evangelically, to make true relation of all that they ſhall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawfull to ſwear them the truth of their demands, or no; for ſuch things there be that are not lawfull to be ſworn.

As if I were accuſed of Fornication, and none could be found in me: Or if they ſhould require me to ſwear to bewray any other that I have known to offend in that vice, I ſuppoſe it were expedient to hold me ſtill, and not to follow their will; for it ſhould be contrary to charity, if I ſhould ſo ſwear to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have known them to offend, yet truſting of their amendment, I have promiſed before to keep their fault ſecret without any diſcloſing of the ſame. Yea, moreover, if ſuch Judges ſometimes, not knowing by any due proof that ſuch as have to do afore them are culpable, will enforce them by an Oath, to detect themſelves in opening before them their hearts; in this ſo doing, I cannot ſee that men need to condeſcend to their requests. For it is in the Law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: *Nemo tenetur prodere ſemeticipſum*, that is to ſay, No man is bound to bewray himſelf. Alſo in another place of the Law it is written, *Cogitationis poenam nemo paſſiatur*, no man ſhould ſuffer puniſhment of men for his thought. To this agreeth the common proverb, that is thus: *Cogitationes libera ſunt a reſtrigilibus*. That is to ſay, Thoughts be free, and need to pay no Toll. So that to conclude, I think it lawfull at the commandment of a Judge, to make an Oath to ſay the truth, ſpecially if a Judge requireth an Oath duly, and in lawfull wiſe, or to make an Oath in any other caſe convenient, and that alſo for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid againſt a man.

In the two and fortieth, where you ask, Whether a Chriſtian perſon deſpiſing the recit of the Sacraments of Confirmation, extreme Unction, or ſolemnizing of Matrimony do ſin deadly? I ſay like of the recit of them, as I have ſaid before of the ſelf things, and none otherwiſe.

In the three and fortieth, where you ask, whether I believe that Saint Peter was Chriſts Vicar, having power on Earth to bind and looſe? I ſay, that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term Vicar; for Chriſt never called Peter nor none other ſo in Scripture. If you mean thereby, that after the departing hence of Chriſt, when he was riſen from death in his immortal body, and ſo ſitted into Heaven, whereas he remaineth ſitting upon the right hand of his Father, that he ſo being away from hence, Saint Peter occupied his room; then, I ſay, it is not untrue but Peter in a manner (which I ſhall ſhew hereunder) was his Vicar; and like as Peter was his Vicar, even ſo was Paul and the other Apoſtles, and the one on leſs than the other, if it be true that Saint Cyprian doth write, which is alſo conſenting to Scripture, he ſaith thus; That Chriſt ſpoke unto Peter ſaying: *I ſay, quoth our Saviour, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock of Stone ſhall I build my congregation, and the gates of Hell ſhall not overcome it. To thee will I give the Keys of Heaven, and what things thou ſhalt bind upon Earth, the ſame ſhall be bound alſo in Heaven: And whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe upon Earth, ſhall be looſed alſo in Heaven.* And to him after his reſurrection doth Chriſt ſay, *Feed my Sheep.*

And albeit that he gave equal power unto all his Apoſtles after his Reſurrection, and ſaith, *Like as my Father ſent me, ſo do I alſo ſend you: Take you the holy Ghoſt: if you ſhall retain to any man his ſins; they ſhall be retained. If you ſhall remit to any man his ſins, to him they*

KING
1 Hen. 8.
Jury and Swearing well excluded out of Germany.

spiritual men
it cauſing men to ſwear every night matter to ſwear.

A man is
not bound to ſwear to another mans fault before a Judge.

Lave compelleth
no man to bewray himſelf.

Lave poſſi-
beth no man for thought.

Thoughts be
free, and need to pay no toll. No man is bound to bewray himſelf by the Law.

To the 40 Article.

To the 43 Article.

If Vicar of Chriſt.

Peter no more Vicar of Chriſt, than Paul and other Apoſtles.
Mat. 16.
Cyprian de Eccleſiaſticis.

Joh. 20.

KING they shall be renounced. Nevertheless, because he would declare unity, he ordained by his authority, the original of the same unity beginning of one. The other Apostles truly were the same that Peter was, indited with equal parting both of honour, and authority or power, but the beginning cometh of one, that the Congregation should be shewed to be one. Those are the words of Saint Cyprian, in a Treatise that is called, *De simplicitate Prælatorum*; wherein you may see that Christ made all the Apostles of equal honour and like authority. Notwithstanding, because he would testify the unity of his Church or Congregation, he spake, as it were, only unto Peter, when he said, *Feed my sheep*. And, *I shall give thee, Peter, the Keys of Heaven*: But in so saying, though the words seem spoken to Peter only, yet they were spoken unto him, in that he sustained the general person of all the Church, being, as it were, a common Speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake unto all other the Apostles unto whom also he gave all the same authority that he gave unto Peter: as you may see both in these words of Cyprian, and also the same is clearly shewed out of Saint Augustin in divers places, but no where more plainly in a few words, than in a Treatise called *De Agone Christiano*.

To this accordeth well that which was written of Paul, Gal. 2. *Ab his qui videbantur aliquid esse, quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert, &c.* Of those Apostles (quoth Paul) which seemed to be of authority I was not taught (what they were in time passed it sheweth me nothing) God regardeth not the exterior appearance of man) nevertheless, they which appeared to be of price shewed me no learning, nor gave me no Counsel. But contrary, when they had seen that the Gospel of Uncircumcision was committed unto me, like as the Evangel of Circumcision was unto Peter; for he that was mighty in Peter concerning the Apostleship towards the Jews was mighty also in me toward the Gentiles. Therefore when James, Peter, and John, which appeared to be as Pillars, knew the Grace given me; they gave unto me and Barnabe their right hands in signs of fellowship to be their partners, so that we should exercise the Office of Apostles among the Gentiles, as they did among the Jews. Wherein you may clearly see, that Paul took no instruction of them, which seemed to be in high authority, and that Peter, James, and John, which were noted Principals, took Paul and Barnabas to be their Mates and Fellows; which they would not have done (as I suppose) if they had known that God had granted unto them a Prerogative singular, to excel Paul, and to be his Sovereign: But according to the Prerogative of God granted, they might have falsely shewed it, and enjoyed the same; like as they did rejoice in other benefits granted to them of God, to be Ministers in his Church for the edifying of the same. And as Saint John calleth himself the Disciple loved of his Master Jesus, and testifieth, how that unto him, Christ hanging upon the Cross, did commit his blessed Mother.

Moreover, if these three Apostles, James, Peter, and John, should have by humility left out to make mention of their Prerogative, when they took Paul and Barnabas into their fellowship, yet it is to be thought that Paul, which never useth any inordinate Arrogancy, writing the words above said for the magnifying of his own privilege and authority given him of God, would not have suppressed and passed over their Primacy unpoken of, with whom he maketh here comparison: For then it might be thought he were envious, to pick away authority from other to himself unlawful; that cannot so be. Moreover, he saith a little after the words afore rehearsed, that he reproved Saint Peter even before his face. Whereupon Saint Hieron expounding the same Epistle, faith (as I remember) that Paul would not have been bold so to do, except he had known himself equal to Peter.

In the words also of Paul above written this might be noted, as serving to my purpose, that Peter had no preeminence or primacy above the other, for James is named after him: Which Paul would not have done (I think) knowing Peter to be James superior. Therefore he making no such variety in order, put James afore, saying, And James, Peter and John, that appeared the Principals, quoth he, gave unto me and to Barnabe their

right hands in sign of fellowship. Yet notwithstanding Paul loved good order, I suppose, as well as any that now are, which contend so sore for superior Rooms and preeminence, claiming to be the Apostles Successors. I would it were so much for the Commonwealth of Christian people, as it is suspect that they do it for vain-glory and worldly lucre. According to this you shall find, Acts the Eleventh, where is shewed, that after Peter by instinct of the Holy Ghost, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called Cornelius, a petty Captain, having the governance of an hundred men, teaching him the ways and Doctrine of Christ, and Baptizing him and other with him assembled, being, like as he afore was, Pagans; the Apostles and other Christian brethren that were in Jewry, hearing thereof, when Peter came to Jerusalem, they which held upon Circumcision made none obedience unto him, (albeit I think verily he had more holiness than ever had any Pope) as the Emperor is said to do to the Pope at his Coronation, falling down to kiss the Popes feet, or to hold the Popes Stirrop while he mounteth upon his Horses back, according to the form of Law written: I am not certain, whether in the Decrees, or else the Decretals, or in both rather (for such Ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally Recorded) but they reasoned for and disputed both against Saint Peter and also his doing, saying: You have gone amongst them that you ought not have had to do with, nor to have meddled among them, that are men unclean, because they are uncircumcised, yea, and that is more, you have eat and drunk with them. Peter mildly and coldly made answer again, rehearsing all the manner of his doing in order; shewing that he was so instructed to do by mighty and clear Revelations of God, and not by his own fantasy and pleasure.

Which answer being heard, the other that afore had made sore objections against him (which were both of the Apostles, and other Christian brethren) were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, saying: Then God hath granted also unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and so to come to eternal life. Wherein you may see, that the other Apostles were as bold with Peter, as before is shewed of Paul, to dispute against him. Neither were they therefore by Peter, reproved of inobedience. He did not allege any preeminence or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: As one would say, why should you that are my Sheep control me, that am the Head of the Church and your Pastor, or Christs General Vicar, having both jurisdiction Temporal and Spiritual; with such other like? But shewed them it was the Will of God, that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternal life, which God pleased to give to them as well as to the Jews. In token whereof the Holy Ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptized.

Thus may you see, that if Peter were the Vicar of Christ, even so likewise was Paul, and all the other Apostles. And I do not think contrary, but that Peter, and all other of the Apostles, were Christs Vicars, if you mean by this word Vicar, a Deputy, or such like, for to preach his Evangel, (which is an Office of all other most Sovereign) to Minister Sacraments, and to do other such divine service in Gods Church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christs true Apostles, Bishop, Priests, Legats, or any such like. Which authority was given them by Christ after his resurrection, when he said unto them these words, *Peace be amongst you. Like as my Father hath sent me, so do I Luk. 24. send you. Take you the Holy Ghost: Whose sins (never you shall forgive, are forgiven them: and whose sins (never you shall retain, are retained): And the same authority did they receive, when Christ spake unto all the Church, after the mind of Saint Augustin and other, in Peter, saying, Peter, Feed my Sheep.*

¶ In the four and fortieth, where you ask, whether I believe, that the Pope ordinarily chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed) be the Successor of Peter; I say, that it seemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or no, I cannot see that it should be

James named before Peter.

Contrasted about superfluous whence he proceeds in Acts. 11. Emperors give more advantage to the Pope than ever did the Apostles unto Peter.

Difference between Peter and the Pope. The Pope: requires his feet to be kissed of Emperors. Peter was content to be charged of the bees thorns.

Peter Vicar of Christ not more than other Apostles. Vicar of Christ.

The 44. Article.

numbered amongst the Articles of our Faith, notwithstanding, I will shew my rude thought in it, which is this.

Successor of
Peter
How the
Pope may
be a Successor
of Peter.

The Pope may succeed in Saint Peters seat or Office, and do the same duly and diligently feeding Christs flock, and shewing vertuous example of living to the same, and so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true successor of Saint Peter. And thus is your Lordship Saint Peters successor, performing the conditions afore said, with other like properties requisite to your order and duty; yea, and as many other as do truly their duty, and duly the Office of a Bishop. And otherwise may

Every good
Bishop may
be Successor
of Peter.

not the Pope be called the Successor of Peter, because he is entred into Saint Peters Office, not regarding to that is requisite for the same, nor following the trace of vertue, but the contrary. And then he is wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not possible. For what should men call Peters Successors, that play the Pagans, and follow with the Conditions of Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightly claim to be Peters Successors, no more than the might may claim to be Successor of the day; for Peter was never so minded, nor taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peters Adversaries, for so much as they do not his will that is shewed by his own Acts and writings, but work against the same. Of such

The Pope
rather may
be Peters
Adversary
than his
Successor.
At the night
Is Successor
of day, for
Is the Pope
Successor
of Peter ex-
cept he fol-
low the steps
of Peter.

may be said, *Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum.* That is to say, they are not all Saints children, that occupy the rooms of Saints, but they are their children that exercise their works. Yea, of such may be said, that which is written of Saint Hierom: All Bishops (quoth he) are not Bishops; mark you well Peter, but mark also Judas: Behold Stephen, but behold Nicolas. Ecclesiastical dignity maketh not a Christian man. Cornelius the Centurion, being yet a Pagan, was made clean through the benefit of the Holy Ghost. Contrariwise, Daniel being a Child, condemneth Priests or ancient men. It is no easie thing, faith he, to stand in the room of Peter and Paul, and to keep the seat of them now reigning with Christ: For unfavoury fait is nought worth else, but to be thrown out of the doors, and troden down of Hogs. This faith Saint Hierom.

Aug.

Whereunto agreeth well S. Augustin. Every one (quoth he) that faith unto you, *Pax vobis*, ought not to be heard, or to be believed a Dove. Crows be fed of dead Carion, and so is not a Dove, but the liveth by the fruits of the Earth. Her living is pure, innocent, and hurtless. Whereby you may see, that ill Bishops are no Bishops, and that they which follow not Saints in vertuous living, are not the Successors of Saints, but unfavoury fait, that is, neither of the Church, nor shall come in Heaven to reign there with Peter and Paul, but be thrown out with great contempt. For God knoweth a Dove from a Crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of Carion. But such as declare and shew good deeds as the Saints did, be their Children and Successors, and shall with them reign in Heaven.

How the
Pope Is
Successor of
Peter, and
how not.

So that to conclude, I say, That the Pope ordinarily chosen is the Successor of S. Peter, following Saint Peters godly living. And else, except he study to do diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shall be but a vain name. For rather may he else be reputed an Image of the Pope, or of a Bishop, according as such be called of the Prophet; O *Pastor & Idolum*, O Idol Shepherds.

Zech. II.

In the five and fortieth, where you ask, Whether ever I have promised at any time by my Oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would always hold and defend certain conclusions or Articles seeming to me and to my Complices right and Consonant unto the Faith? And will that I should certifye you of the course and form of the said opinions and conclusions by row, and of the Names and Simames of them that were to me adherent, and promised to be adherent in this be-

John Lam-
bert requi-
red to de-
fend his fel-
lowe.

half; I say, that I do not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by Oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or Articles, seeming to me and other right and Consonant to the Faith, unless it hath chanced me to say in this form; That I would never with the aid of God forsake, neither decline from the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.

Thus I have perhaps said in some time, or some place, because I have indeed so intended, and do intend, Gods grace assisting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have so said or no, nor to what persons, nor at what time, neither in what place: neither do I reckon me to have any complices, but such as do love me, and I them, for God and in God. And those do I reckon all them that are or will be truly Christian, in calling upon Christs name. And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none other than I have shewed: The sum whereof I reckon and think utterly to be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the New Testament.

{ KING
HAB. 2. }

All the op-
inions of
John Lam-
bert ingro-
ssed in two
proposi-
tions.

The first, The Acts of Apostles in this wise: *Christus est caput angeli, nec est in alio ququam salu-* The first Proposition. *Non enim aliud nomen sub celo datum est inter homines, in quo oporteat nos salvari fieri.* That is to say, CHRIST is the Head Corner stone of our faith, whereupon it should be set and grounded, neither is salvation in any other, for there is no other name under Heaven given amongst men wherein we may be saved. This is one of the propositions, wherein is ingrossed or comprehended my saying, which Saint Paul doth thus otherwise explicate: CHRIST is made of Gods our wisdom, our right reason, our parents, our satisfaction, and our redemption. And in another place; There is no other foundation, that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is CHRIST JESUS.

The first Proposition.

I Cor. I.

The other proposition is written of the Prophet Esaias, and recited of our Saviour in the Evange of Matthew, in these words: *Men do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines and precepts of Law human.* Of this writeth Paul very largely in divers places, and every where well nigh. Amongst other, *Colossians* the second, where he warneth the *Colossians* to take heed that no man do spoil them, to steal them away by Philosophy or vain deception, according to the constitutions of men, and Ordinances of this world.

The second Proposition. Gal. 2.9.

Thus I do certifye you of all the opinions and conclusions which I intend or have intended to sustain, being contained in the two propositions above written. Other hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the Creed, both that is sung at Mass, and also in the other Creed that all people say every day. Finally, that you require to know of the names and Simames in order particularly of them, that be to me adherents, or that have promised me to be adherent in this part; I say, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I should note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and hear of (I suppose) through all Regions and Realms of Christendom, that do think likewise, as I have shewed. I ween the multitude mounteth high unto the one half of Christendom; and more should do likewise, by a great fort within a while, I doubt not, but that our Ghostly enemy labourerh amain to have knowledge of the truth suppressed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be seen. I say therefore again, I know of no particular adherents, nor of any that hath promised me to be in these matters. And though I did; I would not (except I know not that charity so required, which I do not find yet hitherto) detect, nor bewray any one of them, for no mans pleasure: For I am bound to obey God above men. Who be with us, and grant the Truth to be known. Amen.

John Lam-
bert deserveth
to be de-
tected
by his Oath.

These answers of John Lambert, to the five and forty Articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Doctor Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeareth, about the year of our Lord 1532, at what time the said Lambert was in custody in the Archbishops house at Oxford, being there destitute of all help and furniture of Books, as by his own word is to be gathered. But, for the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within short space after, Anno 1533, the said Archbishop Warham died: Whereby it seemeth that Lambert for that time was delivered. In this mean while Doctor Crammer was sent over in Embassage, with the Earl of Wiltshire, Doctor Stokess, Doctor Kern, Doctor Benet, and other learned men, to the Bishop of Rome lying then at Bonony, to dispute the matter of the Kings Marriage, openly, first in the Court of Rome, then in the Court of the Emperor. Where after sundry promises and appointments made, yet when the time came, no man there

These an-
swers of
Lambert
were given
to Warham
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.
Lambert at
Oxford in
custody.
The death
of Archb.
Thom. War-
ham.

D. Crammer
Embassador
to the Bi-
shop of
Rome.
Crammer af-
tered dif-
ferences be-
fore the
Pope, and
Emperor in
the Kings
cause.

[KING] there appeared to dispute with him, in these two Propositions: First, That no Man, *Jure Divino*, could or ought to Marry his Brothers Wife. Secondly, That the Bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispence to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will intreat (the Lords Grace permitting) in the sequel of our Story, coming to Doctor Cranmer's life.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that See the said Doctor Cranmer. Lambert in the mean season being delivered, partly by the death of this Archbishop, partly by the coming in of Queen Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himself about the Stocks, in teaching Children both in the Greek and Latin Tongue. And forasmuch as Priests in those days could not be permitted to have Wives, he left his Priesthood, and applied himself to that Function of Teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the Grocers and to be married. But God, who disposeth all Mens purposes after the secret pleasure of his own Will, did both intercept his Marriage, and also his Freedom, and Married him to his Son Christ Jesus, as now consequently followeth to be declared.

Thus then after that John Lambert now had continued in this Vocation of Teaching, with great commendation, and no less commodity to the Youth; it happened this present year 1538, he was present at a Sermon, in St. Peters Church at London. He that preached, was named Doctor Taylor, a Man in those days not far disagreeing from the Gospel, and afterward in the time of King Edward was made Bishop of Lincoln, and at last in the time of Queen Mary was deprived from the same, and so ended his life, among the Confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the Sermon was done, Lambert, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers Arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controversie was concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Taylor, excusing himself at that present for other business, willed him to write his mind and to come again at more leisure.

Lambert was contented, and so departed. Who within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his Arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, approving the truth of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good Reason, and by the Doctors. The which Arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet such Men as were present at those Affairs reported them to be of great force and authority. And of a few which were born away in memory, the first reason was this which followeth, gathered upon Christs Words, where it is said in the Gospel, *This Cup is the New Testament*.

And if, faith he, these words do not change neither the Cup, neither the Wine corporally into the *New Testament*, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the Bread should turn the Bread corporally into the Body of Christ.

Another Reason was this: That it is not agreeable to a Natural Body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity that either Christ had not a natural Body, or else truly, according to the common nature of a Body, it cannot be present in two places at once, and much less in many, that is to say in Heaven and in Earth, on the right hand of his Father, and in the Sacrament.

Moreover, a Natural Body cannot be without his form and shape, conditions and accidents, like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then forasmuch as in the Sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the Body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of Flesh; who doth not very plainly perceive that there is no transubstantiate Body of his in the Sacrament? And to reason by the contrary; all the proper conditions, signs and accidents whatsoever they be, pertaining to Bread, we do see to be present in the Sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confess the Bread to be there. He added also many other allegations out of the Doctors. But to be short, this Taylor the preacher, whom I speak of before, willing and desiring, as is sup-

posed, of a good mind to satisfy *Lambert* in this matter, amongst other whom he took to Council, he also conferred with Doctor *Barnes*. Which *Barnes*, although he did otherwise favour the Gospel, and was an earnest preacher; notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this Cause, fearing peradventure that it would breed some let or hindrance, among the people, to the preaching of the Gospel, which was now in a good forwardness, if such Sacramentaries should be suffered: he perswaded Taylor by and by to put up the matter to Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury. And hereby we may see it truly verified, which William Tyndal, before writing to John Frisib, did note in Doctor Barnes, saying, That Dr. Barnes will be hot against you, &c.

Upon these Originals Lambert's quarrel first began, and was brought unto this point, That through the sinister doing of many it began of a private talk to be a publick and common matter. For he was sent for by the Archbishop, and brought into the open Court, and forced to defend his Cause openly: for the Archbishop had not yet favoured the Doctrine of the Sacrament, whereof afterward he was an earnest professor. In that disputation it is said, That Lambert did Appeal from the Bishops to the Kings Majesty. But howsoever the matter was, the rumor of that Disputation was by and by spread throughout the whole Court.

I told you before, how that King Henry for two years past, shewing the part of an hard Husband, had beheld Queen Anne his Wife. Which Deed did not only greatly displease the German Princes (who for that only cause had broken off the League with him, Anno 1536.) but also many other good Men in England.

Moreover, how that within a while after Abbies began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscated and given abroad. For which Causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the Bishop of Rome, the Commons had conceived a very evil Opinion of him, inasmuch as the seditious sort rebelled against him.

At that time Stephen Gardiner then Bishop of Winchester was in Authority amongst the Kings Counsellors, who as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtil and crafty wit, ever gazing for some occasion how to let and hinder the Gospel: albeit a long time he was not so greatly esteemed with the King, that he could much prevail to achieve his conceived purpose: But at length, upon this matter advising himself, he thought he had apt occasion and opportunity to accomplish his desire. Neither did he forelack the occasion ministered, but went straight unto the King, privily admonishing him, and with rare flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel; declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised upon him almost in all places.

First, for abolishing the Bishop of Romes Authority, then for subversion of the Monasteries, and also for that the Divorce of Queen Katherine, was yet fresh in Mens minds: and now the time served if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacifie the minds of them which were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest unto the People how stoutly he would resist Heretics; and by this new rumor he would bring to pass, not only to extinguish all other former rumors, and as it were with one Nail to drive out another, but also should discharge himself of all suspicion, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new Sects and Opinions.

The King giving ear more willingly, than presently of goddilly, to this Syrene, immediately received the wicked counsel of the Bishop, and by and by sent out a General Commission, commanding all the Nobles and Bishops of his Realm to come with all speed to London, to assist the King against Heretics and Heresies, which the King himself would sit in Judgment upon.

These preparations made, a day was set for Lambert, where a great Assembly of the Nobles was gathered from all parts of the Realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the Seats and Places were full of Men round about the Scaffold.

By and by the golly Servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the Prison with a Guard of Armed Men, even as a Lamb to Fight with many Lyons, and placed right over against where the Kings Royal Seat was.

Dr. Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury. Lambert delivered out of custody. Lambert taught Children about the Stocks.

Anno 1538. Dr. Taylor Bishop of Lincoln, who after was deprived in Queen Marys time and died 1554.

Lambert first conference with him. The first occasion of Lamberts troubles.

Lamberts Arguments.

The words of Confession change not the Cup, neither do the words change the Bread corporally into the Body. One Body cannot fill many places at once naturally.

The fourth cannot be without the subject.

Dr. Barnes

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.

The preparations of the Council of the Bishop of Winchester.

The Nobles and Bishops assembled to Lambert's Disputation.

Lambert brought before the Kings Dispute.

so that now they tarried but for the Kings coming to that place.

At the last the King himself did come as Judge of that great controvertie, with a great guard, clothed all in White, and covering by that colour and dissembling severity of all bloody Judgment.

On his right hand fate the Bishops, and behind them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in Purple, according to the manner. On the left hand fate the Peers of the Realm, Justices, and other Nobles in their order; behind whom fate the Gentlemen of the Kings Privy Chamber. And this was the manner and form of the Judgment, which albeit it was terrible enough of it self to abash any innocent, yet the Kings look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror, plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy such a Prince, especially in such a matter, and against his humble and obedient a subject.

When the King was set in his Throne he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance, and then turning himself unto his Counsellors, he called forth Doctor Day, Bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the People the causes of this present Assembly and Judgment.

The whole effect of his Oration tended in a manner to this purpose: That the King in this Session would have all States, Degrees, Bishops, and all other to be admonished of his will and Pleasure, that no Man should conceive any sinister Opinion of him, that now the Authority and Name of the Bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all Religion, or give liberty unto Hereticks to perturb and trouble the Churches of England, without punishment, whereof he is the Head. And moreover, that they should not think that they were Assembled at that present, to make any Disputation upon the Heretical Doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and other Bishops, the Heretics of this Man here present (meaning Lambert) and the Heresies of all such like should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of his Oration, the King standing up upon his Feet, leaning upon a Cushion of White Cloth of Tissue, turning himself toward Lambert with his Brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words: Ho, good Fellow what is thy name? Then the humble Lamb of Christ humbly kneeling down upon his Knee, said, My name is John Nicholson, although of many I be called Lambert. What (said the King) have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my Brother.

Lambert. O most noble Prince, your Bishops forced me of necessity to change my name. And after divers Prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the King commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his Mind and Opinion, what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, which had so inclined the heart of the King, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of Religion; for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the Bishops, that many good and innocent Men in many places are privily Murdered and put to Death without the Kings knowledge.

But now forasmuch as that High and Eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all Princes, hath inspired and stirred up the Kings mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his Subjects, specially whom God of his Divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the Glory of his Name.

Then the King, with an angry voice, interrupting his Oration; I came not hither, said he, to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence, but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance. Thus he spake in Latin.

But Lambert being abashed at the Kings angry words, contrary to all Mens expectation, stayed a while, considering whether he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities.

But the King being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether dost thou say, That it is the Body of Christ, or wilt deny it? And with that word the King lifted up his Cap.

Lambert. I answer with St. Augustine, That it is the Body of Christ, after a certain manner.

The King. Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou saist it is the Body of Christ or no? These words the King spake again in Latin.

Lambert. Then I do deny it to be the Body of Christ. The King. Mark well, for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christs own words, Hoc est corpus meum.

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury to refute his Assertion: who, first making a short Preface unto the Hearers, began his Disputation with Lambert, very modestly, saying, Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your Argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest Testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise, I will willingly embrace the same.

The Argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where as Christ appeared unto St. Paul by the way: disputing out of that place, that it is not disagreeable to the Word of God, that the Body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in Heaven was seen of St. Paul the same time upon Earth; and if it may be in two places, why by the like reason may it not be in many places?

In this manner the Archbishop began to refute the second Argument of Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said Lambert unto the Preacher: for the King had first Disputed against his first Reason.

Lambert answered unto this Argument, saying, That the Minor was not thereby proved, that Christs Body was dispersed in two places, or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his Body. For the Scripture doth not say, that Christ being upon the Earth did speak unto Paul: But that suddenly a light from Heaven did shine round about him, and he falling to the ground heard a voice, saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest, &c. Here this place doth nothing let but that Christ, sitting in Heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon Earth: for they which were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no Body.

The Archbishop on the contrary part said, Paul himself doth witness, Acts the six and twentieth, that Christ did appear unto him in the same Vision.

But Lambert again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, That he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles: Notwithstanding we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear unto him.

Thus, when they had contended about the Conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert to answering for himself, that the King seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the Bishop himself that disputed, to be intangled, and all the Audience amazed, then the Bishop of Winchester, which was appointed the sixth place of the Disputation, fearing lest the Argument should be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poor Man, without the Kings commandment, observing no order, before the Archbishop had made an end, unharmedly kneeling down to take in hand the Disputation, alleged a place out of the twelfth Chapter of the Corinthians, where St. Paul saith, Have I not seen Jesus? And again in the fifteenth Chapter: He appeared unto Cephas: and afterwards unto James, then to all the Apostles, but last of all be appeared unto me as one born out of due time.

Hereunto

The Kings
stern look
against
Lambert.

The Oration
of Doctor
Day.

The Kings
words to
Lambert.

Lambert's
Oration to
the King.

The cruelty
of Bishops
noted.

{ KING }
Hts 8.

The King
here upon
Lambert.

Augustine
say, after
a certain
manner.

The Arch-
bishops
Refutation.

The Arch-
bishops
Argument.

Lambert's
Answer to
Cranmer's
Objection.

Acts 9.

The Arch-
bishops
reply.

Answer to
the reply.

The hasty
Impudency
of the Bi-
shop of
Winchester.
The reason
of St. Paul.

1 Cor. 15

KING Hereunto *Lambert* answered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear, but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Winchester Then *Winchester* again, abusing the Authority of *Paul*, repeated the place out of the Second *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, and the Fifth Chapter, And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now henceforth know we him so no more, &c.

Lambert answered, That this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by *St. Paul*, which speaking of his own Revelation, saith thus: I know one, whether in the body or without the body, God knoweth, which was rapt into the third Heaven, and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth. Whereby, even by the testimony of *St. Paul*, a Man shall easily gather, that in this Revelation he was taken up in spirit into the Heavens, and did see those things, rather than that Christ came down corporally from Heaven, to shew them unto him: especially, for that it was said of the Angel, That even as he ascended into Heaven, so he should come again. And *St. Peter* saith, Whom it behoved to dwell in the Heavens. And moreover appointing the measure of time he addeth, Even until that all things be reformed, &c. Here again, *Lambert*, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

After the Bishop of *Winchester* had done, *Tenfel* Bishop of *Durham* took his course, and after a long Preface, wherein he spake much of Gods Omnipotency, at the last he came to this point, saying, that if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting of his Body into Bread, without doubt he would speak nothing, but that he would perform.

Lambert answered, That there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, That he would change the Bread into his Body: and moreover, that there is no necessity why he should do so. But this is a Figurative speech, every where used in the Scripture, when as the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign. By which Figure of speech, Circumcision is called The Covenant, the Lamb the Pasover, beside fix hundred such other.

Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be straight-way changed into another nature. Then again began they to rage afresh against *Lambert*, so that if he could not be overcome with Arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he do? he might well hold his peace like a Lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant Champion *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, who afterward, lying at the point of death, rejoiced, boasting, that in his life time he had burned fifty Hereticks. This Man amongst the residue, intending to fight for his Belly, with a long profection promised to prove, That it was not only a Miracle of Divine Work, but also that it did nothing at all abhor from Nature. For it is nothing difsonant from Nature, the substance of like things (saith he) to be often times changed one into another. So that nevertheless the accidents do remain, albeit the substance it self, and the matter subject be changed. Then he declared it by the example of Water boiling so long upon the Fire until all the substance thereof be evaporate. Now (saith he) it is the Doctrine of the Philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore we do affirm the substance of the Water to pass into the substance of the Air; notwithstanding the quality of the Water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed; for the Air is moist even as the Water is.

When this Argument was heard, the Bishops greatly rejoiced, and suddenly their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this Philosophical transmutation of Elements, and like as it had been of more force than *Christophers* argument, which passed all manner of solution.

Lambert answer was long looked for here of all Men. Who as soon as he had obtained silence, and liberty to speak, first of all denied the Bishops assumption, that the

moisture of the Water did remain after the substance was altered. For albeit (saith he) that we do grant with the Philosophers, the Air to be naturally moist; notwithstanding it hath one proper and a divers degree of moisture, and the Water another. Wherefore, when as the Water is converted into the Air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say, but that is not the moisture of Water, but the proper and natural moisture of the Air. Whereupon there is another Doctrine amongst the Philosophers, as a perpetual rule, That it can by no means be, that the qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper subject.

Then again the King and the Bishops raged against *Lambert*, inasmuch that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his Ears had not been acquainted with such taunts afore. After this the other Bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this Tragedy, for his ten Arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto *Taylor* the Preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the Reasons and Arguments of every Bishop; and no less superfluous were it to do, especially forasmuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forcible and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

Lambert in the mean time being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the Majesty of the place in the presence of the King, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve of the Clock, until five at night, being brought in despair, that he should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace.

Whereby it came to pass that these Bishops, which last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save only that *Lambert* would now and then alledge somewhat out of *St. Augustine* for the defence of his cause; in which Author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part (as I said) being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he held his peace, defending himself rather with silence than with Arguments, which he saw would nothing at all prevail.

At the last, when the day was passed, and Torches began to be lighted, the King minding to break up this pretended disputation, said unto *Lambert*: in this wise, What saith thou now (quoth he) after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the Reasons and Instructions of these learned Men; Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What saith thou? Thou hast yet free choice.

Lambert answered; I yield and submit my self wholly unto the Will of your Majesty. Then, said the King, commit thy self unto the hands of God, and not unto mine.

Lambert. I commend my Soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your Clemency. Then said the King, if you do commit your self unto my Judgment, you must die, for I will not be a Patron unto Hereticks; and by and by turning himself unto *Cromwel*, he said, *Cromwel*, read the Sentence of Condemnation against him. This *Cromwel* was at that time the chief friend of the Gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unformally it came to pass in this matter, that through the petulosity and crafty counsel of this one Bishop of *Winchester*, Satan (which sometimes doth raise up one Brother to the destruction of another) did here perform the Condemnation of this *Lambert* by no other Ministers, than Gospellers themselves, *Taylor*, *Barnes*, *Cromwel* and *Cromwel*, who afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the like for the Gospel's sake; of whom (God willing) we will speak more hereafter.

Taunts and
raging a-
gainst
Lambert

Ten Dis-
putations
against
Lambert

Lambert
in great
perplexity

Lambert
keepeth si-
lence where
speech
would do
good

The King
words to
Lambert

The King
condemns
the Martyr
of Christ
Lambert
Lord Crut-
well con-
demned by
the King to
read the
Sentence

The costly
Fetch of
Sir Wm.

The Gen-
tleness &
gainst John
Lambert.

The part of
a good
Prince what
to do.

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtilty of the Bishop of Winchester, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwel, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But to be short, Cromwel, at the Kings commandment taking the Schedule of Condemnation in hand, read the same: Wherein was contained the burning of Hereticks, which either spake or wrote any thing, or had any Books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their the Popish Church and tradition touching the Sacrament of the Altar: also a Decree that the same should be set upon the Church-Porches, and be read four times every year in every Church throughout the Realm, whereby the worshipping of the Bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the People. And in this manner was the condemnation of John Lambert. Wherein great pity it was and much to be lamented, to see the Kings Highness that day so to oppose and let his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting to many proud and furious adversaries against that one poor silly Soul, to be devoured; whom his Majesty with more honour might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without help or refuge, among so many Wolves and Vultures, especially in such a cause tending to no derogation to him nor his Realms, but rather to the necessary reformation of sincere Truth and Doctrine decayed. For therein especially, consisteth the honour of Princes, to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to rescue the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth standeth with him: which if the King had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poor persecuted Creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his Princely estate to all posterity.

But thus was John Lambert, in this bloody Session, by the King judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day,

when as before the Tribunal Seat of that great Judge both Princes and Subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved. *Ex testimonio cuiusdam antiqui, A. G.*

And thus much hitherto of Lambert's Articles, Answers, Disputations, and his condemnation also. Now to proceed further to the Story of his Death.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy Martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the Prison at Eight of the Clock in the morning unto the House of the Lord Cromwel, and so carried into his inward Chamber, whereas it is reported of many, that Cromwel desired of him forgiveness, for that he had done. There at the last, Lambert being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered, and being brought out of the Chamber into the Hall, he saluted the Gentlemen, and fate down to breakfast with them, shewing no manner of sadness or fear. When as the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of Execution, where he should offer himself unto the Lord a Sacrifice of sweet favour, who is blessed in his Saints, for ever and ever, Amen.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed Martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other which have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For after that his Legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched Tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the Fire from him, so that but a small Fire and Coles were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their Halberds pitched him upon their Pikes, as far as the Chain would reach, after the manner and form as is described in the Picture hereunder following. Then he lifting up such Hands as he had, and his Fingers ends flaming with Fire, cried unto the People in these words, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and so being let down again from their Halberds, fell into the Fire, and there ended his life.

The words
which he
spoke at
his death.

The order and manner of the burning of the constant Martyr of Christ, &c. John Lambert.



Thus ye have heard by what craft and subtilty this good Man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed: so that now remaineth nothing but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the Bishops thought should not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the Archbishops Ward at Lambeth, which was a little before his Disputation be-

fore the King, he wrote an excellent Confession or Defence of his Cause to King Henry.

Wherein he first mollifying the Kings Mind and Ears with a modest and sober Preface, declared how he had a double hope of Solace laid up, the one in the most high and mighty Prince of Princes, God; the other next unto God, in his Majesty, which should represent the Office and Ministry

KING Ministry of that most High Prince in governing here upon Earth; after that, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to that which he had done.

The Apology of John Lambert unto the King. And albeit he was not ignorant how odious this Doctrine would be unto the People, yet notwithstanding because he was not also ignorant how desirous the Kings mind was to search out the Truth, he thought no time unmeet to perform his Duty, especially forasmuch as he would not utter those things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoiding of offence, but only unto the Prince himself unto whom he might safely declare his mind.

The Preface of John Lambert unto the King. After this Preface made, he entering into the Book confirmed his Doctrine touching the Sacrament by divers Testimonies of the Scriptures; by the which Scriptures he proved the Body of Christ, whether it riseth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be always in one place.

Then he, gathering together the minds of the Ancient Doctors, did prove and declare by sufficient Demonstration, the Sacrament to be a Mystical matter. Albeit he so ruled himself in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny, but that the Holy Sacrament was the very Natural Body of our Saviour, and the Wine his Natural Blood; and that moreover his Natural Body and Blood were in those Mysteries, but after a certain manner, as all the Ancient Doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this Protestation thus made, he inferreth the Sentence of his Confession, as here followeth:

A Treatise of John Lambert to the King.

A Treatise of John Lambert upon the Sacrament unto the King. Christ is so ascended Bodily into Heaven, and his Holy Manhood thither so assumpt, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father; that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in Glory, that by the infallible Promise of God, it shall not or cannot from thence return before the general Doom, which shall be in the end of the World. And as he is no more corporally in the World, so can I not fee how he can be corporally in the Sacrament, or his Holy Supper. And yet notwithstanding do I knowledge and confesse, that the Holy Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood is the very Body and Blood in a certain manner, which shall be shewed hereafter with your Graces favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, Instituting the same Holy Sacrament, and saying, *This is my body which is given for you.* And again, *This is my blood which is of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.*

Mat. 26. But now for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into Heaven, and his Holy manhood so thither assumpt, &c. than do the infallible Promise of God he shall not, or cannot any more from thence bodily return before the general Doom, I shall for this allege first the Scriptures, following the Authorities of old Holy Doctors, with one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing, but that we have taught to us in these Three Articles of our Creed, *He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.* For Christ did ascend bodily, the Godhead which is infinite, un-circumscribable, replenishing both Heaven and Earth, being immutable, and unmovable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend.

Scriptures affirming the same.

Acts 1. The Scriptures which I promised to alledge for the confirmation of my said Sentence, be these: *He was lifted up into Heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes: and when they were looking up into Heaven, they saw two men, &c.* Here it is evidently shewed, That Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscrip Body. That this departing was visible and in a visible Body, these words do testify: *And when they were looking up: Why stand ye here looking up into Heaven? And, even as ye have seen him, &c.* That Secondly it was in Body, I have afore proved; and moreover the Deity is not seen, but is invisible, as appeareth:

To God only invisible, &c. And, *He dwelleth in the inaccessible light which no man hath nor may see, &c.* Therefore the Manhood and Natural Body was assumpt, or did ascend. That Thirdly it was in a circumscrip Body, appeareth manifestly in this: First, That his Ascension and Bodily departing caused them to look up. And 2dly, That he was lifted up; that is to wit, from beneath or from below. And Thirdly, That a Cloud received him, whereas no Cloud nor Clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, &c.

I am fain to leave out other evident Arguments for the same purpose, lest I should be over prolix and tedious. If doth there also follow in like form, how the Angels made answer to the Disciples, saying: *Ye men of Galilee, Why stand ye gazing into Heaven? This Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come again, as ye have seen him going up into Heaven.* Here we see again, that Jesus is assumpt, or taken away into Heaven. And then it must be from out of the World, according to that we read, *John 16. I went forth from the Father, and I came into the World. I leave the World again, and I go unto the Father:* That is not else, but as he came from the Father of Heaven into this World, in that he was Incarnate and made Man, for his Godhead was never absent, either from Heaven, or yet from Earth; even so should his Manhood leave the World again, to go to Heaven. Moreover, in that it is said, *So shall he come,* is plainly testified, that he is always, and now corporally absent.

Finally, It is shewed further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, *Even as ye have seen him going up into Heaven.* Which is not else, but as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to Heaven, a Cloud embracing him and taking him from among you: even so shall you visibly see him to come again in the Clouds, as we read, *Matth. 26. You shall see the Son of Man to come in the Clouds of Heaven.* And again, *Matth. 24. And they shall see the Son of man.* Such other Texts have we full many, declaring my Sentence to be Catholick and True. Of which I here shall briefly note some places, and pass over them, knowing that a little rehearsal is sufficient to your noble wisdom. The places be, *Mark 16. Luke 24. John 13, 14, 16, and 17. Rom. 8. Ephes. 1, and 2. and 2 Cor. 6. Heb. 8, 9, 10, and 12, and 1 Thess. 4. and 1 Pet. 2.* Which all do testify, that Christ hath Bodily forsaken the World, departed from it unto his Father, ascending into Heaven, sitting still upon the right hand of the Father above all Dominion, Power and Principality, where he is present Advocate and Intercessor before his Father, and that he shall so Bodily come again, like as he was seen to depart from hence.

Nothing can better or more clearly testify and declare, what is contained in the Sacrament of Christs Holy Body and Blood, than do the words of the Scripture, whereby it was Instituted. *Mark* doth agree with *Matthew*, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvel it is. For as the Doctors do say, The Gospel of *Mark* is a very Epitome or Abridgment of *Matthew*. I shall therefore write the relations of them touching the Institution of this Sacrament together. The Relation or Testimony of *Matthew* is this: *As they were eating, Jesus took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake and gave to his Disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my Body. And taking the Cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. And I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the Vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of my Father.*

The Testimony or Relation of *Mark*, is this, *And as they did eat, Jesus took the Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body. And he took the Cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he said unto them, This is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the Vine unto that day that I drink it new in the Kingdom of God. Luke being the Companion of Paul, as appeareth in the Acts, and 2 Tim. 4. doth next agree with him in making relation of his Supper, and Holy Institution of the*

1 Tim. 1.
1 Tim. 6.

John 16

Mat. 26;
Mat. 24

The Gospel of Mark is an abridgement of Matthew.
Mat. 26;

Mark 14

2 Tim. 4.

Sacra-

Luke 22. Sacrament. His relation or report is this: When he had taken Bread, and given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This my Body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also after Supper he took the Cup, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood which is shed for you.

1 Cor. 11. And his Testimony doth follow next, agreeable to Luke, and it is thus: For I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered to you: That our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took Bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you: this do ye in remembrance of me. After the same manner he also took the Cup when he had Supped, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood, this do as oft as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye shall shew the Lords death till he come. By these Testimonies shall I declare my Sentence to your Grace, which I conceive of the Holy Sacrament of Christs Blessed Body and Blood, and in all points of difficulty shall I annex the very interpretation of the old holy Doctors and Fathers, to shew that I do not ground any thing upon my self. Thereafter shall I add certain Arguments which I trust shall clearly prove and justify my Sentence to be True, Catholick, and according both with God and his Laws, and also with the mind of holy Doctors.

My Sentence is this: That Christ ascended into Heaven, and so hath forsaken the World, and there shall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general Doom; at which time he shall come from thence, to Judge the dead and the living. This all do I believe done in his Natural Body, which he took of the Blessed Virgin Mary his Mother, in the which he also suffered Passion for our safety and redemption upon a Cross; which died for us, and was buried: in which he also did rise again to life Immortal. That Christ is thus ascended in his Manhood and Natural Body, and so assumpt into Heaven, we may soon prove; forasmuch as the Godhead of him is never out of Heaven, but ever replenishing both Heaven and Earth; and besides that, is infinite and interminable or uncommunicable, so that it neither can properly either ascend or descend, being without all alteration, and immutable, or unmovable.

So that now his Natural Body being assumpt from among us, and departed out of the World, the same can no more return from thence unto the end of the World. For as Peter witnesseth, Acts the third; Whom the heavens must contain until the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets: since the World began. And the same doth the Article of our Creed teach us, which is, From thence (i. from Heaven) shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead. Which time Paul calleth the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1 Tim. 6.

1 Tim. 6. Seeing then this Natural Body of our Saviour, that was born of his Mother Mary being a Virgin, is all whole assumpt into Heaven, and departed out of this World; and so as saith St. Peter, He must remain in Heaven until the end of the World, which he calleth, the time when all things must be restored; This I say, seen and believed according to our Creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the Natural Body of him can contrariwise be in the World, and so in the Sacrament. And yet notwithstanding is this true, That the Holy Sacrament is Christs Body and Blood, as after shall be declared.

Doctors affirming the same.

Testimonies
out of the
Doctors.

BUT first for the establishing of my former purpose, That the Natural Body of our Saviour is so absent from this World, and ascended into Heaven, that it can be here no more present unto the general Doom; I would beseech your Grace to consider the ruind and sentence of the old holy Doctors, in this purpose or matter, how agreeable they testifie with that which is before shewed. Amongst whom we have first St. Augustine, writing thus to Dardanus: Proinde quod ad verbum attinet,

August. ad
Dardanus.

Creator est Christus; omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt. Quid vero ad hominem, &c. Therefore as concerning the World, Christ is the Creator, all things are made by him. But as touching Man, Christ is a Creature made of the seed of David, according to the Flesh, and ordained according to the similitude of Men: Also because Man consisteth of two things, the Soul and the Flesh; in that he had a Soul, as was pensive and sorrowful unto death; in that he had Flesh, he suffered death. Neither when we call the Son of God Christ, we do separate his Manhood, nor when we call the same Christ the Son of Man, we do separate his Godhead from him. In that he was Man, he was conversant upon the Earth, (and not in Heaven, where he now is) when he said; No Man ascendeth up into Heaven, but he which descended from Heaven, the Son of Man which is in Heaven. Although in that respect that he was the Son of God he was in Heaven, and in that he was the Son of Man, he was yet in the Earth, and as yet was not ascended into Heaven; likewise, in that he is the Son of God, he is the Lord of Glory; and in that he is the Son of Man he was Crucified. And yet notwithstanding the Apostle saith, And if they had known the Lord of Glory, they would never have Crucified him. And by this, both the Son of Man was in Heaven, and the Son of God, in that he was Man, was Crucified upon Earth. Therefore as he might well be called the Lord of Glory, being Crucified, when as yet that suffering did only pertain unto the Flesh; so it might well be said, This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise, when according to the humility of his Manhood in his Flesh, he lay in the Grave; and according to his Soul he was in the bottom of Hell that same day. According to his Divine immutability, he never departed from Paradise, because he by his Godhead is always every where. Doubt you not therefore that there is Christ Jesus according to his Manhood, from whence he shall come. Remember it well, and keep faithfully thy Christian Confession: for he rose from the dead, he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; neither will he come from any other place, but from thence to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come as the voice of the Angel beareth witness, as he was seen to go into Heaven; that is to say, in the self-same form and substance of Flesh, whereunto undoubtedly he gave Immortality, but he did not take away the nature thereof: according to this form of his Flesh he is not to be thought to be every where. And we must take heed that we do not so affirm the Divinity of his Manhood, that we thereby take away the truth of his Body. For it is not a good consequence, that that thing which is in Christ should be in every place as God. For the Scripture saith very truly of us, That in Him we live, move and have our being; and yet notwithstanding, we are not in every place as he is; but that Man is otherwise in God, because that God is otherwise in Man, by a certain proper and singular manner of being: for God and Man is one Person, and only Jesus Christ is both. In that he is God, he is in every place; but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven.

By which words of holy Augustine, your Grace may evidently see, that he testifieth and teacheth the Blessed Body or Flesh of Christ to be no where else than in Heaven. For to it being assumed or ascended into Heaven, God, as he saith, hath given Immortality, but not taken away Nature. So that by the Nature of that Holy Flesh or Body, it must occupy one place. Wherefore it followeth, According to this form; that is to wit, of his Flesh, Christ is not to be thought to be in every place. For if Christ should in his Humanity be every where diffused or spread abroad, so should his Bodily Nature, or Natural Body be taken from him: And therefore he saith, For we must beware that we do not so affirm the Divinity of Man, that we do take away the Humanity of his Body. But in that he is God, so is he every where, according to my words before-written; and in that he is Man, so is he in Heaven. And therefore it is said, For God and Man is one Person, and only Jesus Christ is both. He, in that he is every where, is God: but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven.

KING
1 Hen. 3.

Christs Bo-
dy occupi-
eth one
Place.

And

KING And yet do we read agreeable to the same matter, more largely in the same Epistle, by these words, *Christum Dominum nostrum unigenitum Dei Filium, equalem patri, eundemque hominis Filium, quo major est Pater, ut ubique totum presentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, & in eodem Templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem, &c.* Thou shalt not doubt Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, equal with his Father, and the same being the Son of Man, whereby the Father is greater, is present every where as God, and is in one and the same Temple of God as God, and also in some place of Heaven as concerning the true shape of body.

This shew clearly, that for the measure of his very body he must be in one place, and that in Heaven, as concerning his manhood, and yet every where present in that he is the eternal Son of God and equal to his Father. Like testimony doth he give in the thirtieth Treatise that he maketh upon the Evangelij of *John*. These be his words there written, *Dum seculum finitur, sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Domini, &c.* Until the world be at an end the Lord is above, but here is the truth of the Lord also; for the Body of our Lord in which be rose must be in one place, but his truth is abroad in every place. The first parcel, that is, until the worlds end, is so put, that it may join with the sentence going before, or else to these words following, *The Lord is above, &c.* And so should it well accord to my sentence before shewed, which is, the Lord is so bodily ascended, that in his natural body he cannot again return from Heaven until the general Doom.

But howsoever the said clause or parcel be applied, it shall not greatly skill; for my sentence notwithstanding remaineth full steadfast: Inasmuch as the Scripture doth mention but of two advents or comings of Christ, of which the first is performed in his blessed Incarnation, and the second is the coming at the general Doom. And furthermore, in this Article of our Creed, *From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead*, is not only shewed wherefore he shall come again, but also when he shall come again: So that in the mean while, as the other Article of our Creed witnesseth, *He sitteth at the right hand of God his Father*, that is nothing else to say, than he remaineth in glory with the Father. Furthermore, even as I have before rehearsed the foresaid authority of *Austen*, to have I read in his *Quinquagesima* upon a *Psalme*, of which I cannot now precisely note or name the number. And the same words doth he also write in the Epistle to *Saint Hierom*. So that we may know he had good liking in it, that he so commonly doth use it, as his usual Proverb, or By-word.

In the same is also testified that this blessed Body can be but in one place, so that it being now, according to the Scripture and Article of our Belief or Creed, in Heaven, it cannot be in Earth: and much less can it be in so innumerable places of the Earth, as we may perceive that the Sacrament is. Thus although the Body of our Saviour must be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to the saying of *Peter*, *Whom the Heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things*; Yet as the words following make mention, *Veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est*. But his verity is scattered every where. This verity of Christ, or of his Body, I do take to be that he in other places doth call *Virtus Sacramenti, the Virtue of the Sacrament*. As in the five and twentieth Treatise upon *John* we find thus written, *Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti*. The Sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the Sacrament is another thing. And again, *Si quis manducaverit ex ipso, non moritur, sed qui pertinet ad virtutem Sacramenti, non qui pertinet ad visibile Sacramentum, &c.* If any man eat of him, he dieth not, but he meaneth of him, which doth appertain to the virtue of the Sacrament, and not of him which pertaineth to the visible Sacrament. And to declare what is the virtue of the Sacrament, that I count to be the truth of the Lord or of his body, he saith, *Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente*: He which eateth inwardly in Spirit, not outwardly; he that eateth in heart, and not he which cheweth with teeth.

So that finally, this truth of the Lord or his Body, which is dispersed every where abroad, is the spiritual profit, fruit and comfort, that is opened to be received every where of all Men by Faith in the verity of the Lord, that is to wit, in the very and true promise or testament made to us in the Lords Body that was crucified and suffered death for us, and rose again ascending immortal into Heaven, where he sitteth, that is, abideth on the right hand of his Father, from thence not to return until the general Doom or Judgment. This bodily absence of our Saviour is likewise clearly shewed in the fiftieth Treatise that he maketh upon *John*; where he doth expound this Text, *Ye have the poor always with you, but ye shall not always have me with you*, to my purpose, that thereby I count and hold mine opinion to be rather Catholic, than theists that hold the contrary. Finally, the same doth he confirm in his Sermons of the second and third Series of *Easter*; and so many places besides, as here cannot be recited, the number of them is so passing great.

With him consenteth full plainly *Augustinus* in his second Book to *Thrasimundus*, writing in this wise, *Unus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui est Deus immensus ex patre*. Unus idemque seculum humanam substantiam, absens Caelo cum esset in terra, &c. One and the same man being local in that he is man, which is God Almighty of the Father. One and the same according to human substance, being absent from Heaven when he was in the earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended up into Heaven. But according to his divine and Almighty substance, neither departing from Heaven when he descended from Heaven, neither leaving the earth, when he ascended into Heaven. The which may well be known by the undoubted saying of our Lord himself: which that he might the better shew his humanity occupying a place, said unto his Disciples: I ascend up unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God. Also when he had said of *Lazarus*: *Lazarus is dead, he adjoynd, saying: And I am glad for your sakes, that you may believe, because I was not there*. But shewing the greatness of his Divinity, he said to his Disciples: *Behold I am with you unto the end of the World*. For how did he ascend into Heaven, but because he is local and true man? And how is he present to his faithful, but because he is Almighty and true God, &c. In this manner doth he proceed forth, speaking much, full agreeable to my sentence, which is now over-long here to write. But what can be said more plainly in so few words making for me?

First he saith, that Christ being a Man, is as concerning his manhood local, that is to say, contained in one place. And to expresse that more clearly, he addeth to it, saying, *He is one and the same according to his human substance, absent from Heaven when he was in Earth, and leaving the Earth when he ascended into Heaven*. Whereas he hath a contrary *Antithesis* for the godly nature, to shew forth the first point the more effectually. The *Antithesis* is thus: *But according to his divine and incomparable substance, neither leaving Heaven when he descended from Heaven, neither forsaking the Earth when he ascended into Heaven*. Whereby is also confirmed that I said; Christ did descend and ascend, as touching his humanity, but not in his Deity, which is immutable and unmoveable; as we may perceive by that he here doth call it *Almighty substance*. Furthermore, to shew that Christ (as touching his human and natural body, is local) and in one place, he alledgeth, and that right justly, two Texts of Scripture: The first is; *I ascend to my Father, &c.* And the second is of *Lazarus*; *I am glad for your sakes, &c.*

Finally, he maketh this demand; *But how did he ascend into Heaven, but because he is a local and very man?* Whereby we may see, that by this sentence Christ could not ascend, except he had been local, that is, contained in one place, and so very man. And that is according to *Saint Augustine*, writing as is above shewed; *And he shall so come (as the Angel witnesseth) even as you have seen him go up into Heaven, that is to say, in the same form and substance of his flesh*. According to this form he is not spread abroad in every place; for we must beware that we do not so esteem his Divinity, that we thereby do take away the verity of his body. So that they both do testify, and that very plainly, that Christ could not have ascended, except he had been local, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man, and that if

Aug. in Joh. Tract. 30.

Augustinus ad Thrasimundum lib. 2.

Christ in his human substance local.

Antithesis, that is to say contrary position or relation.

Aug. in Joh. Tract. 30.

Aug. in Joh. Tract. 30.

The real presence is against the Article of our Creed.

The Body of Christ can be but in one place at once.

The verity of Christ, the virtue of his Body extended.

The verity of the Lord or of his Body extended.

We must
not be de-
fined Christ
divinely,
that we
must de-
stroy his
humanity.
Aug. ad
Dard.
Bodies can-
not be
without li-
mitation of
place.

Ang. to
Lus.

he were not local, he could not be a man. Wherefore Saint *Augustine* saith further, *Ad Dardanum, Spatiallocorum tolle corporibus, & nusquam erunt, & quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt*; That is to wit, Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they shall be no where: and because they shall be no where, they shall have no being at all.

We therefore coveting to find Christ or his natural Body, should seek for him in Heaven, where his natural manhood is sitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us Saint *Ambrose*, in the tenth Book which he writeth upon *Luke*, speaking of Christs humanity asumpt in this wise; *Ergo, non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem te quærere debemus, si volumus te invenire, &c.* Therefore we ought not to seek thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the flesh, if we will find thee: for now according to the flesh we do not know Christ. Furthermore, *Stephen* did not seek thee upon the Earth, when that he did see thee standing on the right Hand of God the Father. But *Mary*, which sought thee upon the Earth, could not touch thee. *Stephen* touched thee because he sought thee in Heaven. *Stephen* amongst the Jews saw thee being absent, &c.

Thus we must seek for the natural Body of Christ, not upon the Earth, but in Heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth he more largely then in the same Treatise, speaking thus of the verity of Christs Body; *Quomodo non corpus quiesceret, in quo manebant insignia vulnerum, vestigia cicatricum, quæ Dominus palpanda obtulit*; &c. How could it come to pass; that the body could not rest in the Sepulcher, in which the tokens of the wounds and scars did appear, which the Lord himself did offer to be touched (in which doing he did not only establish the Faith, but also augmented devotion); Because he would rather carry up into Heaven the wounds received for us, and would not put them away, that he might present to God the Father the price of our liberty: such a one the Father doth place at his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of our salvation, &c.

Gregory also in an Homily of Pentecost, saith, agreeable to the other in these words, *Quando non maneret apud eos, qui ascensus celos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi, &c.* When was it that he did not tarry with them, which ascending up to Heaven, promised, saying, Behold, I am here with you continually until the end of the World? But the word Incarnate tarrieth and also goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarrieth in Divinity. And therefore he saith, that he tarried with them: even he which was ever present with them by his invisible power, and now departed by his corporal vision. In like wise doth he testifie in the Homily of Easter-day.

With these doth *Bede* accord in an Homily of Easter in which he declareth this Text, *John* 16. A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while and ye shall see me. And also in an Homily of the Vigil of Pentecost. And who can otherwise say or think knowing the Scripture and our Belief, but that the natural Body of Christ is so asumpt into Heaven all whole, that it must there abide without returning, until the general judgment? Notwithstanding, seeing this is the chief point whereupon I seek to establish my sentence in this matter of the holy Sacrament, that Christs holy and natural Body is so asumpt into Heaven, that there it must remain all whole without returning until the general Doom; I will yet, with the permission of your grace, add one or two Arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my sentence to be faithful and Catholick.

Arguments out of Scripture.

CHRIST is his I. A S Christ was enclosed and so born about in the Womb of his Mother, being a Virgin undefiled, and after was born into this World, and put in a Manger, and so he growing in age, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, sometime in *Galilee*, sometime in *Samaria*, sometime in *Jury*, sometime beyond, sometime on this side of *Jordan*, and consequently he was Crucified at *Jerusalem*, there being inclosed and buried in a

grave, from whence he did arise, so that the Angels testified of him, *He is risen, and is not here, Matthew* 28. and as at the time appointed, after his resurrection, he was asumpt, or lifted up into Heaven from the top of the Mount of *Oliver*, in the sight of his Disciples, a cloud compassing him about: Even so shall he come from the same Celestial place corporally, as they did see him to depart out of the one place corporally, according to the testimony of the Angels, *Acts* 1. So that in this we may undoubtedly find that Christ, as touching his manhood, cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once, and so to be corporally in his natural Body in Heaven, and also in Earth, and that it is moreover in so many parts of the World, as Men have affirmed.

Neither doth the Scripture require that we should spoil Christ of the property of Mans nature, which is to be in one place; whom the same Scripture doth perpetually witness and teach to be Man, and so to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. *Paul* doth teach, that Christ in his manhood was made in all points like unto his Brethren, sin excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the natural property of the bodies of us his Brethren? But here do some witty Philosophers, say, rather Sophisters than Divines, bring in to the annulling of Christs humanity, a similitude of Mans soul, which being one, is yet so all whole in all our whole body, that it is said to be all whole in every part of the body. But such should remember, that it is no convenient similitude which is made of things different and diverse in nature, such as be the soul and body of Man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Christs Body to be of one nature and property with his soul, and that things naturally corporal were not most diverse from Creatures naturally spiritual.

Furthermore, if so it might be, that the body or flesh of Christ were merely spiritual, and full like unto the substance of Angels, yet it could not in this wise follow, that his body could be every where, or in divers places at once. Wherefore such subtilties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture should well like us, by which the old Doctors do define, that the Body of Jesus, exalted or asumpt into Heaven, must be local, circumscript, and in one place, notwithstanding that the verity, spiritual grace, and fruit that cometh of it, is diffused and spread abroad in all places, or every where. How could Christ corporally depart out of this World, and leave the Earth, if he in the kinds of Bread and Wine be not only corporally contained and received, but also there revived, kept and enclosed? What other thing else do these words testifie, *John* the thirteenth? But Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this World to his Father, &c. And in like form, *Luke* the four and twentieth, And it came to pass, that as he blessed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into Heaven: What do they signifie, if Christ went not verily out of this world, his natural Body being surely asumpt into Heaven?

They do therefore undoubtedly declare, that Christ, being very God and very Man, did verily depart out of this world in his natural body, his humanity being asumpt into Heaven, where he remaineth sitting in Glory with the Father: Whereas yet his Deity did not leave the world, he depart out from the earth. *Paul* doth say, *Philippians* the second, that of two things he wist not which he might rather chuse, that is to wit, to abide in the flesh for preaching the Gospel, or else to be dissolved from the flesh, seeing that to abide with Christ is much and far better. By the which *Paul* doth manifestly prove, that they be not presently with Christ, which yet do abide mortal in the flesh. Yet they be with Christ in such wise, as the Scripture doth say, that the believing be the Temple of Christ. And as *Paul* doth say, *2 Cor.* 13. 5 *Cor.* 13. Do you not know your selves that Jesus Christ is in you? In which sense he also promised to be with us unto the end of the world. Christ therefore must be otherwise in that place, in which the Apostle desired to be with him, being dissolved, and departed from his body, than he doth abide either in the Supper, or else in any other places of the Churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly mean Heaven, which is the Paradise of perfect bliss and glory:

KING
1 HEN. 8.
March. 28.

Act. 1.

The property
of mans
nature not
to be seque-
red from
Christ.

Things cor-
poral and
things spiri-
tual not to
be compa-
red.

The Body
of Christ is
local and
circumscript.

John 13.

Luke 24.

Phil. 2.

whenceas

KING whereas Christ being a Victor, Triumpher, and Conqueror over death, sin and Hell, and over all creatures, doth reign and remain corporally. Thus do I trust that your Grace doth see my sentence thus far forth to be right, Catholick, Christian, and faithful, according to holy Scripture, to holy Fathers, and the Articles of our Christian Belief. Which sentence is this: Christs natural Body is so assumpt into Heaven, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the Father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, from Heaven return, until the end of the World; and therefore cannot the same natural Body natural be here in the World, or in the Sacrament: for then should it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be still remaining in the world. It should then be both to come, and already come, which is a contradiction, and variant from the nature of his manhood.

The natural Body of Christ cannot be both in heaven and earth locally.

The second part of this matter.

NOW my sentence in the second part of this matter is this (if so be your Grace shall please to know it, as I year poor and unworthy, but full true subject would with all submission and instance beseech you to know it) I grant the holy Sacrament to be the very and natural Body of our Saviour, and his very natural Blood, and that the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour is in the Sacrament after a certain wise, as after shall appear: for so do the words of the supper testify, *Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.* And again, *Drink ye all of this; this is my blood which is of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sin.* Of which words, seeing on them dependeth a great trial and proof of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is and hath been all the controverſie of this matter, I therefore shall shew the interpretation, that holy Doctors have made of them, that, as to me seemeth, be full worthy credit.

First, we find in the second Book of Tertullian, which he writeth against Marcion, *Ipse Christus nec panem reprobavit, Christus did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body.* This Marcion, against whom Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as evil. Which thing Tertullian doth improve by the Sacrament, saying as is above written, *Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body.* As who would say; if Christ had judged the Bread evil, then would he not have left it for a sign or Sacrament to represent his blessed Body. Agreeable to the same doth he also say in the fourth Book made against the said Marcion in these words, *Christus acceptum panem & distributum Discipulis, corpus suum illud fecit, &c.* Christ made the same bread which he took and distributed to his Disciples, his body, saying: *This is my body, that is to say, the figure of my body.* But it could not have been a figure, unless it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a void thing, which is a phantasm, could not receive a figure or a form. This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no natural Body, but a Body phantasmal. Which Error or Hurtle, this famous Doctor Tertullian doth improve by the holy Sacrament, saying, as afore is written, *That the Sacrament is a figure of Christs body: Ergo, Christ had a very and true body.* For

The bread representeth the Body of Christ.

the thing which is vain and phantasmal can receive no figure. So that in both places we may clearly perceive his interpretation of these words, *This is my body*: which interpretation is not new, but authentick, or full ancient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, because none of the old Doctors, which followed him, did ever reprove him therefore, but rather have followed it, as appeareth by holy Augustine. In the preface upon the third Psalm, doth the said Augustine highly commend the wonderful sufferance of Christ, which so long did suffer and forbear Judas, as if he had been a good and an honest Man: whereas notwithstanding he did know his Traiterous thoughts, when he received him to the Feast or Supper, in which he did commend and deliver to his Disciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of *Anſen* in Latin be these:

Thereto becometh a figure of Christs Body.

This is my body expounded.

The passion of Christ in suffering Judas.

Augustine. The Sacrament is a figure of the Body of Christ.

In *Historia novi Testamenti*, ipse Dominus nostri tantum & tam admiranda patientia orat; quod illum simul

portulit tanquam bonum, &c. In the History of the New Testament, the patience of our Lord was so great, and so to be marvelled at, because he suffered Judas so long as a good man, when he knew his thoughts when he received him to the Feast, in the which he did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his Disciples.

The same holy Doctor also writing against Adamantius, saith thus, *Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui; For the Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.* And for a further declaration, in the same Chapter, he saith, *Sic enim sanguis est anima, quomodo perra erat Christus, &c.* For the blood is so the soul, as the rock was Christ. Notwithstanding he doth not say, that the rock did signifie Christ: but he doth say, that the rock was Christ.

Expresly doth Augustine here call the sign of Christs Body, his Body, plainly interpreting these words, *This is my body*, as both he and Tertullian did before.

Moreover, he taketh these three sentences, *This is my body, the soul is the blood, and Christ was the stone*, to be of one Phrase, and to be like speeches, or to be expounded after one fashion. And this Text, *The rock was Christ*, doth he commonly thus expound: *The rock did signifie Christ*, as appeareth, *Lib. 18. de Civitate Dei, Cap. 48.* Also in the Book of Questions upon Genesis, and in the Book of Questions upon *Leviticus*, handling the 18th Chapter of *Job*, and in his Sermon of the Annuntiation of our Lady.

In like manner also Saint Jerome expounded it in the small Scholies, written upon the first Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and all other Writers with one consent, so far as I can read; and so doth the Text require it to be expounded. For Christ was not a natural fone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was he the very true stone figuratively, as *Lyra* saith, *Solet res que significat nomine rei quam significat, nominari: The thing which signifieth is wont to be called by the name of the thing which it doth signifie.* And so is the stone signifying Christ, called Christ, which thereby is signified. And as he doth approve this Text, *The stone was Christ*, likewise doth he expound, *The blood is the soul*, with the which he doth knit this Text, *This is my body*, to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy Doctor write, *Psal. 50. Nisi quis manducaverit carnem meam, non videbit vitam eternam, &c.* Unless a man do eat my flesh, he shall not see eternal life. They understood that very foolishly, and conceived the same carnally; and that our Lord would out away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they said; *This is an hard saying. But they were hard of belief, and not the saying.* For if they had not been hard, but meek, they would have said to themselves: He speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some bid Sacrament or mystery therein. They should have abdon wish him, ease of belief, and not hard, and then should they have learned of him that which other learned, that carried after they were gone away.

In this we may see, that our Saviour willeth his precious flesh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, there is, and hath been much controverſie. The Jews of *Capernaum* were offended with Christ, when he said, he would have his flesh eaten: and except a man should eat his flesh, he could not come to life eternal. They supposed grossly, and understood him (if a man might so plainly speak it) butcherly, that he would cut our lumps and pieces out of his body, as the Butcher doth out of dead beasts, and so give it them to eat of, as Augustine doth here say. And upon this grose, or (as holy Augustine doth here call it) foolish and fleshly understanding, they were offended, and said to him; *This is a sore or hard saying.* They did shoot forth their bolt, and unwise saying over soon, and were offended before they had caute. They took that for hard and fore, which would have been passing pleasant and profitable to them, if they would have heard the thing declared thoroughly to the end.

And even so now that which in this matter may appear at the first blash, a sore, strange, and intolerable sentence, for as much as we have not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time been beaten into our heads,

and persuaded to our minds, yet by deliberation and indifference, and abiding a trial of that which at the first may appear fore and intolerable, shall (I trust) be found a sweet truth, to such specially as your Grace is, loving to hear and to know all truth. But the *Capernaites* were hard, as here faith *Autime*, and not the Word. For if they had not been hard, but soft and patient to hear, they would have laid in themselves, Christ faith not this without a cause, and there is some hidden mystery therein: and so by patient variance they should have known the truth, that they could not attain to for perverse hardness or haste, which is a great stop and let of true judgment. But the *Disciples* tarried patiently to hear further, and so did they know this speech of Christ to be the words life, that to the other, over readily departing from Christ, were words of death: For they took them literally and grossly; and the Letter (as Paul faith) slayeth.

But to shew what the *Disciples* remaining with Christ did learn, Saint *Augustine* doth consequently shew, by the words of the Gospel, saying, thus: *Ille autem infruxit eos, & ait illis: Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro nihil prodest, &c.* But he instructed them, and said unto them, The Spirit is that which giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. Understand you that which I have spoken, spiritually. You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me. I have set forth to you a certain Sacrament or mystery, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you life. And although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be understood invisibly. In this do we see, that both Christ and

Augustine would have Christ's Words to be understood spiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally; and therefore doth he say, *You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me.* And what else is this, but that Christ would his Body to be eaten, and his Blood to be drunken? But he would not his Body to be carnally eaten, which was materially seen of them to whom he spake; nor his material or natural Blood to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers should cause to issue from his natural Body crucified, as faith *Augustine*; but he ordained and willed his Body and Blood to be spiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belief that his Body was crucified for us, and that his Blood was shed for remission of our sins.

This eating and drinking is nothing but such true faith and belief as is shewed. Wherefore as Christ faith, *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting.* Even so doth he say, *He that believeth in me hath life everlasting.* And Saint *Augustine* agreeable to the same, treating upon *John*, doth say, *At quid paradosim & ventrem? Crede, & manducasti, &c.* Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten. I do know that Christ ordaineth his Sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certain wise called his body, as after shall be more largely opened: but that same doth not feed the mind of them, except it be taken spiritually, and not corporally. Hebrews the thirteenth, *It is good to establish the heart with grace, and not with meat.*

And Saint *Augustine* assenting to the same, doth say in a Sermon, that he maketh upon these words, in the Gospel of Saint *Luke*: *Lord teach us to pray, Panem dixit, sed Epousion, hoc est, supersubstantialium, &c.* He said Bread, but supersubstantial Bread. This is not the Bread, which goeth into the Body: but that Bread which doth sacrifice the substance of our Soul. Our souls therefore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, do not carnally receive the Body and Blood of our Saviour, neither did he ordain his blessed Body and Blood to be eaten and drunken: Although our souls cannot live, except they be spiritually fed with the blessed Body and Blood of him, spiritually eating and drinking them, in taking also at times convenient the blessed Sacrament, which is truly called his Body and Blood; Not that it is so really, but as is shewed by the interpretation both of *Tertullian* and *Augustine*, because it is a sign or figure of Christ's Body and Blood. And the signs or Sacraments do commonly, as faith Saint *Augustine*, both *Ad Bonifacium*, and in his Work, *De Crinate*

Dei, take their denomination of the things by them represented and signified.

But so much as some will object that *Augustine* in the words afore rehearsed doth not speak of eating the Sacrament; for the Text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eating the Sacrament, which Text is this, *Unless a man may eat my flesh, &c.* I answer, that true it is, he began of spiritual eating, and thereto serveth the Text recited. Nevertheless, he meaneth that Christ is not ordained to be eaten, either without the Sacrament, or in the Sacrament, but spiritually of the faithful: as more evidently doth appear by these words there following: *Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, quod spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos, &c.* I have commended unto you a Sacrament, which being understood of you spiritually shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be understood invisibly.

Here doth he shew that he meaneth of eating, not without the Sacrament only, but also in the Sacrament, and therefore he doth not only say, *I have commended unto you a certain Sacrament, &c.* But he addeth moreover, *Although it is requisite the same to be celebrated visibly.* How therefore can the eating of Christ, and the Sacrament thereof be visibly celebrate, but in the Manner, or in his Supper? Which is celebrate visibly in visible things of Bread and Wine: which cannot quicken or relieve us and our souls, except they be understood and so received spiritually.

Furthermore, as concerning the expolition of these words of the Supper, *This is my body, &c.* Saint *Augustine* writing to *Bonifacius*, faith thus. *Sape ita loquimur, ut Pascha appropinquante, crastinum vel perendianum Dominum passionem dicamus, &c.* We use oftentimes this manner of phrase, that when Easter doth approach, we name the day that cometh after, or the next day after that, the passion of the Lord, when as he notwithstanding had suffered before that many years; neither that passion was done but once for all. So truly do we say upon the Lord's day: *This day the Lord hath risen, when so many years are past since he rose.* Wherefore no man is so fond, that he will reprove us as liars, for this manner of speaking, because we call these days according to the similitude of those, in which these things were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but by course of time of the year coming about, is like unto it: And also because that thing is said to be done that day through the celebration of the Sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Was not Christ once offered up in himself? And yet notwithstanding, he is not only offered up in the Sacrament, in the solemn Feast of Easter, but every day mystically for the people. Neither doth he make a lie, which being demanded, answereth, that Christ is offered up. For, if the Sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they are Sacraments, then should they be no Sacraments at all. By reason of this similitude or likeness, Sacraments oftentimes do receive the names of the self same things whereof they are Sacraments.

Therefore, as after a certain manner, the Sacrament of Christ's Body is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christ's Blood is the Blood of Christ: even likewise the Sacrament of Faith is Faith. For to believe, is none other thing, than to have Faith. And by this it is answered, that the very Infants have Faith, because of the Sacrament of Faith, and convert themselves unto God, because of the Sacrament of Conversion: for the very answer it self doth appertain unto the celebration of the Sacrament: as the Apostle speaketh of Baptism. For he faith, *We are buried by Baptism into his death.* He faith not, we have signified a burying, but he plainly faith, we are buried. Therefore he named the Sacrament of so weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing it self.

Nothing can be more plainly spoken, nor more agreeable to the natural understanding of the Texts of the Supper, and to the expolition afore shewed of *Tertullian* and of himself. For seeing that Christ is bodily in Heaven, and so absent from the Earth, it is needful to know, how the holy Sacrament, which he doth call his Body and Blood, should be his Body and Blood.

This holy Doctor *Augustine* therefore, doth this matter manifestly

[KING] 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Objection answered.

This is my body, &c. St. Augustine writing to Bonifacius, faith thus. Sape ita loquimur, ut Pascha appropinquante, crastinum vel perendianum Dominum passionem dicamus, &c.

How the Sacrament of the Body is the Body of Christ, &c.

Hath this a great blindness of true judgment. 2 Cor. 3.

The words of the Sacrament are to be understood spiritually.

The Body of Christ is not to be eaten carnally.

Aug. in Jo. 6.

Aug. in Sermon de verbis Lucæ.

The Sacrament truly called the Body and Blood of Christ.

KING manifestly and sincerely declare by other like speeches, and first by common speeches, and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The common speech is: we do, faith he, use often to say, that when *Easter* doth approach or draw nigh, to morrow or the next day is the Lords passion, whereas he did suffer afore many years past, and that passion was never but once done.

By Analogy of the Scripture, speeche must be expounded, one speech by another.

The second common speech is; and of that *Sunday* we say, That this day the Lord did rise from death, whereas so many years be yet past since the time he arose. Wherefore to conclude, he saith, No man is so foolish, that he will reprove us for so saying, or to say that we have lived, because we do call these days after the similitude of those in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the self same, but by revolution of time like unto it. And the Resurrection is said to be done in the same day, through the celebrating of the Sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time afore past.

Christ is offered in the Sacrament mystically, that is in remembrance of his oblation.

The third speech; Yet not Christ offered up once for all in his own person? Was is he nevertheless offered in the Sacrament mystically for the people, not only every year at the Feast of *Easter*, but also every day. Neither doth he lie, which when he is demanded, shall answer, that he offered or sacrificed. For if the Sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things of which they be Sacraments, then should they be no Sacraments at all. By reason of which similitude they do for the most part receive the denomination or name of those things signified. And therefore after a certain manner the Sacrament of Christs Body is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christs Blood is the Blood of Christ, and so also be the Sacraments of Faith called Faith.

Secundum quid ad simpliciter, alicuius affectu certam manent.

This doth he yet prove by another example of speech, which is this; It is none other thing to believe, than to have Faith. And therefore when answer is made that the Infants have Faith, which indeed have it not in full working, it is answered, That such have Faith for the Sacrament of Faith, and that they do convert themselves unto Faith for the Sacrament of Conversion. For the very answer it self doth pertain to the celebration of the Sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appear, that as we use truly to call that *Good-Friday*, or the day of Christs passion, which is not indeed the day of Christs passion, but only a memorial thereof once done for ever: and as we use to call the next *Easter* day the day of Christs Resurrection, not because that Christ in the same day shall arise, but only for a memorial of his resurrection once done for ever, and that of long time passed.

The celebration of the Sacrament represents the oblation of Christs Body. The Sacrament of Christs Body is not Christs Body in deed, but in memorial or representation.

And Christ, being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to be offered up not only every year at *Easter*, but also every day in the celebration of the Sacrament, because his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby represented; Even so (saith *Augustine*) is the Sacrament of Christs Body the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christs Blood the Blood of Christ in a certain wise or fashion. Not that the Sacrament is his natural Body or Blood indeed, but that it is a memorial or representation thereof, as the days before shewed be of his very and natural Body crucified for us, and of his precious Blood shed for the remission of our sins. And thus be the holy signs or Sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them signified. But why so? For they (saith *Augustine*) have a certain similitude of those things whereof they be signs or Sacraments; for else they should be no Sacraments at all: and therefore do they commonly, and for the most part receive the denomination of the things whereof they be Sacraments.

A fallaxia in loquendo, a seculum quid ad simpliciter. The Pope argument. The Sacrament of Christs Body, is Christs Body; Ergo, the Sacrament is Christs Body really and substantially.

So that we may manifestly perceive that he calleth not the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood the very Body and Blood of Christ, but as he said before. But yet he saith in a certain manner or wise: Not that the Sacrament absolutely and plainly is his natural Body and Blood. For this is a false argument of Sophistry, which they call *Secundum quid ad simpliciter*; that is to say, that the Sacrament of Christs Body is in a certain wise the Body of Christ: *Ergo*, it is also plainly and expressly the natural Body of Christ. For such another reason might this be also: Christ is after a certain manner a Lyon, a

Lamb, and a Door; *Ergo*, Christ is a natural Lyon, and a Lamb, or material Door. But the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood is therefore called his Body and Blood, because it is thereof a memorial, sign, Sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption. Which thing is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently alledge of Baptism; *Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolus dicit, &c.*

The Apostle, quoth *Augustine*, saith not, we have signified burying, but he saith utterly, we be buried with Christ. For else should all false Christians be buried with Christ from sin, which yet do live in all sin. And therefore saith *Augustine* immediately thereupon, he called therefore the Sacrament of so great thing, by none other name than of the thing it self. Thus (O most gracious and godly Prince) do I confess and acknowledge, that the Bread of the Sacrament is truly Christs Body, and the Wine to be truly his Blood, according to the words of the institution of the same Sacrament; but in a certain wise, that is to wit, figuratively, sacramentally, or significantly, according to the explication of the Doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this explication of the old Doctors am I enforced, both by the Articles of my Creed, and also by the circumstances of the said Scripture, as after shall more largely appear. But by the same can I not find the natural Body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather absent, both from the Sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in Heaven, where he by promise must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

The same holy Doctor, writing against one *Faulstus*, saith in like manner, *Si Machabeus cum ingenti admiratione praefertur, quia escas quibus nunc Christiani licite utuntur, attingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc Prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro Baptismo Christi, pro Eucharistia Christi, pro signo Christi, &c. If we do prefer with great admiration the Machabees, because they would not once touch the meat, which Christian men now lawfully use to eat of, for that it was not lawful for that time being then Propheticall, that is, in the time of the Old Testament: How much rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the Baptism of Christ, and for the Sacrament of thanksgiving, and for the sign of Christ, seeing that those of the Old Testament were the promises of the things to be complete and fulfilled, and these Sacraments in the New Testament are the tokens of things complete and finished?* The sign of

In this I note, that according to the explications before shewed, he calleth the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, otherwise properly named *Eucharistia signum Christi*, and that in the singular number, for as much as they both do signifie well-nigh or e things. In both then is testified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he calleth them *Indicia rerum completarum*, that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we shall receive by the belief of Christ for us crucified. And he doth call usually both the Sacraments *signum Christi*, in the singular number. And as the same Saint *Augustine* in his fiftieth Treatise upon the Gospel of Saint *John* teacheth, where he saith thus: *Si bonus es, si ad corpus Christi pertineris, (quod significat Petrus) habes Christum, & in presenti & in futuro. In presenti per fidem, &c. If thou be good, if thou pertain to the Body of Christ, (which this word Petrus doth signifie) then hast thou Christ both here & present, and in time to come: here present through Faith, here present by the figure and sign of Christ; here present by the Sacrament of Baptism; here present by the meat and drink of the Altar, &c.*

More there was that *John Lambert* wrote to the King, but thus much only came to our hands.

The death of Robert Packington.

Among other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of *Robert Packington*, Mercer of *London*, wrought and caused by the enemies of Gods Word and of all good proceedings. The Story is this; The said *Robert Packington*, H h 3 being

Robert Packington Anno 1538.

being a man of substance, and dwelling in *Cheepside*, used every day at Five of the Clock, *Winter and Summer*, to go to pray at a Church then called *Saint Thomas of Acres*, but now named *Mercers Chappel*. And one morning amongst all other, being a great mytty-morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the Church, he was suddenly murdered with a Gun, which of the Neighbours was plainly heard, and by a great number of Labourers standing at *Soper-Lane* end, he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the clap of the Gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while unsupied and unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the Martherer so covertly was conveyed, till at length by the confession of Doctor *Incent* Dean of *Pauls*, in his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the Author thereof, by hiring an *Italian*, for forty Crowns 'or thereabout, to do the feat. For the testimony whereof, and also for the repentant words of the said *Incent*, the names both of them which heard him confess it, and of them which heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

Doct. Incent
Dean of
Pauls, mur-
derer of
Packington.

The cause why he was so little favoured with the Clergy, was this, For that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speak, and also would be heard: for at the same time he was one of the Burgeesses of the Parliament for the City of *London*, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the Clergy, wherefore he was had in contempt with them; and was thought also to have some talk with the King, for the which he was the more had in disdain with them; and murdered by the said Doctor *Incent*, for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of *Robert Packington*, which was the Brother of *Augustine Packington* above mentioned, who deceived Bishop *Tonhall*, in buying the new translated Testament of *Tindall*. Whose pitious murder although it was privy and sudden, yet hath it so pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins at London.

Collins
with his
Dog burned

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one *Collins*, sometime a Lawyer and a Gentleman, which suffered the fire this year also in *Smithfield*, Anno 1538. Whom although I do not here recite as in the number of Gods pious Martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean separated from the company of the Lords faved Flock and Family, notwithstanding that the Bishop of *Rome* Church did condemn and burn him for an Heretic: but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of Saints. At leastwise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such, as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in burning so without all discretion this man, being mad and dilact of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occasion as here followeth.

This Gentleman had a Wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but notwithstanding of so light behaviour and unchast conditions (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beauty) that the forsaking her Husband, which loved her intirely, betook her self unto another Paramour. Which when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At the last being overcome with exceeding dolour and heaviness, he fell mad, being at that time a Student of the Law in *London*. When he was thus ravished of his wits, by chance he came into a Church, where a Priest was saying Mass, and was come to the place where they use to hold up and shew the Sacrament.

Collins being beside his wits, seeing the Priest holding up the Host over his head, and shewing it to the people; he in like manner counterfeiting the Priest, took up a little Dog by the legs and held him over his head, shewing him unto the people. And for this he was by and by brought to Examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the Dog with him, the same year of our Lord, in the which *John Lambert* was burned, 1538.

KING
1 Hen. 8.
Collins
burned for
holding up
a Dog as
Mass.

The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford, Anno 1532.

With this foresaid *Collins* may also be adjoined the burning of *Cowbridge*, who likewise being mad and beside his right senses, was either the same or the next year following condemned by *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at *Oxford*. What his Opinions and Articles were where-with he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse. For as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be found. Yea rather, what wife man would ever collect Articles against him, which said, *He could not tell what*. And if his Articles were so horrible and mad as *Cope* in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my judgment a man more fit to be sent to *Bedlem*, than to be had to the fire in *Smithfield* to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a Creature mad or unreasonable, or to make Heresie of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

Cowbridge
burnt at
Oxford.

But this is the manner and property of this holy Mother-Church of *Rome*, that whatsoever cometh in their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable Examples, both of *Collins* and *Cowbridge* it may appear. Who rather should have been pitied, and all ways convenient sought how to seduce the silly Wretches into their right minds again, according as the true Pastors of *Israel* be commanded by the Spirit of God, to seek again the things that be lost, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c. and not so extremely to brust the things that be bruised before. But to end with this matter of *Cowbridge*, whatsoever his madness was before, or however erroneous his Articles were (which for the fond Phantasies of them I do not express) yet as touching his end, this is certain, that in the midst of the flame, he, lifting up his head to Heaven, soberly and discreetly called upon the Name of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and so departed.

The right
Confession
of Cow-
bridge, at
his depar-
ting.

William Leiton and Puttedew, Martyrs.

About the same time and year, or not much before, when *John Lambert* suffered at *London*, there was one *Puttedew* also condemned to the fire, about the parts of *Suffolk*: who coming into the Church, and merrily telling the Priest, that after he had drunk up all the Wine alone, he afterward blessed the hungry people with the empty Chalice, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an experiment, *Quam parum sit tutum ludere cum Sanctis*; as the old saying was then; but rather, as we may see now, *Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis*.

Puttedew
martyred.

To the other *William Leiton*, was a Monk of *Aye* in the County of *Suffolk*, and was burned at *Norwich*, for speaking against a certain Idol which was accustomed to be carried about the Processions at *Aye*; and also for holding that the Sacramental Supper ought to be administered in both kinds, about the year and time aforesaid.

W. Leiton
Martyr.

{ KING }
{ Hen. 8. }

Collins with his dogge burned at London.



The burning of one Peke at Ipswich.



N. Peke
burned at
Ipswich,
Martyr.

IN the burning of another Suffolk-man, named N. Peke, dwelling sometime at Earlestonham, and burnt at Ipswich, somewhat before the burning of these aforesaid, thus I find it recorded and testified; That when as he being fast bound to a stake, and Furle set on fire round about him, was so torched, that he was as black as any foot, one Doctor Reading there standing before him, with Doctor Heyre and Doctor Springwell, having a long white Wand in his hand, did knock him upon the right shoulder, and said Peke recant, and believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Christ, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, after that the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration over it, and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee, having a Scrol of Paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered, and said, *I dese it and thee also*, and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his Veins brake in his body for extrem anguish. And when the said Peke had so spoken, then Doctor Reading said, *To as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this Heretick, is granted forty days of pardon by my Lord Bishop of Norwich.*

Forty days
of pardon
proclaimed
for casting
sticks into
Peke's fire.

Then Baron Carlen, Sir John Audley Knight, with many others of estimation being there present, did rise from their Seats, and with their Swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.

Witness John Ramsey and others, who did see this act.

Of this
Council of
Mantua
read before.

IN the year last before this, which was of the Lord, 1537. it was declared how Pope Paul the Third indicted a general Council, to be holden at Mantua. Whereunto the King of England, amongst other Princes being called, refused either to come or to send at the Popes call, and for defence of himself directed out a publick Apology or Protestation, rendring iust and sufficient matter, why neither he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes Commandment. Which Protestation is before to be read. This Council appointed to begin the three and twentieth day of May, the year aforesaid was then stopped by the Duke of Mantua, pretending that he would suffer no Council there, unless the Pope would fortifie the City with a sufficient Army, &c. For which cause the Pope prorogued the said Council, to be celebrated in the month of November following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the City

of Vincence (lying within the Dominion of the Venetians) to be the place for the Council. Whereunto when the King (the year next following, which is this present year of our Lord, 1538.) was requested by the Emperor and other States, to reform either himself, or to send; he again refusing (as he did before) sendeth this Protestation in way of defence and answer for himself, to the Emperor and other Christian Princes; the Copy and effect whereof hereunder followeth, and is this.

Henry the Eighth by the Grace of God, King of England and France, &c. saluteth the Emperour, Christian Princes, and all true Christian men, desiring Peace and Concord amongst them.

WHEREAS not long since, a Book came forth in our and all our Councils Names, which contained many causes why we refused the Council, then by the Bishop of Rome usurped Power, first indicted at Mantua, to be kept the three and twentieth day of May, after prorogued to November, no place appointed where it should be kept: And whereas the same Book doth sufficiently prove, that our cause could take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in such a company of men addit to one Sect, nor in any other Council called by his usurped Power; we think it nothing necessary, so much the oit to make new Protestations, as the Bishop of Rome and his Courts, by subtilty and craft, do invent ways to mock the World by new pretended general Councils. Yet notwithstanding because that some things now occurred, either upon occasion given us by change of the place, or else through other considerations, which now being known to the World may do much good, we thought we should do but even as that love enforce us, which we owe unto Christs Faith and Religion, to add this Epistle. And yet we protest that we neither put forth that Book, neither yet we would this Epistle to be set before it, that thereby we should seem less to desire a general Council than any other Prince or Potentate, but rather to be more desirous of it, so it were free for all parts, and universal. And further, we desire all good Princes, Potentates, and people, to esteem and think, that no Prince would more willingly be present at such a Council

{ Ann. }
1538
The Kings
Letter to
the Empe-
ror.
Of this
Book read
before.
The Pope
doth but
mock the
world with
his pretend-
ed Councils.

General
Councils
are to be
desired, so
they might
be free and
universally
set
all parts.

KING perils be in safeguard of our life? Well, in this one Act the Bishop of Rome hath declared that he hath none Authority upon places in other mens Dominions, and therefore if he promise a Council in any of those, he promisseth that, that is in another man to perform, and so may he deceive us again.

Dilemma **against the** **Pope.** **Vincence** **a** **City** **under** **the** **Dominion** **of** **the** **Venetians.**
Now if he call us to one of his own Towns, we be afraid to be at such an Holis Table. We say, better to rise an hungred, than to go thence with our bellies full. But they say, the place is found, we need no more to seek where the Council shall be kept. As who saith, that what chanced at Mantua, may not also chance at Vincence: and as though it were very like that the Venetians, men of such wisdom, should not both foresee, and fear also that the wife Duke of Mantua seemed to fear. Certes, when we think upon the state that the Venetians be in now, it seemeth no very likely thing, that they will either leave Vincence their City to so many Nations, without some great Garrison of Souldiers, or else that they, being else where so fore charged already, will now nourish any Army there. And if they would, doth not Paul himself grant it should be an evil President, and an evil example to have an armed Council?

Howsoever it shall be, we most heartily desire you, that ye will vouchsafe to read those things that we wrote this last year touching the Mantuan-Council. For we nothing doubt, but you, of your equity, will stand on our side against their subtilty and frauds, and judge (except we be deceived) that we in this bulletins, neither gave so much to our affections, neither without great and most just causes refused their Councils, their Censures and Decrees.

Whether these our Writings please all men, or no, we think we ought not to pass much. No, if that which indifferently is written of us, may please indifferent Readers, our desire is accomplished. The false censure and mistaking of things by men partial shall move us nothing, or else very little. If we have said ought against the deceits of the Bishop of Rome, that may seem spoken too sharply, we pray you impute it to the hatred we bear unto his Vices, and not to any evil will that we bear him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his Vices, than with him and his: our prayer is, that it may please God at the last to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that they once may with us (their own glory set apart) study to set forth the everlasting Glory of the ever-living God.

Thus, mighty Emperor, fare you most heartily well, and ye Christian Princes, the Pillars and fate of Christendom, fare ye heartily well. Also all ye, what people soever ye are, which do desire that the Gospel and Glory of Christ may flourish, fare ye heartily well.

As the Lord of his goodness had raised up Thomas Cromwel to be a Friend and Patron to the Gospel; so on the contrary side Satan (which is Adversary and Enemy to all good things) had his Organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtil means to impeach and put back the same. Who after he had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert (as ye have heard) proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking under the name of Heresies, Sects, Anabaptists, and Sacramentaries, to exterminate all good Books, and faithful Professors of Gods Word out of England, so wrought with the King, that the next year following, which was of our Lord, 1539. he gave out these Injunctions, the Copy and Contents whereof I thought here also not to be pretermitted, and are these.

¶ Certain other Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King, against English Books, Sects, and Sacramentaries also, with putting down the Day of Thomas Becket.

Anno **1539.** **F**irst, That none, without special Licence of the King, transport or bring from outward Parts into England any manner of English Books, neither yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain to forfeit all their Goods and Chattels, and their Bodies to be

imprisoned, so long as it shall please the Kings Majesty.

Item, That none shall print, or bring over any English Books with Annotations or Prologues, unless such Books before be examined by the Kings Privy-Council, or others appointed by his Highness, and yet not to be put thereto these words, *Cum Privilegio Regali*, without adding, *Ad imprimendum solum*: Neither yet to imprint it, without the Kings Privilege be printed therewith in the English-Tongue, that all men may read it. Neither shall they print any translated Book, without the plain name of the Translator be in it, or else the Printer to be made the Translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment thereof at the Kings pleasure.

Item, That none of the Occupation of Printing shall within the Realm Print, Utter, Sell, or cause to be published any English Book of Scripture, unless the same be first viewed, examined, and admitted by the Kings Highness, or one of his Privy-Council, or one Bishop within the Realm, whose name shall therein be expressed, upon pain of the Kings most high displeasure, the loss of their Goods and Chattels, and Imprisonment so long as it shall please the King.

Item, Those that be in any Errors, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any other, that sell Books having such Opinions in them, being once known, both the Books and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the Kings Majesty, or one of his Privy-Council, to the intent to have it punished without favour, even with the extremity of the Law.

Item, That none of the Kings Subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the Sacrament of the Altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels without all favour, only those excepted that be learned in Divinity: they to have their liberty in their Schools and appointed places accustomed for such matters.

Item, That the holy Bread and holy Water, Procession, kneeling and creeping on Good-Friday to the Crofs, and Easter-day, setting up of Lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of Candles on Candlemas-day, Purification of Women delivered of Child, offering of Cistomes, keeping of the four Offering-days, paying their Tythes, and such like Ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it shall please the King to change or abrogate any of them. This Article was made for that the people was not quieted and contented (many of them) with the Ceremonies then used.

Finally, All those Priests that be married, and openly known to have their Wives, or that hereafter do intend to marry, shall be deprived of all Spiritual Promotion, and from doing any duty of a Priest, and shall have no manner of Office, Dignity, Cure, Privilege, Profit, or Commodity in any thing appertaining to the Clergy, but from thenceforth shall be taken, had, and reputed as Laypersons, to all purposes and intents; and those that shall after this Proclamation marry, shall run in his Graces indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his Graces will and pleasure.

Item, He chargeth all Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Provofts, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and other Ministers, and every of them in their own persons, within their Cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the Glory of God, and truth of his Word, and also considering the abuses and superstitious that have crept into the hearts and stomachs of many, by reason of their fond Ceremonies, he chargeth them upon pain of Imprisonment, at his Graces pleasure, not only to preach and teach the Word of God accordingly, but also sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between things commanded by God, and the Rites and Ceremonies in their Church then used, lest the people thereby might grow into further suspicion.

Item, For as much as it appeareth how clearly, that Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome Laws established against the Enormities of the Clergy, by the Kings Highness Noble Progenitor King Henry the Second, for the Commonwealth, felt and tranquillity of this Realm, of his forward mind fled the Realm into France,

No Books to be translated without the name of the Translator.

English Books of Scripture forbidden to be printed.

Against Seditious commentaries.

None to dispute of the Sacrament.

Holy Bread and holy Water, with other Rites of the Church abolished.

Married Priests punished.

Distinction to be taught between things commanded of God, and Ceremonies uncommanded.

Thomas Becket noted of stubbornness.

and to the Bishop of *Rome*, maintainer of those Enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said Laws (whereby arose much trouble in this said Realm) and that his death, which they truly called *Martyrdom*, hapned upon a Rescue made, and that (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the Gentlemen which then counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that Rescue, and he not only called the one of them *Bawd*, but also took *Tracy* by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such manner, that he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the Church, so that upon this Fray, one of their company perceiving the same, strake him, and so in the Throng *Becker* was slain: and further, that this Canonization was made only by the Bishop of *Rome*, because he had been both a Champion to maintain his usurped Authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the Clergy.

The *Becker* is
Rebel rather
than a
Saint.

For these, and for other great and urgent causes, long to rectify, the Kings Majesty, by the advice of his Council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving Subjects, that notwithstanding the said Canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation, whereby he should be called a Saint, but rather esteemed to have been a Rebel and Traytor to his Prince.

Therefore his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said *Thomas Becker* shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a Saint, but Bishop *Becker*, and that his Images and Pictures thorow the whole Realm shall be plucked down and avoided out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, and that from henceforth the days used to be festival in his name, shall not be observed, nor the Service, Office, Antiphons, Collects, and Prayers in his name read, but rather put out of all their Books; and that all their Festival-days already abrogated, shall be in no wise solemnized, but his Graces Ordinances and Injunctions thereupon observed, to the intent his Graces loving Subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit Idolatry, as they have done in times past, upon pain of his Majesties Indignation, and imprisonment at his Graces pleasure.

The Canonization
of *The Becker*
raised.

Finally, his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that his Subjects do keep and observe all and singular his Injunctions made by his Majesty, upon the pain therein contained:

Here followeth how Religion began to go backward.

The variable
changes
and mutations
of Religion
in
King
times
days.

TO many which be yet alive, and can testify these things, it is not unknown, how variable the state of Religion stood in these days; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth, what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the King was ruled and gave ear sometime to one, sometime to another, so one while it went forward, at another season as much backward again, and sometime clean altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevail which were about the King. So long as *Queen Anne* lived, the Gospel had indifferent success.

The course
of the Gospel
interrupted
by malicious
Enemies.

After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the King, was made away, the course of the Gospel began again to decline, but that the Lord then stirred up the Lord *Cromwel*, opportunely to help in that behalf. Who, no doubt, did much avail, for the increase of Gods true Religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the pestilent Adversaries, maligning the prosperous glory of the Gospel, by contrary practising had not craftily undermined him and supplanted his virtuous proceedings. By the means of which Adversaries it came to pass after the taking away of the said *Cromwel*, that the state of Religion more and more decayed, during all the residue of the Reign of King *Henry*.

The marriage
of
Queen Anne
and *Cromwel*.

Among these Adversaries above mentioned, the chief Captain was *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*; who with his Confederates and Adherents, disdaining at the state of the Lord *Cromwel*, and at the late marriage of the Lady *Anne of Cleve* (who in the beginning of the year of our Lord, 1540, was married to the King)

as also grieved partly at the dissolution of the Monasteries, and fearing the growing of the Gospel, sought all occasions how to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to train the King to their own purpose. Now what occasion this wily *Winchester* found out to work upon; ye shall hear in order as followeth.

The KING
Hes. 8.

It happened the same time, that the Lord *Cromwel*, for the better establishing of sincere Religion in this Realm, devised a Marriage for the King, to be concluded between him and the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, whole other Sister was already married unto the Duke of *Saxony*. By this Marriage it was supposed that a perpetual League, Amity and Allie should be nourished between this Realm and the Princes of *Germany*, and so thereby godly Religion might be made more strong on both parts against the Bishop of *Rome*, and his tyrannical Religion. But the Devil, ever envying the Prosperity of the Gospel, laid a stumbling-block in that clear way for the King, to stumble at. For when the Parents of the Noble Lady were communed withall for the furtherance of the said Marriage, among others of her Friends whose good will was required, the Duke of *Saxony* her Brother in law misliked the Marriage, partly for that he would have had her bestowed upon some Prince of *Germany* more nigh unto her Sister, and partly for other causes, which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followeth that the slackness of the Duke in that behalf being espied, crafty *Winchester*, taking good hold-fast thereon, so alienated the Kings mind from the Amity that seemed now to begin and grow between the Duke and the King, that by the occasion thereof he brought the King at length clean out of credit with that Religion and Doctrine which the Duke had then maintained many years before.

The King
brought out
of credit
with the
Doctrine of
the German
Princes.

This wily *Winchester* with his crafty fetches partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent persuasions creeping into the Kings ears, ceased not to seek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow Religion, first bringing him in hatred with the *German* Princes, then putting him in fear of the Emperor, of the *French* King, of the Pope, of the King of *Scots*, and other foreign Powers to rise against him; but especially of civil Tumults and Commotions here within this Realm, which above all things he most dreaded by reason of Innovation of Religion, and dissolving of *Abbeys*, and for abolishing of Rites, and other customs of the Church, sticking so fast in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared lest their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring moreover what a dangerous matter in a Commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of Religion. Which being so, he exhorted the King for his own safeguard, and publick quiet and tranquillity of his Realm, to see betime, how and by what policy these so manifold mischiefs might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, than if he would shew himself sharp and severe against the new Sectaries, Anabaptists, and Sacramentaries (as they called them) and would also set forth such Articles, confirming the ancient and Catholick Faith, as whereby he might recover again his Credence with Christian Princes, and whereby all the World besides might see and judge him to be a right and perfect Catholick. By these and such like crafty Suggestions the King being too much deduced and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the Reformation of true Religion, supposing thereby to procure to himself more safety both in his own Realm, and also to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen by other Princes, especially seeing of late he had refused to come to the general Council at *Vinence*, being thereto invited both by the Emperor, and other foreign Potentates, as ye have heard before. And therefore although he had rejected the Pope out of this Realm, yet because he would declare himself nevertheless to be a good Catholick Son of the Mother-Church, and a Withstander of new Innovations and Heresies (as the blind opinion of the World then did esteem them) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of *Lambert*, then after

The wicked
council of
Stephen Gardiner
and other about
the King.

The King
abused by
wicked
Council.

KING he gave out those Injunctions above prefixed; and now
H. 8. further to increase this opinion with all men, in the year
Ann. next following, which was of the Lord, 1540. through
1540 the device and practise of certain of the Popes Factors
The Popes about him, he summoned a 'tolerant' Parliament to be
unity holden at Westminster the eight and twentieth day of
Factors in April, of all the States and Burgeſſes of the Realm: also
England. a Synod or Convocation of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and
 other learned of the Clergy of this Realm, to be in like
 manner assembled.

The Act of the Six Articles.

The six Ar-
ticles. In which Parliament, Synod, or Convocation, certain
 Articles, Matters, and Questions, touching Religion, were
 decreed by certain Prelates, to the number especially of six
 commonly called *The six Articles* (or *The Whip with six*
strings) to be had and received among the Kings Subjects
 in pretence of Unity. But what Unity thereof followed,
 the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel
 death of divers both in the days of King Henry, and of
 Queen Mary, can so well declare, as I pray God never the
 like be felt hereafter.

The Doctrine of these wicked Articles in the bloody Act
 contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst
 Christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetual
 oblivion, yet for that the office of History compelleth us
 thereunto, for the more light of Posterity to come,
 faithfully and truly to compile things done in the Church,
 as well one as another: this shall be briefly to recapitulate
 the sum and effect of the foresaid six Articles, in order as
 they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

The first Article.

Transub-
stantiation. **T**he first Article in this present Parliament accorded
 and agreed upon, was this, That in the most blessed
 Sacrament of the Altar by the strength and efficacy of
 Christs mighty word (it being spoken by the Priest) is present
 really, under the form of Bread and Wine, the natural
 Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived
 of the Virgin Mary, and that after the Consecration
 there remaineth no substance of Bread or Wine, or any
 other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and
 Man.

The second Article.

The Sacram-
ent in both kinds
excluded. Secondly, That the Communion in both kinds is not
 necessary ad salutem, by the Law of God, to all persons:
 and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that
 in the Flesh, under form of Bread, is the very Blood, and
 with the Blood, under form of Wine, is the very Flesh as
 well apart, as they were both together.

The third Article.

Thirdly, That Priests, after the Order of Priesthood re-
 ceived as afore, may not marry by the Law of God.

The fourth Article.

Adultery,
and fornication
above the
age of one
and twenty
years,
exempted. Fourthly, That the Vows of Chastity or Widowhood,
 by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be ob-
 served by the Law of God; and that it exempteth them
 from other liberties of Christian people, which without they
 Priests only might enjoy.

The fifth Article.

By the la-
ies of the
private
Masses, in
secret, the
helping of
Souls in
Purgatory. Fifthly, That it is meet and necessary, that private
 Masses be continued and admitted in this English Church
 and Congregation: as whereby good Christian people, or-
 dering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and
 goodly consolation and benefit: And it is agreeable also
 to Gods Law.

The sixth Article.

The sixth
Article. Sixthly, That Auricular Confession is expedient and
 necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented
 in the Church of God.

After these Articles were thus concluded and consented
 upon, the Prelates of the Realm craftily perceiving that such
 a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail, un-
 less trait and bloody Penalties were set upon them, they
 caused through their accustomed practise to be ordained
 and enacted by the King and the Lords Spiritual and Tem-
 poral, and the Commons in the said Parliament, as fol-
 loweth.

The Penalties upon the six Articles.

That if any person or persons within this Realm of **The pen-**
 England, or any other the Kings Dominions, after the **alties upon**
 twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, **the six Ar-**
 imprinting, cyphring, or any otherwise, should publish, **ticles.**
 preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold
 any Opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar,
 under form of Bread and Wine (after the Consecration
 thereof) there is not present really the natural Body and
 Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the
 Virgin Mary, or that after the said Consecration there
 remaineth any substance of the Bread or Wine, or any
 other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man,
 or after the time above-said, publish, preach, teach, say,
 affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold Opinion, That in
 the Flesh, under the form of Bread is not the very Blood
 of Christ, or that with the Blood of Christ, under the
 form of Wine, is not the very Flesh of Christ, as well
 apart, as though they were both together: or by any
 of the means above-said, or otherwise, preach, teach, de-
 clare, or affirm the said Sacrament to be other substance
 than is above-said, or by any mean contemn, deprave, or
 despite the said blessed Sacrament: that then every such
 person so offending, their Aiders, Comforters, Council-
 lors, Consenters and Abettors therein (being thereof con-
 victed in form under written, by the Authority above
 said) should be deemed and adjudged Hereticks, and
 every such offence should be adjudged manifest
 Herein; and that every such Offender and Offenders
 should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution,
 pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any
 Abjuration, benefit of the Clergy, or Sanctuary, to be there-
 fore permitted, had, allowed, or suffered; and also
 should therefore forfeit and lose to the Kings Highness,
 his Heirs and Successors, all his or their Honors, Manors,
 Castles, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Ser-
 vices, Possessions, and all other his or their Heredita-
 ments, Goods and Chattels, Farms and Freeholds, what-
 soever they were, through any such offence or offences
 committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of
 High Treason.

The Penalty of the last five Articles.

And as touching the other five Articles following, the
 Penalty devised for them was this, That every such per-
 son or persons that do preach, teach, obstinately affirm,
 uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth of July
 the said year, any thing contrary to the same: or if any
 being in Orders, or after a Vow advisedly made, did
 marry, or make Marriage, or contract Matrimony,
 in so doing should be adjudged as Felons, and lose
 both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of Felony, without
 any benefit of the Clergy, or Privilege of the Church or
 of the Sanctuary, &c.

Item, That every such person or persons, which after
 the day, afore-said, by word, writing, printing, cyphring, or
 otherwise did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to
 the five Articles above expressed, being for any such of-
 fence duly convicted or attainted, for the first time,
 besides the forfeit of all his Goods and Chattels, and Posses-
 sions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at
 the Kings pleasure: and for the second time, being ac-
 cused, presented, and thereof convicted should suffer as in
 case afore-said of Felony.

Item, If any within Order of Priesthood, before the time
 of the said Parliament, had married or contracted Matrimony,
 or vowed Widowhood, the said Matrimony should
 stand utterly void and be dissolved.

Item,

Item, That the same danger that belonged to Priests marrying their Wives, should also redound to the Women married unto the Priests.

Inquisition upon the six Articles.

Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted by the said Parliament, That full authority of Inquisition of all such Heresies, Felonies, and Contempts, should be committed and directed down into every Shire, to certain persons specially thereunto appointed; of which persons three at the least (provided always the Archbishop, or Bishop, or his Chancellor, or his Commissary to be one) should sit four times at least in the year, having full Power to take Information and Accusation, by the depositions of any two lawful persons at the least, as well as by the Oaths of twelve men, to examine and enquire of all and singular the Heresies, Felonies, and Contempts above remembered, having also as ample Power to make Process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the forefaid Heresies, Felonies, Contempts, and other Offences, as well as if the matter had been presented before the Justices of Peace in their Sessions. And also that the said Justices in their Sessions, and every Steward or Under-Steward, or his Deputy, in their Lawdays, should have power by the Oaths of twelve lawful men to enquire likewise of all and singular the Heresies, Felonies, Contempts, and other Offences, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present Act, &c.

A bloody Inquisition.

Provided withall that no person nor persons thereupon accused, indicted or presented, should be admitted to challenge any that should be expellèd for the trial of any matter of cause, other than for malice or envy; which challenge should forthwith be tried in like manner, as in cases of Felony, &c.

Provided moreover that every person that should be named Commissioner in this Inquisition, should first take a corporal Oath, the tenor of which Oath here ensueth.

The Oath of the Commissioners.

YE shall swear, that ye to your cunning, wit and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the Authority to you given by the Kings Commission, made for Correction of Heresicks and other Offenders mentioned in the same Commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread or malice, to be born to any person or persons, as God ye help and all Saints.

The Oath given to the Commissioners, to be taken upon true Christianity. Stat. An. 31. Reg. Hen. 8.

And thus much briefly collected out of the Act and Originals, which more largely are to be seen in the Stat. Anno 31. Reg. Hen. 8. concerning the six Articles, which otherwise for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called *The Whip with six strings*, set forth after the death of Queen Anne, and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the Bishops, but specially of the Bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by King Henry. But herein as in many other parts more, the crafty policy of the Bishop appeared, who like a lurking Serpent, most slyly watching his time, if he had not taken the King coming out upon a sudden, there where it was (I spare here to report as I heard it) it was thought and affirmed by certain, which then were pertaining to the King, that Winchester had not obtained the matter easily to be subscribed as he did.

Truth is danger left unobserved.

These six Articles above specified, although they contained manifest Errors, Heresies, and Absurdities against all Scripture and Learning, (as all men having any judgment in Gods Word may plainly understand) yet such was the miserable adversity of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of Truth and of Religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all Friends. For every man seeing the Kings mind so fully addicted upon politick Respects, to have these Articles pass forward, few or none in all that Parliament would appear, which either could perceive what was to be defended, or durst defend what they understood to be true, save only Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who then being married (as is supposed) like a constant Patron of Gods cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the Truth, oppressed in the Parliament, three days together disputing against those six wicked Articles, bringing forth such Allegations and

Cranmer stood openly in the Parliament against the six Articles.

Authorities, as might easily have helped the cause, *Nisi pars major vicisset, us saepe solet, meliorem*. Who in the said Disputation, behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his Prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the Cause of Almighty God, that neither his Enterprize was misliked of the King; and again, his Reasons and Allegations were so strong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherefore the King (who ever bare special favour unto him) well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the Parliament-house into the Council-Chamber, for a time (for safeguard of his conscience) till the Act should pass and be granted: which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to do.

KING Hen. 8.

Cranmer willed to depart out of the Parliament-house for his conscience.

Cranmer refused to go out of the Parliament against his conscience.

After the Parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the King considering the constant zeal of the Archbishop, in defence of his Cause, and partly also weighing the many Authorities and Reasons whereby he had substantially confirmed the same; sent the Lord Cromwell (which within few days after was apprehended) the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the Lords of the Parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth: where they signified unto him, that it was the Kings pleasure, that they all should, in his Highness behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travel in that Parliament, had declared himself, both greatly learned, and also a man discreet and wise; and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that Parliament contrary to his Allegations.

Cranmer comforted again by the King.

He most humbly thanked first the Kings Highness, for his singular good affection towards him, and them for all their pains; adding moreover, that he so hoped in God, that hereafter his Allegations and Authorities should take place to the Glory of God, and Commodity of the Realm. Which Allegations and Authorities of his, I will were among us extant to be seen and read. No doubt but they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious Articles aforesaid.

Allegations against the six Articles.

IN the mean while, sofar as the said heretical Articles are not so lightly to be passed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the false and erroneous Doctrine of them any more, as they have been in times past, for lack of right instruction, and experience of the ancient state and course of times in our fore-Elders days; I thought therefore (the Lord thereunto assisting) so much as antiquity of stories may help to the restoring again of Truth and Doctrine decayed, to annex hereunto some Allegations out of ancient Records, which may give some light to the convincing of these new-fangled Articles and Heresies above touched.

Allegations against the six Articles.

And first, as touching the Article of *Transubstantiation*, wherein this Parliament doth enact that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very natural Body of Christ, the self same which was born of the Virgin Mary; and that in such sort as there remaineth no substance of Bread and Wine, after the Priests Consecration, but only the Body and Blood of Christ, under the outward forms of Bread and Wine: First here is to be noted, that this monstrous Article of theirs, in that form of words as it standeth, was never obtruded, received, or holden either in the Greek Church, or in the Latin Church, universally for a Catholic; that is, for a general Opinion or Article of Doctrine, before the time of the Lateran-Council at Rome, under Pope Innocent the Third, Anno 1216.

The Article of Transubstantiation.

And sofar as it hath been a common perswasion amongst the most sort of people, that this Article, in the form of words as here it standeth, is and hath been ever since Christ his time a true Catholic and general Doctrine, commonly received and taught in the Church, being approved by the Scriptures and Doctors, and consent of all Ages unto this present time; To the intent therefore that the contrary may appear, and the people may see how far they have herein been beguiled, we will here (Christ willing) make a little stay in our story, and examine this forefaid Article by true Antiquity and course of Histories, to try whether it be a Doctrine Old or New.

Anno 1219.
The Article of the Sacrament consisteth in two parts.

Now therefore for the better discussing of the matter, let us first orderly and distinctly advise the words of the Article. The contents of which Article consists in two parts or members. In the first whereof is noted to us a preference of a thing which there was not before. In the second, is noted a privation or absence of a thing which there before was present.

Two things present in the Sacrament: the thing that representeth, and the thing represented.

(The Under)
The presence of the natural Body of Christ well expounded may be, granted in the Sacrament.

The Article of the Sacrament agreeth not with itself.

The Body of Christ cannot be in the Sacrament of his Body.

The accidents of the Body cannot be in the Sacrament of Christ's natural Body. Sacraments if they had no similitude with the things which they represent, they were no Sacraments. Aug. ad Bonif. Epist. 23.

The Preference is noted by these words of the Articles, where it is said, that in the blessed Sacrament, by the words pronounced, is present the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour under the forms of Bread and Wine: so that in these words, both the Sacrament and the natural Body is imported necessarily to be present. For else, how can the natural Body of Christ be present in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine, if the Sacrament there were not present itself? or how can a thing be said to be in that which is not there? wherefore by these words both the Sacrament, and also the Body must necessarily have their being and presence, the one being in the other. And this preference both of the Sacrament and of the Body may right well stand together; the Sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the Body of Christ to the inward eyes of faith and mouth of the Soul.

And therefore touching these propositions in this Article (*In*) and (*Under*), if question be asked in what is the Body of Christ, it may be well answered, in the Sacrament to the eyes of our Faith, like as the outward Sacrament is also present to the outward eyes of the Body. Again, if the question be asked under what is the Body of Christ? It may be well answered, under the forms of Bread and Wine, so as the Doctors did take the forms to mean the outward Elements and Natures of the Sacrament, and not the Accidents.

And thus, to the first part of the Article, being well expounded, we do assent and confess the same to have been the true Catholick Opinion approved by the ancient Doctors and consent of all times, even from the first institution of this Sacrament.

But as concerning the second member or part of the Article, which taketh away all preference and substance of Bread from the Sacrament; to that we say, that first it standeth not with their own Article. Secondly, that it standeth not with the Doctrine of Scripture. Thirdly, that it standeth not with Antiquity, but is merely a late invention.

And first, that it agreeth not with their own Article, it is manifest. For whereas in the former part of their Article they say, that the natural Body of Christ is present in the blessed Sacrament, under the forms of Bread and Wine, how can the natural Body of Christ be present in the Sacrament, if there remain no Sacrament? Or how can any of the Body remain, if there remain no substance of Bread which should make the Sacrament? For how can the Body of Christ be in that thing, which is not? or how can the Sacrament of the Body have any being, where the substance of Bread hath no being? For first, that the Body itself cannot be the Sacrament of the Body, evident of it self.

Secondly, that the accidents of Bread without the substance of Bread cannot be any Sacrament of Christ's Body, certain it is, and demonstrable by this Argument.

Argumentum à definitione.
Ca. A Sacrament is, that beareth a similitude of that thing whereof it is a Sacrament.

meff. Accidents bear no similitude of that thing which is there signified.

res. Ergo, Accidents can in no wise be a Sacrament.

Whereupon upon this Argument being thus concluded, upon the same this also must needs follow.

Argument.

Da. In the Sacrament of the Lords Body, the thing that representeth must needs bear a similitude of the thing represented.

ri. The substance of Bread in the Sacrament, is only that which beareth the similitude of Christ's Body.

i. Ergo, The substance of Bread must needs be in the Sacrament.

And therefore, by this demonstration it is apparent, that these two parts in the Article aforesaid are evil

couched together, whereof the one must needs defile the other. For if the first part of the Article be true, that the natural Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament; under the forms of Bread and Wine, and seeing the Sacrament wherein the Body of Christ is present; must needs be the substance of Bread, and not the accidents only of Bread, as is above proved, then the substance of Bread cannot be evacuated from the Sacrament; and so the second member of the Article must needs be false.

Or if the second part be true, that there is no substance of Bread remaining, and seeing there is nothing else to make the Sacrament of the natural Body of Christ, but only the substance of Bread, so far as the accidents of Bread can make no Sacrament of Christ's Body, as is above shewed; then taking away the substance of Bread, the first part of the Article must needs be false, which faith, that the natural Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, so far as the substance of Bread being evacuated, there remaineth no Sacrament, wherein the Body of Christ should be present. Secondly, that it disagreeeth from the whole order and course of the Scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before in the Treatise of *John Lambert* upon the Sacrament, as also in sundry other places in this Volume besides. Thirdly, that the said Article of Transubstantiation is no ancient or authentic Doctrine in the Church publicly received; but rather is a novelty lately invented, reaching not much above the age of three or four hundred years, or at most about the time of *Lanfrancus*, Anno 1070, it remains now to be proved.

Wherein first may be joyned this issue, that this monstrous Paradox of Transubstantiation was never induced or received publicly in the Church, before the time of the *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Innocentius* the third, An. 1216. or at most before the time of *Lanfrancus*, the Italian, Archbishop of *Canterbury* 1070.

In which time of *Lanfrancus*, I deny not but that this question of Transubstantiation began to come in controversy, and was reasoned upon, amongst certain Learned of the Clergy. But that this Article of Transubstantiation was publicly determined or prescribed in the Church for a general Law or Catholick Doctrine of all men, necessarily to be believed, before the time of the foresaid *Innocentius* the third, it may be doubted, and also by Histories of time proved to be false.

And though our Adversaries seem to alledge out of the old Doctors certain speeches and phrases, which they wrest and wring to their purposes; wherein they say, *Phrases of That the Bread is called, is believed, and is the Body of Christ, that of Bread is made the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament that the Bread is changed, altered or converted to the Body of Christ, or is made to be his Body, that the Creatures be converted into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, that the Bread and Wine do pass into the divine substance*, with such other like Sentences; and bear themselves brag upon the same, as though this Doctrine of Transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole Universal Church, of all Ages and Times, of Nations and People, and that the Judgment of the Church was never other than this: yet if the old Doctors Sayings be well weighed, and the discourse of falsity pretended Antiquity for their Transubstantiation, that this prodigious Opinion of Transubstantiation hath no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine; nor yet that any Heretic or Treason was made of denying of Transubstantiation before the time of *Innocentius* II, or at the furthest of *Lanfrancus*, as is aforesaid, about the which time Satan the old Dragon was prophesied by the *Apocalyp* to be let loose, to seduce the World.

For probation whereof, first I will begin with the time of *Tertullian* and of *Augustine*, which both do teach the Sacrament to be a figure, a sign, a memorial, and representation of the Lords Body, and knew no such Transubstantiation, and yet were no Traytors nor Heretics.

Neither was *St. Ambrose* any Heretic or Traytor, where he writeth these words, *Ut sint quæ erant, & in aliud convertantur, &c.* Which words *Lanfrancus* could not answer unto any other wise, but by denying them to be the words of *Ambrose*. *Gelasius* was Bishop of *Rome*, and lived about five hundred years after Christ, and speaketh of a transmutation of the Bread and Wine into

The reference to these verses: the Sacrament and the Body of Christ consist in this, that as the bread and Wine give nourishment to our outward life, so the Body and Blood of Christ do nourish unto spiritual life. The express presence in the Sacrament and the Transubstantiation cannot stand together. The Article of Transubstantiation disagreeeth from the Scriptures. The Doctrine of Transubstantiation is but a late Opinion, and standeth with no Antiquity.

Lanfrancus was an Italian and Bishop of *Canterbury* about the year of our Lord 1070.

Innocentius the 3. was B. of *Rome*, An. 1215.

The Papists pretend Antiquity for their Transubstantiation.

Doctors against Transubstantiation: *Tertullian*, *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, Anno 408.

Gelasius Bishop of *Constantinople*, Anno 490.

the Divine nature; but there expounding himself, he declared what he meant by that mutation, so that he expressly sheweth the elements of Bread and Wine, notwithstanding, to remain still in their proper nature, with other words more, very plain to the same effect. Unto the which words *Contareus* in the assembly of *Katibone* could not well answer, but stood silent.

Theodoretus
second. Di-
st. contra
Eutychem.

Theodoretus likewise, speaking of the visible Symbols, hath these words: *ἡμῶν τὰς τῶν τῶν ἀσώτων ἰστίαν. ἡ τὴν ἡμῶν τὴν τὴν αἰσθητήν* (1.) After the sanctification they remain in their former Substance, figure, and form.

Irenaeus.

Irenaeus where he saith, *That the Bread broken, and the Cup mixt, after the vocation of God, cease to be common Bread any more, but are the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ*; And Explicating his words more plainly, addeth moreover, *That the Eucharist consisteth in two things, one being earthly which is Bread and Wine; the other heavenly, which is the Body and Blood of Christ*, &c. declareth in these words both his own Opinion plainly, and also teacheth us what was then the Doctrine of his time.

Hesychius
lib. 20 in
Levit. ca.

Hesychius also, who was five hundred years after Christ, where he speaketh of the said mystery, *Quod simul panis, & caro est* (1.) Which he saith to be both Flesh and Bread; declareth thereby two Substances to be in the Sacrament. By the which we have to understand, that Transubstantiation in his age was not crept into the Church; and yet neither *Hesychius* nor *Treafon* therefore was ever laid to his charge for so saying.

Anno 100.
Emilius
de confecta.
dist. 2. Quis
corpus.

Emilius, comparing a man converted unto Christ by regeneration, unto the holy mysteries converted into the Body and Blood of our Lord, expresseth plainly, *Quod in exteriori nihil additum est, & totum in interiori mutatum est*: That is; That outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward, &c. Wherin (no doubt) he spake against this Article, and yet no man in all that age did accuse him therefore to be either *Heretic* or *Traitor*.

Here might be added the words of *Fulgentius*, *Hic calix est novum Testamentum; (id est) hic calix quem vobis trado, novum Testamentum significat*. (1.) This Cup is the New Testament; That is, this Cup which I deliver unto you signifieth the New Testament.

Bede also, who lived about the year, 730. writing upon the one and twentieth Psalm, hath these words; *Edent pauperes, &c. pauperes, id est, mundi contemptores edent quidem realiter, si ad Sacramenta referantur, & transubstantiantur eternaliter, qui intelligent in pane & vino visibiliter sibi propositum, invisibile scilicet corpus verum, & sanguinem verum Domini, quae verus cibus & verus potus sunt, quo non venter distenditur, sed mens saginatur*, &c. That is, Poor men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the Sacraments, and shall be filled eternally, because they shall understand in Bread and in Wine, being visibly set before them, a thing invisible, to wit, the true Body and true Blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nourished.

And thus in these words of *Bede* likewise is to be understood, That no Transubstantiation as yet in his time was received in the Church of *England*.

Long it were to stand upon all particulars; Briefly, to conclude; the farther the Church hath been from these our later days, the purer it was in all respects, and especially touching this barbarous Article of Transubstantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of *Bertramus* and of *Haymo*, who were about the year of our Lord, 810. under *Carolus Magnus*.

Haymo.
Anno 810.

By whome writing it is evident, that the Church was infected as yet no such fantasy of Transubstantiation, neither did any almost dream of taking away the Substance of Bread from the Sacrament. For although *Haymo*, *Remigius*, *Rabanus*, and other which lived in that age, do attribute to the Sacrament, that honourable name, and reverence (as we also do) of the Lords Body and Blood; they exclude not form thence all Substance of Meal and Bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholics do, as by the words of *Haymo* do

appear. Where he, following the words of *Bede*, sheweth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lords Body; *Quia* (saith he) *panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur: Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur*. That is, because Bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the Body of Christ, and because Wine worketh Blood in the flesh of man, therefore it is referred to the Blood of Christ. What can be more effectually spoken to prove the Substance of Bread there to remain? For take away the Substance of Bread and Wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm mans heart, or ingender Blood in the flesh? And therefore seeing there must needs something remain, that must be referred to Christs Body and Blood in that Sacrament, it either must be the Substance of Bread and Wine, or else it can be no Sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible things which are sanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he saith; that by the Holy Ghost they passed to a Sacrament of the Lords Body.

And likewise the same *Haymo* in another place, speaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of Corn and Wine, declareth, *how our Saviour maketh of them an apt mystery, converteth them to a Sacrament of his Body and Blood*, &c. *Lib. 7. in Ecclesiast. Chap. 8.*

Haymo lib.
7. in eccl.
c. p. 8.

Bertramus likewise, as he lived in the same age, so in like sort he shewed his opinion therein, to the like effect as *Haymo* did. For as *Haymo* writing in these words declareth, *quia aliud est Sacramentum, aliud virtus* (sacramenti: Sacramentum enim videri percipitur, virtute sacramenti interior homo [satiatur]. That is, the Sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the Sacrament is another thing; For the Sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the virtue of the Sacrament the inward man is satisfied.

Anno 810.
Bertram. lib.
de corpore
misti.

So after like manner, *Bertramus*, according to the same, thus writeth, *Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, & aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat*, &c. That is, the Bread, which by the ministry of the Priest is made the Body of Christ, doth import one thing outwardly to the senses of man, and another thing it speaketh to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly it is Bread, the same it was before, the same form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the same taste remaineth. But inwardly there is another matter far more precious, and more excellent, because it is heavenly, which is the Body of Christ, that is seen, not with the outward eyes of the flesh, but with the sight of a faithful mind, &c.

We will not now proceed to the Testimony of *Rabanus Maurus*, Bishop of *Mentz*, and Scholar sometime of *Alcuinus* in *Paris*, an English man: who living also in the same age with *Haymo* and *Bertramus* (which was almost eight hundred years after Christ) giveth the like Testimony of this Doctrine in his Book of Institutions: where he asking why the Lord would give the mysteries of his Body and Blood then under such things as might be kept and reserved whole with great honour? thus he answereth again; *The Lord* (saith he) *would rather that the Sacraments of his Body and Blood should be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, than by the visible action the invisible effect might be shewed: For like as material meat outwardly nourisheth and quickeneth the Body, so also the Word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the Soul. For man liveth not only by Bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.*

Rabanus
Maurus B.
de Moribus
Anno 800.
Rabanus de
sacramentis
c. 1. cap. 21.

And after followeth; *For this Bread and drink signifyeth the eternal Society of the Head and of the Members together.*

And again; *For the Sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the Sacrament is another thing. The Sacrament is received with the mouth, with the virtue of the Sacrament the inward man is nourished. For the Sacrament is turned to the nourishment of the Body, but by the virtue of the Sacrament the dignity of eternal life is gotten.*

Wherefore

Anno 1219. *Wherefore like as the same is turned into us when we eat of it, so also are we turned into the Body of Christ, when we live obediently and godly, &c.*

Who (saith not by these words of this Bishop, what form of Doctrine was then in the Church received concerning this Article of the Sacrament, much divers from this our gross opinion of Transubstantiation?

With the same Rabanus also accordeth another of the like standing and Doctrine also called *Christianus Druthmarus*; who writing upon *Matthew*; *The Wine* (saith he) *doth cheer and cheereth the Blood; and therefore not inconveniently the Blood of Christ is figured thereon; for whatsoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladness, and increaseth all goodness unto us.*

And a little before the said *Druthmarus* saith, *The Lord gave to his Disciples the Sacrament of his Body to the remission of sins, and keeping of charity; that they always remembering his doing, might do that in figure which he should do for them. This is my Body* (saith he) *that is, in Sacrament.* This *Druthmarus* lived also in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, as witnesseth *Abbas Spaynehemensis*.

After *Bertramus* was *Joannes Scotus*, or else, as some call him *Joannes Frigena*, a man well accepted with *Carolus Calvus*, and afterward with *Lodovicus Balduus*,

about the year of our Lord, 880. He wrote a Book, *De corpore & sanguine Domini*, so affirming therein, and teaching as he knew that *Bertramus* had taught a little before in France. This Book the Pope caused to be condemned in *Vercellensis Sydono*, Of the life and conversation of this *J. Scotus*, and also of his death, read before.

In the year of our Lord, 950. lived *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* in whose time it appeareth, in the Catholics own confession, that many Priests then affirmed, that the Bread and Wine, after consecration, did remain in their former Substance, and that the said mysteries were only a figure of the Body and Blood of Christ,

as we find it witnessed by *Osborne* himself, who did write the lives of *Odo*, *Dunstan* and *Elphege*, at the bidding of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as reporteth *Edmerus*, *Anselmus* Chaplain. The words of *Osborne* be these: *Hoc fere tempore, quidam Clerici, maligno errore seducti, asserere conabantur, panem & vinum quae in Altari ponuntur, post consecrationem in priori substantia manere & figuram tantummodo esse corporis & sanguinis Christi, &c.* That is, About this time (saith *Osborne*, writing in the days of *Lanfrank*) certain of the Clergy, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that Bread and Wine, which are set upon the Altar, after the Consecration do remain in their former Substance, and are but only a figure of the Body and Blood of Christ, &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of most of the Clergy was so, that the Sacrament was the Body and Blood of Christ, and that the Substance of Bread and Wine, notwithstanding, were not Transubstantiated, as the Romish Catholics do now teach. But this is the guise of these men, that in their Writings and Stories, still they diminish the better number, whereby their Faction may seem ever to be the bigger, and therefore to extenuate the common Opinion then received in the Church, he inferreth mention of certain of the Clergy, &c.

And as he saileth in the number of these Clergy men, which then held against Transubstantiation, so he upholdeth the same with as lying a miracle. Which miracle he feigned to be wrought the same time, for the conversion of the said Clergy men by the Blood dropping out of the Host at Mass, as *Odo* was breaking the Host over the Chalice. At the sight whereof, first *Odo* himself (saith he) wept for joy, seeing his petition accomplished which he so earnestly prayed for.

Secondarily, all those Clergy men (saith he) which before believed not this Transubstantiation, by and by were converted, and blessed the Archbishop that ever he was born, desiring him to pray again, that the Blood might return to his former shape, and straight it was done. And this was the miracle; which seemeth as true as that which *William Malmebury* writeth of the said *Odo*, how by his prayers he caused a Sword to come flying from Heaven into *Eschepanis* Scabberd, when he had lost his own, as he would fight against *Analanus*;

or else, as that miracle where the said *Odo* is said to cover and defend the Church of *Canterbury*, that no drop of rain could touch it so long as the roof thereof was in making. *Ex Wil. Malm. vide supra.*

In the which so miraculous a miracle many things are to be marvelled. First, I marvel, that at this great miracle of the Archbishop in the Cathedral Church, amongst so many singing men, we read of no *Te Deum* there to be sung after the doing thereof.

Secondly, I marvel that those Priests and Clerks which then denied Transubstantiation, were suffered to be so near the Archbishop at his Mass, and that they were not committed rather to ward like Hereticks and Traitors, if this Article of Transubstantiation had been then such a Catholick Doctrine, and so publicly received in the Church, as they say it was.

Thirdly, I marvel, seeing the time of miracles is expired, we having the Scriptures to guide us, why the Archbishop would seek to Miracles and Apparitions to convert men, rather than to the Law and Prophets, according as we are commanded, especially having no such examples of all the old Doctors, which in confutation of so many erroneous Opinions, yet never sought to such miracles or blind means.

Fourthly, I marvel much at the discrepance in telling this Tale, between *Osborne* and the other, which since have written Legends of *Odo*. For whereas *Osborne*, speaking of certain Priests, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and speaking absolutely, *quidam Clerici*; all other which have since written the Legends of *Odo*, do tell this Tale against certain Priests of *Canterbury*; adding to the words of *Osborne*, *quidam Clerici Cantuarienses*. But to convict the falsehood of them all, as well of *Osborne* as of the rest, there is a Legend of the life of *Odo*, and of *Osuald* together, more ancient than this of *Osborne*, written (as it may seem) in the time of *Elfricus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Elphege* then Bishop of *Winchester*, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another sort than this of *Osborne*, and to another purpose than to disprove certain Priests, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: Which is only brought to shew the holiness of *Odo*, as commonly the manner of Legends is to do. So that in this old Legend it is thus reported, that when this Miracle was done, *Odo* disclosed the matter unto many Priests of England that were in that error, as *Osborne* would, *sed vocat proximum fidelem Servum, qui cominus erat, & miraculum secretum demonstrat, &c.* That is, he called unto him a certain faithful Servant which was near about him, and shewed unto him the miracle secretly; whereupon the Priest (saith the Legend) much rejoiced at the holiness of *Odo*, and desired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the Body might return again to the former shape, &c. Out of this old lying Legend of *Osborne*, and other likewise that followed him, seemeth to have taken this Tale, so that out of the error of one (as the manner is) springeth the error of a number more.

But this much more I marvel, why this miracle is not storied in *Henry Huntington*, which professedly writeth of such miracles; nor in *Roger Hoveden*, and such other; but only in such blind Legends, which commonly have no Substance of Verity, nor certainty of time, or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the most part are stuffed with lying fictions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of *Osborne* were true; that for the converting of Priests of England, which would not believe Transubstantiation, this Blood did drop out of the Host (of which Blood peradventure came the Blood of *Hales*) and by the sight thereof the Priests effusion were all converted (as *Osborne* pretendeth) how then came it to pass, that after the time of *Odo*, in the days of *Elfricus*, which was after him Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third from *Dunstan*, and fourth from *Odo*, not only the Priests of England, but also the Archbishop himself, were not yet brought to the belief of this Transubstantiation, but taught the very same Doctrine of the Sacrament then, which we do now: as most clearly appeareth both by the Epistles and Homilies of the fore said Archbishop *Elfricus*, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Christ willing) we will annex.

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This

Reasons and proofs alleged against this miracle

Secondly, I marvel that those Priests and Clerks which then denied Transubstantiation, were suffered to be so near the Archbishop at his Mass, and that they were not committed rather to ward like Hereticks and Traitors, if this Article of Transubstantiation had been then such a Catholick Doctrine, and so publicly received in the Church, as they say it was.

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This

This

This *Elfricus*, as saith *Capgrave*, in the life of *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, was first Abbot of *St. Albans*, and after made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the year of our Lord 996. in the time of King *Ethelred*, and of *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Seyburne*. *Elfricus* also (as witnesseth *William* of *Malmesbury*, in vita *Adelmi*) was Abbot of *Malmesbury*. Furthermore the said *William* of *Malmesbury*, writing of *Elfricus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saith, that he was before Bishop of *Wells*, and after Bishop of *Canterbury*. So that *Elfricus* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it is out of all ambiguity. But now whether *Elfricus* which was Abbot (of whom we do here entreat) were the same Archbishop or not, by this diversity of *Capgrave* and *Malmesbury*, it may be doubtful. But whether he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly material, forasmuch as the said *Elfricus* and *Elfricus*, although they were divers persons, yet were they both in one Age, and lived in one time together.

Furthermore, the same *Elfricus* of whom now we speak, of what Calling soever he was, yet notwithstanding he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for his learning, authority and eloquence, his Writings were accepted and authorized among the Canons and Constitutions of the Church in that time, as hereby may appear. For whereas the Bishops and Priests before the coming of *William* the Conqueror had collected a certain Book of Canons and Ordinances to govern the Clergy, gathered out of general and particular Councils, out of the Book of *Gildas*, out of the penitential Books of *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, out of the Writings of *Egbertus* Archbishop of *Tork*, out of the Epistles of *Alcuinus*, as also out of the Writings of the old Fathers of the Primitive Church, &c. among the same Canons and Constitutions be placed these two Epistles of the said *Elfricus* hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Seyburne*, the other to *Wulfstan* Archbishop of *Tork*, as yet are to be seen in two Books belonging to the Library of the Church of *Worcester*, the one written in the old Saxons Tongue, entitled *Bewerres Cmothe*, the other for the most part in Latin, with this Title, *Admonitio spiritualis Diocesis*. Which Book of *Saxon* Canons and Constitutions sometime belonging to *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, was given by him, as for a great Jewel to the Church of *Worcester*, as by the same Book appeareth.

Moreover, besides this Book of *Worcester* above-touched, there is yet extant also another like Book of Canons belonging to the Church of *Exeter*, wherein the same two Epistles of *Elfricus* be contained in the old *Saxon* Tongue, and also in the Latin, and prescribed yearly to be read to the Clerks and Priests of the Church; which Book in like manner was given to the Church of *Exeter* by *Leofricus* the first and most famous Bishop of that See.

Of this *Elfricus* further is to be understood, that he translated two Books of fourscore Sermons out of Latin into the *Saxon* Speech, used then orderly to be read in Churches on *Sundays* and other Festival-days of the year, as by his own words may appear, in the end of one of the said Books of Sermons, whose words be these:

Fela Fegere godsele we forlætað on thisum dithre, tha mæg awendan se wile; Ne durre we thaes boc na micle iwithor ge længan, thyles the heo ungemetod fy, and mannun æthreæt thurh hire micelnele asfinge;

We les pas! (saith he) many good Gospels which be that list may translate. For we dare not enlarge this Book much further, lest it be over great, and so be a cause of lathsome to men, through the bigness thereof, &c.

Also in another place he confesseth the same of himself; whose words in the Preface before his Grammar be these:

lc ælfric wolde thalifstan þoc awendan to Engliscum gecwode of tham steof crafte the is gehaten Grammatica synthan ic twa bec awende on hund cahtaitigum spellum.

80. Sermons translated by *Elfricus* into the English or *Saxon* Tongue.

I *Elfric* was desirous to turn into our English Tongue, from the Art of Letters called Grammar, this little Book, after that I had translated the two Books of 80 Sermons, &c.

Of his Epistles especially we read of four, which he wrote, one to the Monks of *Egnesham*, *De consuetudine* 1219. *Manacherum*. Another to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of *Tork*, wherein is touched the matter of the Sacrament. The third he wrote against Priests Marriage to one *Sygebert*, with whom there was a certain *Anker* abiding which defended the Marriage of Priests, affirming it to be lawful. The fourth he wrote to *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Seyburne*, touching the matter of the Sacrament. In the which Epistle, he taking occasion by a certain abuse in his time, which was, that Priests on *Easter-day* filled their Housel-Box; and so kept it for the space of a whole year, till *Easter* came again, for sick persons, writeth upon that occasion in these words, as follow in their own *Saxon* Tongue.

The Words of *Elfricus* written to *Wulfstane* Bishop of *Seyburne*, against Transubstantiation.

MAn secal healden thaet halige hysel mid mycelre gymene 7 se poppealdan hir. ac haligan othepe edniwe to gecocum mannun. a embe vii. niht. oththe embe xiv. niht 7 hit huru fýng neýý. fopthron the eal rwa halig bið 7 hysel the nu to dæg was gehalgod. swa 7 þe on *Easter*-dæg was gehalgod; Ðæt hysel is Cþitrep lichama na lichamlice ac gastlice; Na se lichama the he on throwode. ac þe lichama the he embe pþretia he blet sðd hlaf 7 win to hysel an re niht ær his þrowunge. 7 cwæth be tham geblet sðd hlaf. þis is min lichama. 7 eþt be tham halgan wine. 7is is min blod þe bið pop manegum agoten on fýnna forgewenice; Understandað nu 7 þe frighthen the mighte awenden thone hlaf ær his þrowunge to his lichaman. 7 þe win to his blode gastlice. thaet se fýca dægþwamlice bleas thurh sacerda handa hlaf 7 win to his gastlican lichaman. 7 to his gastlican blote.

The same in English.

MEn shall reserve more carefully that holy Housel, and not reserve it too long, but hallow other of new for sick men always within a week or a fortnight, that it be not so much as hoary: for so holy is the Housel which to day is hallowed, as that which on *Easter-day* was hallowed. That Housel is Christs body not bodily, but ghostly. Not the Body which he suffered in, but of the Body of which he spake, when he blessed Bread and Wine to Housel the Night before his suffering, and said by the blessed Bread, *This is my Body*; and again by the holy Wine, *This is my Blood which is shed for many in the forgiveness of sin*. Understand now the Lord, who could turn that Bread before his suffering to his Body, and that Wine to his Blood ghostly, that the self same Lord bleaseth daily, thorow the Priests hands, Bread and Wine to his ghostly Body, and to his ghostly Blood.

After this Epistle above-prefixed, written to *Wulfstan* Bishop of *Seyburne*, concerning the Sacramental Bread, how it is not Christs Body, *lichamlice*, that is bodily; or (as we term it now) really; and also how the same ought not to be over-long kept in the Pix: here followeth further another Epistle of the said *Elfricus* written to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of *Tork*, both reprehending the said abuse above-touched, and also containing matter more at large against the Bodily presence in the Sacramental Bread. The Copy of this Epistle, both in his own *Saxon* and our English, here followeth:

Another Epistle of *Elfricus* against the Bodily presence; to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of *Tork*.

Sume Pþeortas gefýllaþ heora hysel Box on Easttron. 7 healdþ oþep cweþ monað to untrumum mannun. swýlce ðæt hure fý aligþe thonne oþer. Ac hi sðd unwillce. fop tha he hit wannap. oth 7eris ealle forrotaþ on swa langum fýrte. 7 he bið 7onne fýrþþ swa swa us fægth seo boc; Se the hysel forlyht. oth 7e hit forlyht. oth the mis eton. oth the oþþe nýcennu. fceawa tha pþentientialem hwæt he fægþe thifum; Eal swa halig is thaet hysel the bið gehalgod to dæg swa thaet the bið gehalgod on tha 7aigan Eastþeortas; Deaðlath fopthig ic biðde thone halgan Cþitrep lichaman mid mapan wilðom to gecocum mannun fram Sunnan dæge to Sunna dæge

Elfric Arch. of *Canterbury*. Anno 996. *Capgrave* in vita *Oswaldi*. Ep. Wigorn.

W. Malmesbury in vita *Adelmi*.

The Writings of *Elfricus* are authentic.

A Book of Canons in the *Saxon* Tongue. Ex Archivis Ecclesie Wigorn.

Ex Archivis Ecclesie Exon.

The Book of Sermons translated out of Latin into the *Saxon* Speech.

Anno

1219.

Epistles written of *Elfricus* in the *Saxon* or English Tongue.

An Epistle of *Elfricus* to *Wulfstane*.

The Sacrament is the Body, not bodily, but ghostly.

dæge on swið clemum box. oð the be tham mæstan
scowerȝne night. 7 ðiic gath hit thonne. 7 lec gath
ðær oðre; We habbath bȝ sene be tham on Woyfȝ
bocum. Swa swa Gob sylf bebad on Woyfȝ æ. that se
sacerd sceolde on ælcum fæternes dæge wetra. twelf
blafȝ on tham tabernaculo ealle niwe bacene. tha. wæron
gehatene Panes propositionis. 7 hig sceold on thar standā
on tha Gobeȝ getælde oð owetne fæternes dæg 7 etan hi
thonne tha sacerdas sylfe 7 settan dær oðre; Sume Preo-
stas nellath ðicgan that husef the hi hal giath; Nu pille
we cow seggan. hu seo boc segh betham; Presbyter
missam celebrans, & non audens sumere sacrificium accu-
sante conscientia sua anathema est; Se Wæsse preost the
maril. th. 7 ne deat that husef thigan. wat bine scyldigne.
se 7 amansumod; Læsse ploo 7 to digenne that husef
thonne to haligenne. Se the tuwa halgath ana ofseta to
hulle. Se bið tham gedwolan helice. the an cild fullath
tuwa; Cnipt sylf geþalgeb husef ær his throwunhe.
he bleofde thone hlaf. 7 to bræc thur cwelend to his hal-
gum Apost. etan thiñne hlaf hit 7 min lichama. 7 he eft
bleofde æne calic mid wine. 7 cwæth heom thur to drinc-
an ealle of thim. hit is min ægen bloð thær niwan ge-
cyðnyffe; Se drihten halgode husef ær his throwunge.
7 cwæth þæt schlaf were his ægen lichama. and that win
were wiðlice his bloð se halgath dæghwamlice thurgh
his sacerda handa hlaf to his lichaman. 7 win to his blōð
on gastlicere geryene. swa fwa we readath on bocum; Ne
bið se blōð hlaf lichamlice swa theas se ylca lichama.
the Cnipt on throwode; Ne ther halige wyn nis theas
hælendes bloð for us agoten pes on lichamlice thing.
ac on gastlicum and gyde; Fegþer bið fathlice se hlaf
his lichama. and that win eac his bloð swa fwa se heo-
fonlica hlaf was. the he hatath manna. the kewerig
geara afedde Gobeȝ folce. and thær hlure water was
wiðlice his bloð the arnof thil stand on tham wæstene
tha; Swa swa Paulus awræt on fimon his Pistole;
Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manduca-
verunt, & omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, &c.
Calle ure fæderas æton on tha wæstene thone ylcan gar-
tican mete, and thone gastlican drem druncan; Hi drun-
con of tham gartican flane. and se flane was Cnipt; Se
Apostol fæde fwa fwa ge nu gebrydon that hi calle æton
thone ylcan gastlican mete. and hi ealle druncan thone
gartican drem; Ne cwæth De na lichamlice. ac giustice;
Næs Cnipt tha gyt geboren. ne his bloð næs agoten. Ða
thæt Ispahela folc geet thone mete. and of tha flane
dranc. and se stan næs lichamlice chist theah he fwa ewe-
re; Ðic wæron tha ylca gerynu on thære ealdam æ. and
hi gastlic gecwodon thet gastlic husef ures hælend 7 li-
chaman. the we hal giath nu. *The same in English.*

Some Priests fill their Box for Houel on Easter-day,
and so reserve it a whole year for sick men, as though
that Houel were more holy than another. But they do
unadvisedly, because it waxeth hoary or altogether rot-
ten, by keeping it so long space; and thus are they be-
come guilty, as the Book witnesseth to us. If any do keep
the Houel so long, or lose it, or Mice or other Beasts do
eat it, see what the Penitential Book saith by this; So
holy is altogether that Houel which is hallowed to day,
as that which is hallowed on Easter-day. Wherefore I
beseech you to keep the holy Body of Christ with more
advice, for sick men, from Sunday to Sunday, in a
very clean Box, or at the most not to keep it above a
fortnight, and then eat it, laying other in the place. We
have an example hereof in Moses Books, as God himself
hath commanded in Moses Law, how the Priests should
set every Saturday, twelve Loaves, all new baked, upon
the Table, the which were called Panes propositionis;
and those should stand there in Gods Tabernacle till the
next Saturday, and then did the Priests themselves eat
them, and set other in the place. Some Priests will not
eat the Houel which they do hallow. But we will now
declare unto you how the Book speaketh by them: Pres-
byter missam celebrans, et non audens sumere sacrificium,
accusante conscientia, anathema est. The Priest that doth
say Mass, and dare not eat the Houel, his Conscience ac-
cuseth him, is accursed. It is less danger to receive the
Houel, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one
Holt to Houel, is like unto those Heretics who do Chri-
sten twice one Child. Christ himself blessed Houel before

his suffering; he blessed the Bread and brake it, thus
speaking to his Apostles, *Eat this Bread, this is my Body.*
And again, he blessed one Chalice with Wine, and thus
also spake unto them, *Drink ye all of this, this is mine own
Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for
the forgiveness of sins.* The Lord which hallowed Houel
before his suffering, and saith, that the Bread was his own
Body, and that the Wine was truly his Blood, halloweth
daily by the hands of the Priest, Bread to his Body and
Wine to his Blood, in ghostly mystery, as we read in
Books. And yet notwithstanding that lively Bread is not
bodily so, not the self same Body that Christ suffered in.
nor it at holy Wine is the Saviours Blood which was shed
for us in bodily thing, but in ghostly understanding. Both
be truly, that Bread is his Body, and that Wine also is his
Blood, as was the heavenly Bread which we call *Manna*,
that fed forty years Gods People. And the clear Water
which did then run from the Stone in the *Wilderness*,
was truly his Blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his Epistles,
Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manduca-
verunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, &c.
All our Fathers did eat in the *Wilderness* the same ghostly
meat, and drink the same ghostly drink; they drank of
that ghostly Stone, and the Stone was Christ. The Apostle
hath said, as you have heard, that they all did eat the same
ghostly meat, and they all did drink the same ghostly drink.
And he saith not bodily, but ghostly. And Christ was not yet
born, nor his Blood shed when that the People of *Israel* did
eat that Meat, & drank of that Stone. And the Stone was not
bodily Christ, though he so said. It was the same mystery, as

that is, in the old Law, and they did ghostly signifie that ghostly
Houel of our Saviours Body which we consecrate now.
Besides these Epistles above prefixed of *Elfricus* to
Wulfstan and *Wulfstane*, which fight directly against
Transubstantiation, mention was touched also before of
certain Sermons, to the number of 80, translated by the
said *Elfricus* out of Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our
English Tongue, as ye partly have heard before. Of
which 80 Sermons, 24, were chiefly selected to be read, as
instead of Homilies or Treatises unto the People: in such
order, as the first 12 Sermons or Treatises, intreating of
general matters, (as, *De initio Creaturae, de augurio, de dis-*
judicio, unus confessoris, de vaniloquio et negligentia, de
avaritia, de falsis diis, &c.) were appointed to be read at
pleasure, and at the discretion of the Minister. The other
12 Sermons prescribed of proper Feasts, (as, *De Annun-*
ciatione Mariæ, de Nativitate Domini, de Circumcisione, Domini, de Epiph-
ania, de Purificatione Mariæ, Domini, de Quadragesima, Domini, de Palm-
is, de Pascha, &c.) Whereof this testimony remaineth in the
same Book yet to be seen, both in the Saxon Tongue, and
also in the Preface of the later 12 Sermons in Latin, in these
words following, *In hoc codicello continentur serm. Anglice,*
quos accepimus de libris quos Abbas Anglice transulsi, &c.

Furthermore, as touching these 80 Sermons aforesaid,
which *Elfricus* translated into English, here is to be un-
derstood, that in the said Sermons used then orderly to be
recited to the People, there was one appointed to be read
in the *Sancto Pasche*, that is upon Easter-day: which Ser-
mon being translated by the said *Elfricus*, we have here
exhibited both in Saxon Speech and English, to the intent
that the Christian and indifferent Reader, perusing the
same, may judge thereby how the fantastical Doctrine
of Transubstantiation, in those days of *Elfricus*, and be-
fore his time, was not yet received nor known in the
Church of England; for so much as the said Sermon, being
in Latin before, doth leave unto us an evident Declara-
tion, what was the common opinion of the Sacrament in
the Church received, before that *Elfricus* did ever set
hand to translate the same out of the Latin.

And though the Latin Copies and Exemplars of these the Latin
aforesaid Sermons are not remaining in our Libraries, let
that be no marvel to thee, loving Reader, but understand
thereby the crafty packing of the Popes Clergy, who in
the time of *Lanfrancus* and Pope *Innocent*, studying by
all means how to prefer and further this their new-come
Doctrine of Transubstantiation, did abolish and rafe out
of Libraries and Churches all such Books which made to
the contrary. And therefore because *Lanfrancus*, and other
Italian Priests here in England, understood not the Saxon
Books as they did the Latin, all that which they under-
stood they made away. The Saxon Books, because they

* Bodily
presence
denied.

† That is,
the mystery of
the same
thing that
was in the
old Law;

80 Sermons
translated
out of Latin
into Saxon
by *Elfricus*,
a Book of
12 special
Sermons se-
lected out
of the 80
Sermons
translated
by *Elfricus*.

The Latin
Books writ-
ten against
Transub-
stantiation,
erased by
the Priests
abolished.

Three con-
fusions
proving
that the Sa-
pists have
made away
of purpose
the old La-
tin Books
against their
Transub-
stantiation.

The words
entirely ra-
ced out by
the Papists,
and restored
again by the
Saxon Book
of Exeter.

An Italian
trick of
Polydore
Virgil, to
burn his
Books
which he
had gotten
into his
hands.

knew them not, they let remain: and this is the cause why our Latin Copies are now to be found. Which to be true, by 3 Reasons conjectural it may be possibly supposed.

First, for that these Saxon Sermons being translated out of the Latin (as ye have heard by the words of *Elfricus* already proved) only we see the Saxon Books reserved; of the Latin none doth appear.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an Epistle of *Elfricus* in the Library of *Worcester*. Wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of Transubstantiation, we found in the middle of the said Latin Epistle utterly rased out, so that no Letter nor piece of a Letter doth there appear. The words cut out were these; *Non est tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus, in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit: sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur & sanguis, sicut Manna quod de celo pluit, & aqua que de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus, &c. i. e. Notwithstanding this Sacrifice is not the same Body of his wherein he suffered for us, nor the same Blood of his which he shed for us; but spiritually it is made his Body and Blood; as that Manna which rained from Heaven, and the Water which did flow out of the Rock. As Paul, &c.* These words so rased out are to be restored again by another Saxon Book found in *Exeter*. By the rasing of which one place it may easily be conjectured what these practicers have likewise done in the rest.

Thirdly, by one Italian trick of *Polydore Virgil* in our days, the properties and doings of all other Italian Papists of elder time may partly be conjectured: for so I am informed by such as precisely will affirm it to be true, that when *Polydore*, being licensed by the King to view and search all Libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such Books, as he had compiled out of Libraries; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true Factor for the Popes own tooth, he piled his Books together and set them all on a light fire. For what cause he so did I cannot certainly pronounce; but who so considereth well his Religion may shrewdly suspect him. For a probation whereof, this may serve for a sufficient trial; that whereas of all other Writers of Histories that have been in *England*, as of *Fabian*, *Lanquet*, *Rassal*, *Mere*, *Leland*, *Bale*, *Pall*, and such other, some of their Books which they then occupied yet remain in hands to be seen: only such Books as *Polydore* used, and which past his hands, what *Englishman* is he that hath seen or can they see one? Whereby it may well be thought the forcible information to be true. As also by this one Italian trick of *Polydore* may other Italians likewise be suspected, in making away such Latin Books within this Land as made not for their purpose. But forasmuch as those Latin Books be now abolished, and cannot be had, let us return to our Saxon Tongue again, and see what this Saxon Sermon of *Elfricus*'s Translation doth say for Transubstantiation: the Copy whereof here ensueth.

A Sermon translated out of Latin into the Saxon Tongue, by *Elfricus*, against Transubstantiation, Anno 996. In die Sanctæ Paschæ.

The Alphabet of the Saxon Tongue.

d. e. f. g. h. i. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. x. y. z.

Abbreviations.

Æ. Th. S. w. and th. th.
ſc. Ð. S. p. ʒ. ð. þ.

This Sermon was usual to be read in the Church, here in *England* in the Saxons time, Anno 366.

MEn ða leofostan. gelome cow iʒ gefað ymbe uʒer heilentes aʒiste. hu he on þisum andweardan ðæge æfter þiʒ throwunge mihtlice ge beape aʒas; Nuwille we cow geopenian ðurh Godes gife be þam halgan hulle begenu togan sceolan. ʒ Geseþian coper and gyt ymbe ðære gepýnu æghap ge æfter ðære ealcan gecyþrýsse. ge æfter ðære nýpan. ðý læp. ðe enig trowunge cop beþian mæge he þam lileum geþeorbe; ðe almihtiga Godes beoead þam heretogan on Eýgpta lande. þ̅ he sceold beoeadan Ippahela

Folce. þ̅ hi nanton æt æcum heortne and ʒeare lambe on þe pe nighte þe hipe. ʒ on þam lande to ðam behatan eate. ʒ sceolon þ̅ lambe Godes geofrian. ʒ syþþan fithau. ʒ þýcan pōte tacnon heora gedrym. ʒ opeplegum mid ðas Lambes blec. etan þ̅ þan ðas Lambes flesc gebræd. ʒ ðe ope lufas mid pelorice lacum; God cweth to Moysen. ne ege ge of þam Lambes nam thing bneaw. ne on wætere geflothen ac gefeð to fýpe. Eað þ̅ heopod. ʒ þa fæc. ʒ þ̅ innewearde. ne hi nan thing ne belipeoþ megen. gip ðær hwæt to lafely þorberneþ þ̅. þ̅ flic gath hit on þar wisan; Be gýrðath coweres lenbenu. and beoþ gefeoðe. habath eow flap on hanðe. ʒ eað heardlice. ðoor wið Gabbes færel; And weath tha on ðære niþe oflegen on ælcum hufe geont eal Pharaoc rice. þ̅ frumcennepe cild. ʒ was þ̅ Godes Folc Irahel abred fram tham thelicad deathe. ðurh þas Lambes offrunge. ʒ þ̅ blobes mearcunge; The cwæþ Godes to Moysen. healdath ðis nedeg on eowrum gemynte. ʒ preofiaþ hine marlice on eowrum cyrenum mid eum bigenge ʒ eað ðe ogyne hlaf fymble seofan dagasæt. ðisse freoly tice; fester þ̅isse daede lædde Godes Irahela Folc ope þa readen se. mid bryum pocum. ʒ adreante that on Pharaoc. ʒ ealne hiʒ hepe lamod the heora ehton. and afedeð fýþan þ̅ Ippahela folc feowrig geara mid heofonlicum bigleofan. ʒ him porgæf weter of heardum flam clude. oþ þ̅ hi comon to tham behatanum eþele; Some haþ pace we habbaþæt pahmod on oþre stowfome we wyllath nu geopenian. þ̅ þe belimph to tham halgan hulle; Cristene men nemoton healdan nu tha ealdan æ lichamlice. ac him gedafenath þ̅ hi cunnon hwæt heo gæstlice tæcne; þ̅ us cæþthe Lambes the se ealde Irahela tha ofgnath. hæfe getacnunge æfter garticuþ and gytte Crist ʒ throwunge se the uʒ cæþþig for ure alyedniße hiʒ halige blod geæt; Be ðam fingath Godes theowas æt alcere maslan. *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;* þ̅ if on urum gecore; the Godes Lam tha ætberel midðan eader fýna gemilfas; þ̅ Irahela Folc weath ahd fram tham færlcum beath. ʒ fram Phares beoweth þurh the Lambes offrunge; the fæfe getacnunge Crist ʒ throwunge þurh tha wefste alyf be fram tham eum death. ʒ the ʒ eþan deofes anwealde. gip we rightlice gefiath on thære fothan alyfens calles midðam eader heles Crist; þ̅ Lambes was gecofrode on æfninge and ure helesn throwode on þere litan yld theffere þorude; Seo ilʒ if geteald to æfninge theifas a teori gelican midðon eartes; Ði mearcodan mid thes lambes blode on heora gedrym. and overlegum Tau. þ̅ if rode tacen ʒ purdon fpa gefið defram tham engle. the acwældes thæra. Eýptiʒ crafumcennedan cild; And þe sceolon mearcian ure þorþearde heafod. ʒ upne lichaman mid Cipites robe tacne. þ̅ we beon ahredde fram forwyrd. thonne webeoþ gemeacrobe ægher ge on foran hæfse ge on heortan mid blec the ðrih tenican throwunge; þ̅ Irahela Folc æt ðas Lambes fæc on heora Eafter tyde tha tha hi ahredde wopdon. ʒ we thiggath nu gæstlice Crist ʒ lichaman. ʒ his blod drincath. ðonne þe mid soþum geleafan þ̅ halige hufel ðigath; ðone timan hi heoldon him to Eafter tide geofan bagas mid mioclum wurthmynte the hi ahredde wurdon. wiþ Pharaoc. ʒ of ðam earde perdon ðwa cac Cristene men healdath Cristes ærist uʒ to Eafter tide thesleofan bagas. fop than the we finst þurh hiʒ throwunge and ærist alyfede. ʒ we beoþ gecleasode þurh thes halgan hufel ganges ðwa Crist fýf swæth on his Gofpell; Both soþthe cow sece. næbe ge lip on cow. buton ge eten min fæc. and drincon min blod; Se the et min fæc. and min blod drinceth. he wunath on me. and ic on him. and he heafh that ece lip. and ic hine arepe on thana endenextan dæge; Ic com se liflica hlaf the of heofonum aʒah. na fwa fwa coweres forth fædesas æton thone heofonican hlaf on westene. ʒ þ̅ þan fwal ton; Se the et thine hlaf. he leofath on cnyffe; þ̅ halgod blæfer his throwunge. ʒ todeleð his discipulum thus cwethenbe; Eað thine hlaf hit ʒ min lichama. ʒ both this on mynum gemynde; Eft he bleofode win ou anum calice. ʒ swæth; Drincath ealle of thium. this ʒ min blod the he biþ for menegum a Goben on fýna forgyfnyffe; Ða Apostoli ðýdon fwa fwa Crist her; þ̅ hi halgodan hlaf ʒ win to hulle on þiʒ gemynde; Eac fýrlice heora æfter geman. ʒ ealle sacerdas be Cipites hæfe halgaþ hlaf ʒ

yin to hulle on his nama mid ðær Apostolican bletsunge; Nu fised on gehwile men oþr. 7 git gelome sincgah. hu se hlaf ðe bið of cōpne gegearod. 7 thurh fýres hatan abacen mage beon awend to Cniſtes lichaman. oþþe 7 win the bið of manegum berium aurungen. þeorhe awend 7urh ani gpe bletsunge to drihtnes bloð; Nu ſeƿe we gehwicum mannum 7 ſume thing ſind gecƿedene be Cniſt thurh getacunge ſume thurh gepiſum thiſ ge; Soth ðing iſ aþð gewis 7 Cniſt ƿas of mædene acen eb. and ſyðl wileþ thiorowe deað. and was be- byged. and on thiſum dæge of deað aroþ; De iſ gec- woden hlaf thurh getacunge and Lambe. 7 Leo. and gelædes; De iſ haþ gehaten. forþan the he iſ ure lif and ænig; De iſ Lambe gecƿeden for his unfeath thi- niſſe; Leo for thes ſtrencðe. the he ofer ſwithe thone ſtan kan drowel; Ac ſwa thea æfter forþum gecynde niſ Cniſt nathor ne hlaf. ne lambe. ne Leo; Dwi iſ thonne 7 naige huſel gecweden Cniſtes lichama. oþþe his bloð. gif hi niſ ſothlice 7 that hi gehaten iſ; Sothlice ſe hlaf. 7 7 win the beoth thurh ſcedra meſſan gehal- geoe oþer thinge he ætweaþ menſicum and gytum wiþ utan. and oþer thing hi cliþiath wiþ inagelaſful- lum modum; Wid utan hi beoth gecƿene hlaf 7 win ægþer 7eon hiþe ge on fœrce. ac hi beoth ſothlice æter thære halgunge Cniſtes lichama. and hiþ bloð thurh galflice geſyrus; Ðæ then cild biþ gefullad. ac hi ne ure na his hiw wiþ utan thea the hit beo wiþ innan awend; Iſe biþ ge broht ſynfull thurh Abameþ 7 7ge gednyſſe to tham fæt; Achit biþ atþogen fram eallum ſynnun wiþ innan deað the hit wiþ utan hiþ hiw ne awente; Eac ſwylce 7 halige fant wæteþ the iſ gehaten liſes wylſping. iſ gelic on hiwe oþrum weterum. iſ urberthod brofninge. ac thes hal- gan ƿæs iſe miht geacæth tham brofningelicum ƿæren. thurh ſcedra bletsunge. 7 hit mæg ſiþthan li- chaman 7 ſawle athrean fram eallum ſynnun. thurh galflice miht; Eſene nu we ſeoþ twa þing on thiſum anum geleafte; Eſter ſoþum gecynde. 7 ƿæteþ iſ brof- niendic v æte. 7 æfter galflice geſyrus hæth halwende mighte; Swa eac gif we ſceawiaþ 7 halige huſel æfter lichamlicum and gýce. thonne geſeo we 7 hiþ iſ ge- caſt brofniendlic and ætweaþ; Gif we tha galflican miht tlar on tocnawaw thonne under gite we 7 thes iſ liſ on 7 forgiſth undeallic ſylle. tham the hit mid geleafan thiſe; Owe iſ biſwux there ungewen- licam mihte thaſ ha gan huſles. and tham geſewen- licam hiwe agenes gecynde; Ðis iſ on gecynde brof- niendlic v æte. 7 brofniendlic win. and iſ æfter mihte Gode- naſtes Wordes. Sothlice Cniſtes lichama 7 hiþ bloð. naſtheah lichamlice ac galflice; Owe iſ biſwux tham lichaman the Cniſt on throwode. and tham lichaman þe to huſle biþ gehalgod; Se lichama ſothlice the Cniſt on throwode waþ geboren of Mariam ſæſe. mid bloð and mid baſum. mid ſelle and mid ſinum. on menis cum- limum. mid geleafdiſſe ſawle gelifeſt and hiþ galflica lichama. the we huſel hatath iſ of manegum cornum ge- gearod. but on bloð and bane. limleax. and ſawleas. and nis forthman thiſe thar on to underſtandenne; Sƿa hwæt ſwa on tham huſle iſ the uþ liþes edwiſt forgiſth. 7 iſ of there galflican mihte. and un gewedlicre fre- mince; Forþiſ 7 halige huſel geaten geſyrus. forþa the oþer ðing iſ tharon geſewen. an oþer thing under- giten; That 7 deap geſewen iſ hæth lichamlic hiw and that 7 we ther on underſtandath hæth galflice mihte; weodlice Cniſtes lichama the deað throwode. and oþ deap aras. ne ſwylt næfre heonan forþ. ac iſ ece and un- throwendlic; That huſel iſ hwilwendlic na ece; Brof- niendlic. and biþ ſice meolum todeled; Berwux toþum tocewen. and into tham buce eſend. ac hiþ biþ theah hwa thereſter galflice mihte on ælcum dæle ealle; Wane ga underþoþ thone halgan lichaman. and he biþ ſwa theah on ælcum dæle eal æfter galflice geſyrus; theah ſume men gefeocte læſſe dæl ne biþ ſƿa theah namare miht on tham maran dæle thonne on tham læſan. forþan the hit biþ on ælcum men anſwad æfter there ungewenlican mighte; Theos geſyrus iſ wedd. and hiw; Cniſtes lichama iſ ſothaſtlylle; Ðis weod we ealdath gewyſelice. oþ 7 we becuman to there ſothaſtlylle. and thonne biþ thiſ wedd geendod; Soth- lice biþ iſ ſwa ſwa we ær cædon Cniſtes lichama. and his bloð na lichamlice ac galflice; Uton nu gehýran

thats Apoſtoles worbe embe thes 7erinu; Paulus ſe A- poſtol cweþ be thamæaldan Folce Iſrahela. thus. wi- tende on hiþ Piſtole to Geleafullum mannum; Calle ure forþ fœderas wepon gefillode on wolcne and on ſæ. and ealle hi æren thone ylcan galflican mete. and ealle hi druncon thone ylcan galflican dienc; Ði druncon ſothlice of æſter fligendan ſtane. 7 ſe ſtan was Cniſt; Nær feſtan that 7 wader of ðeow lichamlice æpiſt ac he 7etacnode Cniſt. the cýpode thur to eallum geleaf- fullum mannum ſwa kwam ſwa theſe come to meand drince; 7 of hi innoþe ðeowth liſlic water; thiþ heſede be tham halgan gaſte the tha under fengon. the on hine gelyſdon; Se Apoſtol Paulus cƿæþ that 7 Iſrahela Folc æte thone ylcan galflican mete. and brunce thone ylcan galflican brenc. Feþthan the ſe ylica heofonlica mete th. hi afæde xl. gear. 7 7 wæter the of than ſtane ſceow. hæðe getacunge Cniſtes lichaman. 7 hiþ bloðes. the un beoth geoffrode æghwamlice on Godeþ cyrcan; Ði weornia ylcan the we ou oſſiath. na lichamlice. ac galflice; We ſedon eow hwæne ep that Criſt halgode hlaf and win ær hiþ throwunge to huſle. 7 cweþ. thiþ iſ min lichama 7 min bloð;

Ne throwade he ða gyt. ac ſwa theah he awende thurh ungewenlic miht thone hlaf do hiþ agennu lichama. and that win to his bloð; Sƿa ſwa he ær dyde. on tha weſtere ærtham the he to men geboren wurde. tha tha he awende throne heofonlica mete to hiþ pleaſe. 7 that ſlowende wetep of tham ſtane to hiþ agennu bloð; Fæla Manna æton of tham heofonlican mete on tham weſtene. 7 druncon thone galflican brenc. And wurdon ſwa theah dede. ſwa ſwa Cniſt ſæde; Ne mænde Cniſt thon deað the nan man forbugan ne mæg. ac he mænde thon ecan deað the ſume of tham folc for heora geleaflice gearncbon; Woþreþ and Aþon. and manega oþre of tham folc the God gelicodon æton thon heofonlican hlaf. ac hi mæron beade tham ecan deað. Theah ðe hi gemænum deað forþ ferdon; Ði gefiawon 7 ſe heofonlica mete waþ geſewenlic. and brof- niend lic. ac hi underſtodon galflice be tham geſewenlic- um thinge. 7 hi galflice thigdon; Se hælend cweþ. Se thear min ſæſe. 7 drinçh min bloð. he hæth ece liſ; Ne het he na etan thone lichaman. Se he mid beſan gen- was. ne that bloð drincan. the hefor us ageat. ac he mænde mid tham worde 7 halige huſel. the galflic iſ hiþ lichama 7 hiþ bloð. 7 ſe thes onbyrigh mid geleaf- fulre heortan. he hæth 7 ece liſ; On there ealdan æ ge- leafulle men ofrodon Gede miſlice lac. the hæſdon to wearde getacnunge Cniſtes lichama. the ſylf forurum ſynnun ſytha geoffrode hiþ heofonlican fæder to onſe- gedn ſylle; Witodlice thiþ huſel the nubith gehalgode æt Godes weofode. iſ gemýad Cniſtes lichaman the he for uþ geoffrode. 7 hiþ bloðes. þe he for uþ ageat. ſwa ſwa he ſylf het doth thiþ on minum geminde; Sene throwode Cniſt thurh hine ſylſne ac ſwa thea daſgiwomlice biþ thiþ throwunge gecniwod thurh gerynu thaſ halgan huſles æt there halgan mæſſan; Uþ iſ eac termæ genne. 7 halige huſel ægþir ge Cniſtes lichama. 7e ealles geleafullus folces æfter galflice gerynu; Sƿa ſƿa ſe yſa Auguſtinus be þam cweþ; Gipe þe pilath underſtandari be Cniſtes lichaman geſiath thone Apoſtol Pauluni thur cweþende; Ge ſothlice ſindon Cniſtes lichama. 7 leomu; Nu iſ eowr gerynu geleodn goþer myſad and ge undeſtoþ eowr gerynu to tham ge ſylf ſind; Beoth that 7 gegetoþ on tham weofode. and undertoþ that 7 geſylf ſind; Eſt cweþ ſe Apoſtol Paulus be thiſum. we manega ſyndon an hlaf 7 an lichama; Underſtandath nu. 7 bliſſah. ſeala ſindan hlaf. 7 an lichama. on Cniſt; Ðe iſ ure heafod. 7 we ſind his licia; Ne biþ ſe hlaf of anum corne. ac of manegum; Ne thet win of anre berian. ac of manegum. Sina we ſeocon ac habban annyſſe on urum drihtne. ſwa ſwa hi aw awiten iſ be tham geleafullan weofode. that hi wæron on ſwa miccle annyſſe. ſwice him eallum were on ſawul. 7 on heorte; Cniſt gehalgode on his beoþe tha geſyrus ure ſibbe. and ure annife. ſe we underſeþh there annyſſe gerynu. and ne hilt the ne bend there ſoþan ſibbe. ne underſeþh he na gerynu for him ſylfum. ac gecyðnyſſe þo geates him ſylfum; Owe Gob biþ Criſtenum mannum. 7 hi ge- lome to huſel xan. gif hi unþ cæththignye on heora heortan beaþ to tham weofode. gif hi ne beoþ mid leathrum ofſette; Ðam yſcan men ne becymth to ma- num

Anno when we shall be marked both on forehead, and also in
 1210 hearts with the Blood of our Lords suffering. Those
 Christ re- Israelites did eat the Lambs Flesh at their Easter time,
 conciled both to God and in one Body through his
 Cross.

John 6.

Math. 6:1
 Luke 22:
 Mark 14:
 1 Cor. 11:

Note how
 Christs
 Words were
 taken by
 signification
 before Bra-
 gams time,
 & signify
 distinction.

Why is the
 Bread cal-
 led Christs
 Body, when
 it is not so
 truly?

The water
 is Baptism
 and Bread
 and Wine
 in the Lords
 Supper com-
 pared.

No transub-
 stantiation.

Difference
 betwixt
 Christs
 natural body
 and the Sa-
 crament
 thereof.

Corns, without Blood and bone, without limb, without
 Soul, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein
 bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood. Whatsoever is of
 1 Difference, N is the Bo-
 dy that offered is in
 the Houfel.
 the holy Houfel, which giveth substance of life, that is of
 the ghostly might, and invisable doing. Therefore is that
 holy Houfel called a mytery, because there is one thing
 in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is
 there seen, hath bodily shape: and that we do there un-
 derstand hath ghostly might. Certainly Christs Body, which
 suffered Death and rose from Death, never dieth hence-
 forth, but is eternal and unpassible. That Houfel is tem-
 2 Difference, 3 Difference,
 poral, not eternal, corruptible and dealed into sundry
 parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the Belly:
 4 Difference, 5 Difference,
 howbeit, nevertheless after ghostly might it is all in every
 part. Many receive that holy Body, and yet notwithstanding
 it is so all in every part after ghostly mytery. Though some
 chew the lefs, yet is there no more might notwithstanding
 in the more part, than in the lefs, because it is whole in all
 men after the invisable might. This mytery is a pledge and
 a figure: Christs Body is truth it self. This pledge we do
 keep mystically, until that we be come to the truth it self,
 and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, so as we before have said, Christs Body
 and his Blood; not bodily, but ghostly. But now hear the
 Apostles words about this mytery. Paul the Apostle speaketh
 of the old Israelites, thus writing in his Epistle to faithful Men.
 All our forefathers were Baptised in the cloud, and in the Sea,
 and all they did Eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the
 same ghostly drink. They drank truly of the stone that fol-
 lowed them, and that stone was Christ. Neither was that
 stone then from which the water ran, bodily Christ, but it
 signified Christ, that called thus to all believing and faithful
 Men. Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and
 from his bowels shall flow lively water. This he said of the
 holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The
 Apostle Paul saith, That the Israelites did eat the same
 ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink, because that
 heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water
 which from the stone did flow, had signification of Christs
 Body, and his Blood, that now be offered daily in Gods Church.
 It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly.

We said unto you ere while, that Christ hallowed Bread
 and Wine to Houfel before his suffering, and said, This is
 my Body and my Blood. Yet he had not then suffered; Now we
 eat but so notwithstanding he turned through invisable might
 the Bread to his own Body, and that Wine to his Blood which
 as hee before did in the Wilderness, before that he was
 born to be a Man, when he turned that heavenly meat
 to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his
 own Blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in
 the Wilderness, and drank the ghostly drink; and were
 nevertheless dead, as Christ said. And Christ meant not
 that death which none can escape, but that everlasting
 death which some of that folk deserved for their unbeli-
 1 Mark 14:
 2 Now we eat
 this Body
 which is
 eaten before
 he was born,
 by faith.
 Here is no
 transubstan-
 tiation.
 3 John 6:
 4 What Body
 do now eat
 5 A signifi-
 cation before
 Christs
 Sacrifice in
 Christ's time
 A remem-
 brance of
 Christs
 March. 26.
 Heb. 10:
 6 Christs
 Body, which
 he offered for
 our sins he
 himself to his
 heavenly Father
 hath since
 offered to Sacri-
 fice. Certainly
 this Houfel
 which we do
 now hallow at
 Gods Altar, is a
 Remembrance
 of Christs
 Body which hee
 offered for us,
 and of his Blood
 which he shed
 for us. So he
 himself com-
 manded, Do
 this in my
 remembrance.
 Once suffered
 Christ himself,
 but yet never-
 theless his
 suffering is
 daily renewed
 at this Supper,
 through mytery
 of the holy
 Houfel. There-
 fore we ought
 to consider
 diligently, how
 that this holy
 Houfel is both
 Christs Body,
 and the Body
 of all faithful
 men, after a
 ghostly

The Houfel
is also the
Body of all
faithful
men.

ghostly mystery. As wife *Augustine* saith of it, If ye will understand of Christs Body, hear the Apostle *Paul* thus speaking, *Ye truly be Christs Body and his Members.* Now is your Mystery set on Gods Table, and ye receive your Mystery, which Mystery ye your selves be. Be that which ye see on the Altar, and receive that which ye your selves be. Again, the Apostle *Paul* saith by it, *We many be one Bread and one Body.* Understand now and rejoyce, many be one Bread and one Body in Christ. He is our Head and we be his Limbs; and the Bread is not of one Corn, but of many; nor the Wine of one Grape, but of many. So also we all should have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithful Army, how that they were in so great an unity, as thoughall of them were one Soul and one Heart. Christ hallowed on his Table the Mystery of our Peace and of our Unity. He that receiveth that mystery of Unity, and keepeth not the bond of true Peace, receiveth no mystery for himself, but a witness against himself. It is very good for Christian men, that they go often to Houfel, if they bring with them to the Altar unguishness and inno- cency of heart; if they be not oppressed with sin. To an evil man it turneth to no good, but to destruction, if he receive unworthily that holy Houfel. Holy Books command that Water be mingled to that Wine which shall be for Houfel, because the Water signifieth the People, and the Wine Christs Blood, and therefore shall neither the one without the other be offered at the holy Mass, that Christ may be with us and we with Christ: the Head with the Limbs, and the Limbs with the Head. We should before have intreated of the Lamb which the old *Israelites* offered at their *Easter* time, but that we desired first to declare unto you of this mystery, and after, how we should receive it. That signifying Lamb was offered at the *Easter*. And the Apostle *Paul* saith in the Epistle of this present day, that Christ is our *Easter*, who was offered for us, and on this day rose from death.

No Scripture
inforceth
the mixture
of Water
with the
Wine.
The Wine
signifieth
Christs
Blood.

Now we
should come
to the ho-
nourable Com-
munion.

Reed. 15.

The *Israelites* did eat the Lambs flesh as God command- ed, with unleavened Bread and wild Lettice; so we should, receive that holy Houfel of Christs Body and Blood without the Leaven of Sin and Iniquity. As Lea- ven turneth the Creatures from their nature; so doth sin also change the nature of man from innocency to un- cleanness. The Apostle hath taught how we should feast, not in the Leaven of the evilness, but in the sweet Dough of purity and truth. The Herb which they should eat with the unleavened Bread is called *Lettice*, and is bitter in taste: so we should with bitterness of unfained Re- pentance purifie our mind, if we will eat Christs Body. Those *Israelites* were not wont to eat raw flesh, and therefore God bad them to eat it neither raw nor foddren in Water, but roasted with fire. He shall receive the Body of God raw, that shall think without reason, that Christ was only Man like unto us, and was not God. And he that will after mans wisdom search the mystery of Christs Incarnation, doth like unto him that doth seeth Lambs flesh in Water, because that Water in this same place signifieth mans Understanding: but we should un- derstand, that all the mystery of Christs Humanity was ordered by the power of the Holy Ghost: and then eat we his Body roasted with fire, because the Holy Ghost came in fiery likeness to the Apostles in divers Tongues. The *Israelites* should eat the Lambs head, and the feet, and the purtenance, and nothing thereof must be left over-night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burn that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghostly understanding we do eat the Lambs head, when we take hold of Christ Divinity in our Belief. A- gain when we take hold of his Humanity with love, then eat we the Lambs feet, because that Christ is the beginning and the end, God before all world, and Man beginning and the end of this world. What be the Lambs purte- nance, but Christs secret Precepts? And these we eat when we receive with greediness the Word of life. There must nothing of the Lamb be left unto the morning, because that all Gods Sayings are to be searched with great carefulness; so that all his Precepts may be known in understanding and deed in the night of this present life, before that the last day of the universal Resurrec- tion do appear. If we cannot search out thoroughly all the mystery of Christs Incarnation, then ought we to

betake the rest unto the might of the Holy Ghost with true humility, and not to search rashly of that deep se- cretness above the measure of our understanding. They did eat the Lambs flesh with their loyns girt. In the Loyns is the lust of the Body, and he which will receive that Houfel shall cover or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastity that holy receipt. They were also shod. What be Shoes, but of the Hides of dead Beasts? We be truly shod, if we match in our steps and deeds the life of men departed this life, which pleased God with keeping of his Commandments. They had Staves in their hands when they did eat. This Staff signifieth a careful- ness and diligent overseeing. And all they that best know and can, should take care of other men, and slay them up with their help. It was enjoyned to the Eaters, that they should eat the Lamb in haste, for God abhorreth slothfulness in his Servants and those that he loveth, that seek the joy of everlasting life with quickness and haste of mind. It is written, Prolong not to turn unto God, lest the time pass away through thy slow tarrying. The Eaters might not break the Lambs bones. No more might the Souldiers, that did hang Christ, break his holy Legs, as they did of the two Thieves that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death found without all corruption: And at the last judgment they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wound on the Cross. This time is called in the Hebrew Tongue, *Pascha*, and in Latin, *Transitus*, and in English a *Pass- over*, because that as on this day the People of *Israel* passed from the Land of *Egypt* over the *Red Sea*, from bondage to the Land of promise: so also did our Lord at this time depart, as saith *John* the Evangelist, from this world to his heavenly Father. Even so we ought to follow our Head, and to go from the Devil to Christ: from this unstable world to his stable Kingdom. Howbeit we should first in this present life depart from vice to ho- ly virtue, from evil manners to good manners, if we will after our Lent life go to the eternal life; and after our Resurrection to Christ. He bring us to his everlasting Father, who gave himself to death for our sins, to him be honour and praise of well doing, world without end, *A- men.*

And thus I suppose it standeth clear and evidently proved by court of all these Ages afore-recited from the time of *Tertullian* and *Aufin* unto the days of this *El- fricus* above-mentioned, and after him, that this now mi- racle of Transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned men, nor was admitted for any Doctrine in the Church, at least for any general Doctrine of all men to be received, till a 1000 years compleat after Christ, that is, till that Satan began to be set at large, *Apoc. 20.* For Satan let at large. The matter of Transub- stantiation never called in question before the 1000 year after Christ.

Wherefore they that stand so much upon the antiquity of this Article, as a Doctrine which hath ever since think Tran- substantiation to be otherwise than a new Doctrine are ignorant of Histories and Anti- quity.

To proceed now further in this discussion of Antiquity, it followed, that after the time of *Elfricus* afore-said, this matter of Transubstantiation began first to be talked of, and to come in question among a few superstitious Monks; so that as blindness and superstition began more and more to increase, so the said gross Opinion still more and more, both in number and authority prevailed; in- somuch that about the year of our Lord 1060. the denying of Transubstantiation began to be counted Heretic.

And

Anno
1219.

And in this number first was one *Berengarius* a Frenchman and Archdeacon of *Angou*, which of all Christian men, which were read of, was first called and counted an Heretic for denying of Transubstantiation, and troubled for the same, as ye shall hear.

This *Berengarius* lived in the time of Pope *Leo* the ninth, *Victor* and *Nicho*. the second, which was about the year of our Lord 1060. Albeit I do find our Writers here in some discrepance. For the most of them do hold, that he first recanted under Pope *Leo* the Ninth, in the Council of *Vercellense*, and afterward again under Pope *Nicholas* the second, about the year, 1062. as it is to be gathered of *Grattan*, *De consecrat.* 2. *Ego Berengarius*, where he saith that Pope *Nicholas* did it about to Bps. and Archbishops the Copy of his Recantation.

Again by the Acts of the Council of *Rome*, it there appeared that the said *Berengarius* made this his said last Recantation under Pope *Hildebrand*, called *Gregory* the seventh. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand upon. The Truth of the Story is this; that when *Berengarius* had professed the truth of the Sacrament, and had stood in the open confession thereof, according to the ancient verity of the Doctrin received in the Church before, he was so handled with certain malignant and superstitious Monks, that what by evil intreaty, and what for fear of death death (such is the weak frailty of man) he began to shrink, and afterward did indeed recant the truth.

Of these Malicious Enemies against *Berengarius*, the chiefest troubler was *Lanfrank*, Abbot of *Codune*, afterward Archb. of *Canterbury*; *Guimund* Monk, likewise of the Abbey of *Leofrede*; and afterward Archb. of *Aovergne*, *Algerus* also Monk of *Corbein*; *Fulbertus* also Monk and Bishop; and *Hildebrand* sometime Monk of *Cluniacke*, and then Archdeacon of *Turon*, and afterward Bp. of *Rome*.

By these and such other Monks of the like Fraternity, the Error and Heresie of Transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts piously in writing to be taken about the matter. Of the which sides and parts, the first that began to set up that Faction by writing seemeth to be *Paschasius*, who was a little before *Berengarius* about the time of *Bertrame*, and likewise *Lanfrank* the first that brought it into *England*.

On the contrary side again, the first that was openly impugned and troubled for denying Transubstantiation, was this *Berengarius*; with whom *Lanfrank* also was supposed at the first beginning to hold and take part, but afterward to clear himself he stood openly against him in the Council, and wrote against him.

It followed then in the Act of the Council, when the Synod of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story) did hold that the Bread and Wine were turned substantially into the Body and Blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, saith he, divers there were in the said Council which held the contrary with *Berengarius*, but at last were driven to give over. *Berengarius* among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, Confessing his Error where none was, and desired pardon of the Council. And this was (as seemeth to *William Malmsbury*) his first giving over. Who afterward returning to himself again after the death of Pope *Leo*, and prick with the sting of Conscience, was driven again to recognize the truth, which he before had denied.

The Pope (saith *Malmsbury*) perceiving this, would not leave him so, but sent into *France*, *Hildebrand* his Cardinal Chaplain (as meet a Mate for such a fear, as was in all Satans Court) and made him with a wany to come again *Coram nobis*; who so handled *Berengarius*, bringing him before the Face of the Council holden at *Turon*, that hee made him to say, *Erravi*, once against; against whom stood up in that Council *Lanfrankus*, and *Guimundus* afore said, impugning his assertion. And thus standeth the narration of *W. Malmsbury*. But by the Acts of Council of *Rome* appeareth another declaration, which is, that this later recantation of *Berengarius* should be at *Rome* under *Hildebrand* being then Pope, in the year of our Lord 1076. and in the Month of February, and that in the same Council holden in *Ecclesia Solymorum*,

this recantation of *Ego Berengarius*, was made, and he enjoyed by the said Pope *Hildebrand*, upon his Oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of that Sacrament there holden, &c.

Again, *Henry Bullinger* in his Book, *De Origine Erroris*, following belike some other Author, expresseth the order of the afore said Recantation after this sort, and saith, that in the time of *Leo* the ninth, Anno 1051, there was a Roman Council, holden at *Vercellense*. In the which Council *Lanfrank* being then present, the Book of *John Scotus* was openly read, and there condemned. Alfo *Berengarius* was sent for, who, seeing the prejudicial proceeding of that Council, refused himself to come, but sent two Clerks, which openly there defended his cause and quarrel, and were for the same committed unto Prison. Such is the freedom of the Popes general Councils, with Prisons and violence to defend their Verities. Against the doings of this Council notwithstanding the Frenchmen stood stiff, both at *Angou*, and *Turon*, joining and confenting with *Berengarius*.

Not long after this died Pope *Leo*; and after him succeeded Pope *Victory*, by whom another Synod was kept at *Florence*, where the Acts and doings of the fore said Council of *Vercellense* were confirmed, and a Legate also appointed to be sent to *Turon* in *France*. This Legate was *Hildebrand* above mentioned, who, calling the Clergie of *France* together in a Synod, fell there in hand with the cause of the Sacrament. *Berengarius*, not being ignorant of these Roman Councils, so kept himself, that in all his actions he would give none other answer, but that he believed and confented with the Faith of the Catholick Church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the Council, rather dealing the pretences of his Enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Again after *Victory*, came Pope *Nicholas* the second, who congregating another Council at *Rome*, Anno 1058, sent for *Berengarius* there to appear, who being present argued what he could for the justness of his cause, but all would not serve: In the Popes general Councils such a stroke and mastery beareth Authority above Verity. *Berengarius* being thus born down on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again (for the Law of relapse was not yet in season) he desired to know what other Confession of the Sacrament the Pope would desire of him, besides that which he had there confessed.

Then Pope *Nicholas* committed that charge to *Humbert* a Monk of *Lotharing* and after a Cardinal, that he should draw out in formable words the order of his Recantation, after the percription of *Rome*, which he should read and publicly profess before the people. The form of which words is registred in the Decrees, *De consecrat. Dist. 2.* *Ego Berengarius*. The effect whereof is this, *That he pretendeth with Heart and Mouth to profess, that he acknowledgeth the True, Catholick, and Apostolical Faith, doth execrate all Heresie, namely, that wherewith he hath lately been infamed, as holding that the Bread and Wine upon the Altar, after the consecration of the Priest remain only a Sacrament, and are not the very self Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither can be handled or broken with the Priests Hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only by manner of a Sacrament: Consenting now to the holy and Apostolical Church of Rome be professed with Mouth and Heart to hold the same Faith touching the Sacrament of the Lords Majs, which the Lord Pope Nicholas with his Synod here present hath hold, and commandeth to be holden by his Evangelical and Apostolical Authority, that is, that the Bread and Wine upon the Altar after Consecration are not only a Sacrament, but also are the very true and self Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are sensibly felt and broken with Hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy Evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say unto the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed, and if he himself shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, hee shall be content to abide the severity and rigour of the Canons, &c.*

This Cowardly Recantation of *Berengarius*, as it offended a great number of the godly sort; so it gave to the contrary part no little Triumph, whereby ever since they

The order of this Recantation, declared by the said recantation reported out of Hen. Bulling. The original errors captured Concilium Vercellense.

Concilium Florentinum

Concilium Turonense.

Concilium Romanum 1058.

Might beareth down right. The last recantation of Berengarius.

Namque Author of the decree, *Ego Berengarius* De consecrat. Dist. 2. cap. 2. *Ego Berengarius*.

The effect of Berengarius recantation.

Vid Bulling. De origine erroris, & Chronic. Ecclesiarum. A.D. Concilii Romae habiti contra Berengarium.

Lanfrank a persecutor of Berengarius.

Paschasius the first beginner of the faction of Transubstantiation.

W. Malmsbury.

The story and recantation of Berengarius declared by W. Malmsbury. De gestis Anglorum lib. 3.

they have taken the greater Courage to tread down the truth.

It happened shortly after this, that Hildebrand, the Popes grand Captain in the behalf of his Master Pope Nicholas, went in warfare against the Normans. Which war being finished, shortly after he set upon a new Voyage to fight for Pope Alexander, against Cadulus; which victory being also achieved, it was not long, but he put the new Pope Alexander beside the Cullion, and was made Pope himself: so that during the busy stir of these wars, the Popes Holiness had no leisure to attend the debating of this Controversie of the Sacrament.

At length when all was quieted, and Pope Hildebrand now was where he would be, his restless brain could not be unoccupied, but ere-long summoneth a new Council at Rome in the Church of Lateran, to revive again the old disceptation of Berengarius about the year, as some hold, 1079.

effusion
Romanus 3.

Thus Berengarius, being tossed by these Monks and Pharisees, was so confounded, and baited on every side, that partly for worldly fear straining him on the one side, partly for shame and grief of Conscience that he had now twice denied the truth on the other side, the man (as is of him reported) after these such turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his Hands for living, all the residue of his life.

The true opinion and judgment of Berengarius of the Sacrament. Ex lib. Lanfranci Archiep. capit. contra Bereng.

To the opinion which Berengarius maintained touching the Sacrament (as by his own words in Lanfranks Book may appear) was this: *The Sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things: The one visible, the other invisible, that is, of the Sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the Sacrament. Which thing (which is to mean, the Body of Christ) if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible and to be seen: but being left up into heaven, and sitting on the Right Hand of his Father, to the time of restoring of all things (as St. Peter saith) it cannot be called down from thence. For the Person of Christ consisteth of God and Man; the Sacrament of the Lords Table, consisteth of Bread and Wine; which being consecrate are not changed, but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude of those things, whereof they be Sacraments, &c. Ex lib. Lanfranci.*

By these words of Berengarius Doctrin, all indifferent Readers may see and judge, that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the holy Scripture, believing with Saint Augustine, and all other ancient Elders of the Church, that in the holy Supper all faithful believers be refreshed spiritually with the Body and Blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life. Wherefore most impudently they do mis-report him (as they do many other besides) which falsely lay to his charge, as though his teaching should be, that in the sacred Supper of the Lord nothing else were received of the faithful, besides only the bare signs, which is the Bread and the Wine.

And now that you have seen the Doctrin of Berengarius, let us also take a view of the contrary teaching of Lanfrancus and his fellows, conferring and comparing together the institution on the one side with the institution of the other, to mark and consider which of them foundeth nearer to the truth of the Scriptures. The words of Lanfrank be these.

The gross opinion of Lanfrancus and the Papists, concerning the Sacrament.

I believe the earthly substances, which upon the Lords Table are divinely sanctified through the ministrations of the Priest, to be converted unspeakably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously by the operation of Gods mighty power, into the essence of the Lords Body, the outward form only of the thing; themselves and certain qualities reserved, and that for two respects: The one, lest the sight of the raw and Bloody Flesh might otherwise make men to abhor from eating thereof; the other, for that they which believe the thing they see not, might have the greater merit for their belief. The conversion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lords Body notwithstanding, yet is the self-same Body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath his essential being at the Right Hand of his Father immortal, inviolate, perfect, undiminished, and uncorrupted: so that truly it may be affirmed, the self-same Body both to be received of us, and yet not the self-same. The self-same, I mean, as touching

the essence, property, and virtue of his true nature: and yet not the self-same as touching the forms of Bread and Wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward senses, &c. And thus have ye the Confession of Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury.

From this Confession of Lanfrank, the opinion and assertion also of Guimundus Archbishop of Aversan doth nothing differ in grossness and impiety, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending, *That the Body of Christ is pressed, and torn with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the Hands of Thomas.*

And moreover, the said Guimundus (if his Book be not rather counterfeited at Lovain) in the same place answering to an objection put out, that it is not lawful for Christ to be torn in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce that whether we take tearing for hard biting, or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the Body of Christ may be touched with Hands, bitten with Mouth, crushed, yea, and divided in pieces, with hard or soft pressing of the teeth: and that as he was bruised upon the Cross, according to the Prophet, saying, He was bruised for our iniquities, &c. So the same Body, for the health of the faithful may devoutly be torn and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, &c. Guimund. lib. Sacrament. fol. 30. Judge now all good studious Readers, what is to be thought of this kind of Doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the intallible voice of Gods Word, saying, *Exod. And of him ye shall not break a bone, &c.*

This rude and mishapen Doctrin of these Monks concerning Transubstantiation, as ye have heard when and by whom it began first to be broached: so if you would now know by what learning and Scriptures they did confirm and establish the same, ye must here think and understand, how their chiefest ground and substance to persuade the people, was at this time certain miracles by them forged, and published both in their writings and preachings; whereof one was the fame of Odo above recited, which Osborn, or some other Monk in Legend invented of him, how he should shew unto certain the Host turned into the likeness of Flesh and Blood dropping into the Chalice for the conversion of those Clerks, which before would not believe it.

And another like Miracle is also told by the said Osborn of Dunstan in this order, how the said Dunstan appeared to a certain Lame Cripple in the night, willing him to resort unto his tomb, to have his limbs again restored. Which Cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtain, began to return home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the said Dunstan appearing again by the way, asked from whence he came, and whether he would. The Cripple answering, declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried and because he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then said Dunstan; I am, saith he, Dunstan the fellow servant of all Gods servants, and have been occupied with certain necessary business, for the which I could not be present there with my Children. For Elfrick, said he, otherwise firnamed Bata, hath attempted to diliberit my Church, but I have so stopped him, that he could not prevail.

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stamp are rise in popish stories, counterfeited and forged under divers and sundry names, some referred to Gregory, some, to Paschasius, and to other more, which to recite all would fill a whole Sea full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented of Paschasius. There was a Priest of Almann, saith he, named Plegildus, who did see and handle with his Hands visibly the shape of a Child upon the Altar, and so after he had embraced and kissed him, it returned again to the likeness of Bread, as he should come to the receiving thereof. This miracle when it was objected against Berengarius, he merily deriding the blind fable, answered in these words, *Speciosa, inquit, pax nebulonis, ut cui oris preberet balium, et dentium inferret exitum.* That is, *A godly peace, quoth he, of a false warlet, that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth.*

Anno 1219.

The impious and gross opinion of Guimundus of Transubstantiation.

day 31.

The great confirmation of this Doctrin of Transubstantiation was by miracles.

A miracle to prove Transubstantiation.

Ex Osborn, lib. 2: de vita Dun. Stan. Another miracle to prove Transubstantiation.

By this it appeareth that Bata the trouble- some of the Saxons time, was Archbishop of Canterbury.

Another lying miracle of Paschasius to prove Transubstantiation.

Another

a time entering into the Church, with another Christian
 Monk in mil-
 rade to
 prove Tran-
 substantia-
 on.

A Lad which was his play-fellow, saw upon the Altar a
 little Child broken and torn in pieces, and afterward by
 portions to be distributed among the People. Which
 fight when the young Jew coming home and told unto
 his Father to be true and certain, he was for the flames
 condemned to be burned. Thus he being inclosed in a
 house, and the door fast were he should be burned, he
 was found and taken out from thence by the Christians,
 not only alive, but also having not one hair of his head
 blemished with the flames about him. Who then being
 of the Christians demanded, how he was so preserved
 from the burning fire: there appeared, said he, to me a
 beautiful Woman sitting on a Chair, whose Son the Child
 was, which was before divided and distributed in the
 Church among the People, who reached to me her hand
 in the burning flame, and with her Gown Skirts kept
 the flame from me, so that I was preserved thereby from
 perishing, &c. Belike these Monks lacked Miracles among
 the Christians, when they were fain to borrow such fig-
 ures of the Jews to prove their fained Transubstantia-
 tion.

And these commonly were then the Arguments of those Monks, wherewith they perwaded the People to believe their Transubstantiation. But to leave these Monks fictions, and to return again to *Beregrarius*, thus *Malmesbury* of him reports, that after he had once or twice recanted (as is aforesaid) yet notwithstanding this Doctrine of the Sacrament still remained in the mind of his hearers. And howsoever the Tyranny of the Pope did drive him through force to deny his Opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet notwithstanding, after his death he lacked not his well willers. In the number of whom was *Hilbertus* Bishop *Cornouanensis*. Whole verses in commendation of his Master I thought here not unworthy to be preferred, being otherwise rare peradventure to be found in our Story Writers.

Verses in praise of Berengarius.

Verles in
 commendation of Be-
 ringamus.

QUem modo miratur, semper mirabitur orbis,
 Ille Berengarius, cuius virtus orbit.
 Quem fides sua falgida iunxerat tenentis,
 Tandem exitum sibi abstulit, ausa tenens.
 Illa dies damosa diei & perfida mando
 Qua dolor & verum iunxerat ruina fuit.
 Qua fuitis ecclesie, quae spes, quae gloria clerici,
 Qui cultor iurisque rante nunt.
 Quocumq; Philo opus, quicquid cecinit Poetae,
 Ingenio cessit ille quoque suo.
 Sanctior & major si pienis, neque adorta,
 Impletur sacrum pietatis & ora Deo.
 Pietas eam voluit, vox protulit, actio promptis:
 Singula factori sic fructus sua.
 Vir facit & iupens, cui nonen crevisit in boras:
 Quo minor est quiquis maximus esse hominum.
 Qui cen in pepercit pauperi, servavit honore:
 Qui pauper pauper dicitur, iugue lacus.
 Cui nec deficiunt, nec luxum nec dedit ample:
 Nec transiunt fecit mullum & alius bono.
 Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum iunxerat flexit:
 Sed doluit quoriet, cui daret bac, aberat.
 Qui non cessavit inquam sulcire ruinas,
 Donec inopi dandus pauper & ipse fuit.
 Cuius cura sequi naturam, legibus nit,
 Et montum vixit, ora a negare dolis;
 Virtutes opulit, verum praeponere falsis,
 Nil vacuum sensu dicere vel facere.
 Ledere nec quengam, cunctis prodesse, forevrem:
 Es populare lacrum pellere mente, manu.
 Cui vixit textura rudis, cui non fuit unquam,
 Ante fitem potius, nec cibis ante famem.
 Quam pulvis hospitium statuit sibi, quamq; libido,
 Incertos luparet, tam speravit eam.
 Quem natura parens cum mundo cecinit, inquit.
 Degenerant alij, nascitur ille imbi.
 Quaeque vocabatur & pene reliquerat cibem,
 Inlicitis lacra pallere iustitiam.

*Vir pueri ad puerum, qui quantum pergrimes orbis
 Fama, adeo fame pergrimes ipse per orbem.
 Fama minor meritis, cum tunc totus sit o bene,
 Cum semper certis, non erit aequa tamen.
 Vir pueri aequo gravius, vir sic in utroque modestus;
 Ut livor notum rodere possit eum.
 Livor enim defest, quem carperat antea, nec tamen,
 Carpsit & edit cum, quam modo laudat, amari.
 Quam prius erit vitia, tam nunc ex morte gemiscit,
 Et queritur celitus huius afflicte dies.
 Vir vere sapiens & parte beatus ab omni,
 Qui celos anima, corporis dicit humum.
 Post obitum facit virorum precor ac requiescam,
 Nec fiat melior fors mea forte sua.*

Although in this time of *Berengarius*, which was about the year of our Lord, 1060. (as yehave heard) this error of Transubstantiation began to grow in force and strength, by the supporting of certain Popish Monks above rehearsed, as *Laufrancus*, *Gismundus*, *Algerius Hugo*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Fulbertus* (of whom it is said in Stories, that our Lady gave him suck being sick with her own breasts) and such other; yet notwithstanding all this while the said Transubstantiation was decreed from no publick law, nor Doctrine to be holden by any general consent, either of the Church of *Rome*, or any other Council, before the Council of *Laterane*, under Pope *Innocent* the third, who in the year of our Lord, 1215. celebrating in the Church of *Laterane* a general Council of 1300. Bishops enacted there divers Constitutions, as of yearly Confection, and the Communion to be used of the whole multitude once a year through every Parish Church.

Item, for the recovery of the Holy Land, with Subsidy also to be levied for the same.

Item, for the establishing of the Books and Writings of *Joachim Abbas*, and also the Opinions of *Almaricus* afore mentioned; notwithstanding that the said *Joachim* did subscribe with his own hand, that he held the same Doctrine which was in the Church of *Rome*, and also submitted his Books to be presented to the See of *Rome*, there to be corrected or approved. And yet he was judged though not an Heretic, yet to be croneous, and especially in those Books which he wrote against *Peter Lombard*, called afterward the Master of *Sentences*.

In the said Council, besides divers other Constitutions and the Articles of the Creed there in order repeated, as appeareth, *Extr. De summa Trinit. & Fide Catholica, Chap. 1.* there was enacted, decreed, and established the Faith and Belief of Transubstantiation, in these words following.

There is one universal Church of the faithful, wherein
 some none can be saved, in the which Church the self-
 same Jesus Christ is both Priest and also the Sacrifice,
 whose Body and Blood are truly contained in the Sacrament
 of the Altar, under the form of Bread and Wine,
 the Bread being transubstantiated in the Body, and Wine
 into the Blood, by the power and working of God. So
 that to the accomplishing of this Mystery of unity, we
 might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours.
 And this Sacrament none can make or consecrate, but
 that is a Priest lawfully ordained, according to the Keys
 of the Church, which Jesus Christ hath left to his Apo-
 stles, and to their Successors, &c.

The words
 of the Con-
 secration
 Transub-
 stantiation
 was first
 established.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of Transubstantiation, upon the consent of these foresaid 1300. Bishops in the year of our Lord above specified, under Pope *Innocentius*, and the Doctrine thereof intruded for an Article of Faith into the Church, necessarily to be believed of all men under pain of Heresie.

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the Substance of Bread and Wine was now banished out of the Sacrament, and utterly transubstantiated into the Substance of Christs very Body and Blood ; yet was not this Body elevated over the Priests head, nor adored of the People till the days of Pope *Honorius* the third, succeeding after *Innocentius*, who by his Council likewise commanded Adoration and Elevation to be joyned with Transubstantiation; as one Idolatry commonly bringeth forth another.

Transub-
stantiation
first decreed
for a gene-
ral law by
Pope Inno-
cent the
third.
The general
Council of
Lateran.

Ex Antonin^o
pars. 3. tit.
19. cap. 1.

Extran. De
Sum. Trin. 6.
a. i. firmite
credimus.

The words
of the Coun-
cil whereby
Transub-
stantiation
was first
established.

Elevation
and Adora-
tion brought
in by Pope
Honorius
the third.

Аппо
1129.

K kē

Again,

Again, the Sacraments of the Lords Supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, adored, yet it was not offered up for a Sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, nor for a remedy of the Souls in Purgatory, nor for a merit *operis operati, sive bono metu meriti, &c.* before that other Popes coming after added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

Consecration.
Transubstantiation.
Elevation.
Adoration.
Oblation.

And thus have you the whole order and origine of these Idolatrous parts of the Mass described by their times and ages, which first began with Consecration, and the form thereof, which were words of the Canon. Then came Transubstantiation by *Innocentius*, and after Elevation and Adoration by *Honorius*, and last of all came the Oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, *Ex opere operato*.

Perfection
first beginning in these
last days.
Read before.

Which things being thus constituted by the too much usurped authority of the Church of *Rome*, shortly after followed Persecution, Tyranny and Burning among the Christians, first beginning with the *Albigenses*, and the faithful Congregation of *Tholouse*, near about the time of the said *Innocentius*, as is afore remembered.

And thus much for the first Article of Transubstantiation which (as you have heard) was not admitted into the Church for any general Doctrine of Faith, before the year and time above assigned of *Pope Innocent* the third: and therefore if any have been otherwise persuaded, or yet do remain in the same persuasion still of this Doctrine, as though it had been of a longer continuance then for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of Histories he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his mind, if he credit not me, let him believe the words of one of his own Catholic

John Duns,
in 4. l.
Sentence.
Read before.

fort. *J. Duns* I mean, who in his fourth Book writing of Transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also are before mentioned: *These words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily, and more plainly without Transubstantiation; but the Church did chuse this sense, which is harder, being thereto moved, as seemeth, chiefly because men should hold of the Sacraments, the same which the Church of Rome doth hold, &c.* And further in the same place the said *Duns* expounding himself what he meant by the Church of *Rome*, maketh there express mention of the said *Innocentius* the third, and of this Council of *Laterane* &c.

And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the Truth may be more amply satisfied in this behalf, that this Transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention: I will also adjoin to this Testimony of *Joannes Scotus*, the judgment and verdict of *Erasmus lib. Annot.* where he writeth in these words, *In Synaxi transubstantiationem sero deservit Ecclesia. Dni satis erat credere sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocumque modo adesse verum corpus Christi, &c.* That is, In the Sacrament of the Communion, the Church concluded Transubstantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was sufficient to believe the true Body of Christ to be present either under Bread, or else by some other manner, &c.

Erasmus lib.
Annot. in 1.
Cor. cap. 7.
Ser. 6.

The second Article.

The second
Article of
both kinds.

As touching the second Article, which debarreth from the Lay-people the one half of the Sacrament, understanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained, forasmuch as the world well knoweth that this Article is but young, invented, decreed and concluded no longer since, than at the Council of *Constance*, not past 200. years ago: I shall not need to make any long standing upon that matter, especially for that sufficient hath been said thereof before in our long discourse of the *Bohemians* Story.

The reasons
and objections
of the
Papists
against both
kinds.

First let us see the Reasons and Objections of the Adversaries in refraining the Laity from the one kind of this Sacrament. The use, say they, hath been of so long continuance in the Church. Whereunto we answer, that they have no evident nor authentick example of any ancient custom in the Church which they can produce in that behalf.

Item, where they alledged the place of *St. Luke* where

Christ was known in breaking of Bread, &c, citing *Luke 24.* moreover many of her places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of Bread: to answer thereunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that some of these places may be understood of the Sacrament: yet that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the Sacrament was only ministered to the People without the other, when as by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that Bread was broken among the Brethren, therefore the Cup was not distributed unto them. For so we find by the words of *St. Paul*, that the use of the *Corinthians* was to communicate not only in breaking of Bread, but in participating the Cup also, *The Cup*, saith he, *which we participate*, 1. Cor. 10. &c.

Also after the Apostles, in the time of *Cyprian*, of *Jerome*, of *Gelasius* and other successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the Church. First *Cyprian* in divers places declareth that the Sacrament of the blood was also distributed. *How do we*, saith he, *provoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their Blood, if we deny unto them the Blood of Christ when they prepare themselves to the conflict?* *Epist. 2. De laiciis Martyribus Scribitur.*

The words of *Jerome* are plain. *Priests*, saith he, *which Minister the Eucharist, and divide the Blood unto the People.* *Hieronymus in Sophon. cap. 3.*

In *historia tripartita*, it was said to the Emperor *Theodosius*, *How will you receive the Body of the Lord with such bloody hands, or the Cup of his precious Blood with that mouth, which have spoiled so much innocent Blood?* *in hist. tripart. lib. 9.*

In the Canon of *Gelasius*, and in the Popes own Decrees, these words we read, We understand that be some which receive only the portion of the Lords Body, do abstain from the Cup of his sacred Blood: to whom we enjoin, that either they receive the whole Sacrament in both kinds, or else that they receive neither; for the dividing of the whole and one Sacrament cannot be done without great sacrilege, &c. So that this Decree of *P. Gelasius* being contradictory to the Council of *Constance*, it must follow, that either the Pope did err, or else the Council of *Constance*, must needs be a sacrilegious Council, as no doubt it was. *The Council of Constance a sacrilegious Council.*

The like Testimony also appeareth in the Council of *Toletane*, that the Laity did then communicate in both kinds, beside divers other old Presidents, remaining yet in the Churches both of *Germany* and also of *France*, declaring likewise the same. *The forbidding of both kinds of the Sacrament hath no ground of ancient custom.*

And thus it standeth certain and demonstrable by manifold probations, how far this new found custome differeth from all antiquity and prescription of use and time. Again, although the custome thereof were never so ancient, yet no custome may be of that strength to gainstand or countermand the open and expresse commandment of God, which saith to all men, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drink ye all of this, &c.

Again, seeing the Cup is called the Blood of the New Testament, who is he that dare or can alter the Testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the Testament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

Further, as concerning those Places of Scripture before alledged, *De fractione panis*; That is, *Of breaking of Bread*, whereupon they think themselves so sure that the Sacrament was then administered but in one kind: to answer thereunto, first we say it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture *De fractione panis*, are to be referred to the Sacrament. Secondly, the same being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, because one part is mentioned, that the full Sacrament therefore was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew Phrase is, under breaking of Bread to signify generally the whole Feast or Supper: as in the Prophet *Esay*, these words *Frangite esurienti panem suum*, do signify as well giving Drink as Bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, *De fractione panis*, be taken yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For if the Sacrament were administered among them, in *fractione panis* (id est) in breaking of Bread, then must they needs grant, that if Bread was there broken, *Ergo* there

The Council of Constance a sacrilegious Council.

The forbidding of both kinds of the Sacrament hath no ground of ancient custom.

No custome may derogate from the Lords expresse commandment.

The Lords Testament ought not to be altered for any respect.

The Lords Testament ought not to be altered for any respect.

The Lords Testament ought not to be altered for any respect.

The Lords Testament ought not to be altered for any respect.

there was Bread, forasmuch as neither the accidents of Bread without Bread can be broken, neither can the natural Body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which saith, *And ye shall break no bone of him* &c. Wherefore take away the Substance of Bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a Sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the Substance of Christs Body, neither yet the accidents without their Substance can be broken, neither again will they admit any Bread there remaining to be broken? and what then was it in this their *fractione panis*, that they did break, if it were not *Panis* (i.) *Substantia panis quæ frangebatur*? To conclude, if they say that this fraction of Bread was a Sacramental breaking of Christs Body, so by the like figure let them say that the being of Christs natural Body in the Sacrament is a Sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Another objection against both kinds.
Answer. Item, *They object further and say, That the Church upon due consideration may alter as they see cause, in Rites, Ceremonies and Sacraments.*

1 Order. Answer. The institution of this Sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. This order hetook: first he divided the Bread severally from the Cup, and afterward the Cup severally from the Bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death to the worlds end. Thirdly, beside this order taken, and example left, he added also an expresse commandment, *Hoc facite, Do this: Bibite ex hoc omnes, Drink ye all of this, &c.* Against this order, example, and commandment of the Gospel no Church nor Council of men nor Angel in Heaven hath any power or authority to change or alter, according as we are warned; *If any bring unto you any other Gospel beside that ye have received, hold him accursed, &c.*

Another objection against both kinds.
Acts 2. Item another objection: *And why may not the Church (say they) as well alter the form of this Sacrament, as the Apostles did the form of Baptism? where in the Acts Saint Peter saith, Let every one be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, &c.*

Answer. The Apostles changed not the form of Baptism. Answer. This Text saith not that the Apostles used this form of baptizing; *I baptize thee in the name of Christ, &c.* but they used many times, his manner of speech, to be baptized in the name of Christ, not as expressing thereby the formal words of baptizing, but as meaning this, that they would have them to become Members of Christ, and to be baptized as Christians, entering into his Baptism, and not only to the Baptism of John: and therefore although the Apostles thus spake to the People, yet notwithstanding when they baptized any themselves, they used (no doubt) the form of Christ prescribed, and no other.

Mans curiosity in magnifying his own devices above Gods. Item, *Among many other objections, they alledge certain Perils and causes of weight and importance, as spilling, shedding, or shaking the Blood out of the Cup, or scouring, or else sticking upon mens Beards, &c. For the which they say it is well provided the half Communion to suffice.*

Whereunto it is soon answered, That as these causes were no let to Christ, to the Apostles, to the *Corinthians*, and to the Brethren of the Primitive Church, but that in the publick Assemblies they received all the whole Communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither be the said causes so important now, to aduul and evacuate the necessary commandment of the Gospel, if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnifie our own devices, to strain at gnats to stumble at straws, and to seek knots in Rushes, which rather are in our own fantasies growing, than there where they are sought.

In summa. Divers other objections and cavillations are in Popish Books to be found, as in *Gabriel* the difference made between the Laity and Priests, also the distinction

used to be made between the priests Communion and the laical Communion. Where is to be understood, that when Priests were bid to use the laical Communion, thereby was meant not receiving under one kind, as Lay-men do now, but to abstain from consecrating, and only to receive as the Lay-men then did. Some also alledge certain special or particular examples, as of the Cup only serving for the Bread, or of the Bread only sent to certain sick folk for the Cup. And here they do infer the Story of *Sacramentus*, touching the Woman in whole mouth the Sacrament of Bread, which the only received without the Cup, was turned to a stone, &c. Other alledge other private examples likewise of Infants, aged men, sick Persons, men excommunicate, *Phreneticks*, or mad men, or men dwelling far off from Churches, in Mountains or Wildernesses, &c. All which private examples neither make any instance against the ancient custom of publick Congregations frequented from the Apostles time, and much less ought they to derogate from this expresse and necessary Precept of the Gospel, which saith to all men without exception, *Hoc facite, &c. Bibite ex hoc omnes, &c.*

Objections of private example make no instance against Publick usage and Doctrine of the Church. Commandment Sacramentum Communion Laicit. Hist. Eccle. lib. Cap. 5.

All respects must give place to the obedience of the word.

The third Article.

Private Masses, Trental Masses, and Dirige Masses, as they were never used before the time of *Gregory*, fix hundred years after Christ; so the same do fight directly against our Christian Doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appear. The Mass is a work or action of the Priest, applied unto men for meriting of grace, *Ex opere operato*, in the which action the Sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up for a Sacrifice for remission of Sins, *à pena et culpa*, for the quick and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agreeth with their own teaching; so there is no part thereof of which disagreeeth not from the rules of Christian Doctrine, especially these, as follow.

1. The first Rule is, Sacraments be instituted for some principal end and use, out of the which use they are no Sacraments. As the Sacrament of Baptism is a Sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of Sins to the Person that is baptized; but if it be carried about to be worshipped and shewed to other, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration; to them it is no Sacrament.

2. No Sacrament or ceremony doth profit or conduce, but them only which take and use the same.

3. Only the death of Christ, and the work of his Sacrifice upon the Cross is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation and health of his Soul. Beside this work alone, to apply any action or work of Priest or any other Person, as meritorious of it self, and conducive to Salvation, to Souls health, or to remission of Sins, it is Idolatry, and derogatory to the Testament of God, and to the Blood of Christ prejudicial.

4. To make Idols of Sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, it is Idolatry; *Fugite Idola, &c. 1. Cor. 10.*

5. Every good work whatsoever it be that a man doth, profiteth only himself, and cannot bee applied to other men, *Ex opere operato*, to profit them unto merit or remissions, only the actions of Christ except.

6. No man can apply to another the Sacrifice of Christs death by any work doing, but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing. *Fugisti ex fide susceperis, Habacuc. 2.*

7. The Sacrifice of Christs Death doth save us freely by it self, and not by the means of any mans working for us.

8. The Passion of Christ once done and no more is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the Sins of the whole world, both original and actual: by the vertue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified toward mankind for ever, *Amen.*

9. The passion of Christ once done is only the object of that Faith of ours which justifieth us, and nothing else. And therefore whosoever setteth up any other object, beside that passion once done, for our Faith to apprehend and behold the same, teacheth damnable Doctrine, and leadeth to Idolatry.

The 1. Article.

Definition of the Mass.

The first Rule of Christian Doctrine.

The 1. Rule.

The 2. Rule.

The 4. Rule.

1 Cor. 10.

The 1. Rule.

The 6. Rule.

The 7. Rule.

The 8. Rule.

The 9. Rule.

Against all these rules private Masses directly do repugne. For first, beside that they transgress the order, example, and commandment of Christ (which divided the Bread and Cup to them all) they also bring the Sacrament out of the right use whereunto principally it was ordained. For whereas the use of that Sacrament is principally instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christs Death, the private Mass transferreth the same to another purpose, either to make of it a gazing Idol, or a work of application meritorious; or a Sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sins, or a commemoration for Souls departed in Purgatory, according as it is written in their Mass Book, *Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi sumitur. Pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi sumitur, &c.* Whereas Christ saith contrary, *Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem.*

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in this, that where the Communion was given in common, the private Mass suffereth the Priest alone to eat and drink up all, and when he hath done, to bless the people with the empty Cup.

Secondly, whereas Sacraments properly profit none but them that use the same, in the private Mass the Sacrament is received in the behoof not only of him that executeth, but of them also which be far off, or dead and in purgatory.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for Remission of our sins, but only the Death of Christ, cometh in the private Mass as a work meritorious done of the Priest, which being applied to other, is available *Ex opere operato*, both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done *ad remissionem peccatorum.*

Fourthly, private Masses and all other Masses now used of the Sacrament make an Idol, of commemoration make adoration, in stead of a receiving make a deceiving, in place of fleeing forth Christs Death make new oblations of his death, and of a Communion make a single sole supping, &c.

Fifthly, whereas in this general frailty of mans nature, no man can merit by any worthiness of working for himself, the Priest in his private Mass taketh upon him to merit both for himself, and for many other.

Sixthly, it standeth against Scripture; that the Sacrifice and Death of Christ can be applied any otherwise to our benefit and justification, than by Faith. Wherefore it is false that the action of the Mass can apply the benefit of Christs Death unto us, *Ex opere operato, sive bono metu utentis vel sacrificantis.*

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our Salvation and justifying standeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our Faith in Christ; contrarily, the application of these Popish Masses stoppeth the freeness of Gods Grace, and maketh that this benefit must first come through the Priests Hands, and his *opus operatum*, unto us.

The eighth contrariety between private Masses and Gods Word is in this; That where the Scripture saith, *Vnica oblatione consummavit eos, qui sanctificantur in perpetuum*, with one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever: against this rule the private Mass proceedeth in a contrary Doctrine, maketh of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished now to be done again: And finally, that which was instituted only for eating and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once done, the Popish Mass maketh an oblation and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead:

To conclude, these both private and publick Masses of Priests turn away the object of our Faith from the Body of Christ crucified, to the Body of Christ crucified in their Masses. And where God annexeth the promises of justification but only to our Faith in the Body of Christ crucified; they do annex promise of remission *a pana culpa*, to the Body in their Masses Sacrificed, by their application; besides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring of their private and publick Masses, which here I leave to other at their leisure further to conceive and to consider. Now let us proceed to the other Articles following.

The fourth and fifth Articles of Vows and Priests Marriage.

AS we have discoursed before by stories and order of time the antiquity of the 3 former Articles above mentioned, to wit, of Transubstantiation, of the half Communion, and of private Masses: so now coming to the Article of Vows, and of Priests marriage, the Reader will like perchance to be satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these Vows and unmarried life of Priests have continued. Wherein, although sufficient hath been said before in the former process of this history, as in the life of *Anselmus*, also of Pope *Hildebrand*, &c. Yet for the better establishing of the Readers mind against this wicked Article of Priests marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been said, or what is more to be added. And to the intent that the world may see and judge the said Law and Decree of Priests single sole life, to be a Doctrine of no ancient standing here within this Realm, but only since the time of *Anselmus*, I will first alledge for me the words of *Henry Huntington*, lib. 7. *de historia Anglorum* here following.

Eodem anno ad festum Michaelistenuit Anselmus Archiepiscopus Concilium apud Londoniam: In quo prohibuit sacerdotibus Anglorum uxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum: ne dum mundicias viribus majores appetere, in immundicias horribiles ad Christiani nominis immundum deducere inciderent, &c. That is, The same year at the Feast of St. Michael, *Anselme* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* held a Synod at *London*: in the which Synod, he forefended Priests here in *England* to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have. Which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To otherform again it seemed very dangerous, lest while that men should seem to take upon them such chastity more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might happily fall into horrible filthiness, which should redound to the exceeding slander of Christian profession, &c.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of *Anselmus*, both *Odo*, and after him *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Estelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester* in the days of King *Edgar*, Anno 963, as they were all Monks themselves, so were they great Doers against the marriage of Priests, placing in Monks in Churches, and Colledges, and putting out the married Priests, as ye may read before. Yet notwithstanding neither was in many Churches, and also the Priests then married were not constrained to leave their Wives, or their Rooms, but only at their own choice. For so writeth *Malmesbury* in *vita Dunstani*: *Itaque Clerici multarum Ecclesiarum, data opione vi aut amicum mutarent: aut loci cederent, &c.* That is, Therefore divers and sundry Clerks of many Churches being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways, &c. So also *Elfricus* after them (of whom mention was made before) was somewhat busie in setting forward the single life of Priests, and *Lanfrancus* likewise. But yet this restraint of Priests lawful marriage was never stably established for a Law here in the Church of *England*, before the coming of *Anselme* in the days of *William Rufus*, and King *Henry* the first, writing in these words Boldly I command by the Authority which I have by my Archbishoprick, not only within my Archbishoprick, but also throughout *England*, that all Priests that keep Women, shall be deprived of their Churches, and all Ecclesiastical Benefices, &c. as ye may read more at large before. Which was much about the same time, when as *Hildebrand* also at *Rome* began to attempt the same matter, as before hath been shewed, and also besides him were other Popes more, as *Innocent* the third, Pope *Nicholas* the second, and *Calixtus* the second, by whom the Act against Priests Marriage was brought at length to his full perfection, and so hath continued ever since.

Long it were and tedious to recite here all such constitutions of Councils provincial and general, namely, of the Council of Carthage and of Toledo, which seemed to work something in that behalf against the Matrimony of Priests.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all such Bishops and Priests, which notwithstanding have been married since that time in divers Countries, as more amply shall be shewed (the Lord willing) in the sequel hereof. In the mean season, as touching the age and time of this devilish prohibition for Priests to have their Wives, this is to be found by credible proofs, and conferring of Histories, that in the year of our Saviour,

1067. at what time Pope Hildebrand began first to occupy the Papal Chair, this Oath began first to be taken of Archbishops and Bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into the Ministry, or into any Ecclesiastical Function having a Wife; and likewise the Clergy to be bound to promise the same.

And this was, as I said, about the year of our Lord, 1067. well approved and testified by course of Histories. Whereby appeareth the Prophecie of Saint Paul truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times, the first of Timothy the fourth, Where he writeth in these words, The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the Faith, harkening into Spirits of Error, and to Doctrines of Devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thanksgiving, &c.

In this Prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; First the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of Meats, which God generally hath left free to all Men. The second thing in this Prophecy to be noted is the time when this Prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the World. So that this concurth right well with these years of Pope Hildebrand aforesaid, being a thousand years complete after the Ascension of our Saviour; so that they may well be called the latter times.

This Prophecy of Saint Paul thus standing, as it doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs consequently follow thereby, that the married life of Priests is more ancient in the Church than is the single life, than the law I mean commanding the single life of Priests. Which may soon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and search of Histories.

1. For first at the Council of Nice, it is notorious that this devilish law of marriage to be restrained was stopped by Paphnutius.

2. Before this Council of Nice, in the year of our Lord 180. we read of Polykrates Bishop of Ephesus, who dissenting from Pope Victor about a certain controversie of Easter day, alledgeth for himself how his progenitors before him seven together, one after another, succeeded in that Seet, and he now the eighth after them was placed in the same, using this his Descent of his Parents not onely as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

3. Pope Symonius about the year of our Lord 390 wrote to the Priests of Spain about the same matter of putting their Wives from them, if his Epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish Priests had then with them a Bishop of Terragon; who answering to Symonius in this behalf, alledged the Testimonies of Saint Paul, that Priests might lawfully retain their Wives, &c. To this Symonius replied again, (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the Priest that was married, and for the defence of his cause, alledged this sentence of Saint Paul, Si secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini. That is, If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die, &c. Whereby may appear not onely how they in Spain then had Wives, but also how blind these Men were in the Scriptures, which shewed themselves such and so great Advantages against Priests Marriages.

4. To be short, the further that we go, and the nearer that we come to the antient and Primitive time of the Church, the less antient we shall finde the deprivation of lawful Matrimony amongst Christian Ministers,

beginning, if ye will, with the Apostles, their examples and Canons, who although they were not also married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their Wives, witnessing Saint Paul, where he writeth of himself; Non habemus potestatem sororem mulierem circumducendi sicut & reliqui Apostoli? That is to say, Have we not power to lead about a Sister to Wife, as also the other Apostles have? Whereby it is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other Apostles did. Also Clemens Alexandrinus, which was two hundred years after Christ, Lib. Strom. 7. denieth not, but that Paul was married being an Apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the laid Apostles in their Doctrine admonish all men to marry that cannot otherwise do, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation, Vnusquisque suam uxorem habeat, ne tentet vos Satanas, &c. That is, Let every Man have his own Wife, lest Satan tempt you, &c. So likewise the same Apostles in their Canons (as in the Popes Decrees is cited) do precisely charge, that no Bishop nor Priest should sequester from him his Wife for any matter or pretence of Religion, saying, If any shall teach that a Priest for Religion sake ought to continent his own Wife, let him be accursed, &c.

As for the Gloss there in the margin, which expoundeth this word concerning for exhibiting things necessary for her sustentance, all the world may fee that to be a Gloss of meer Sophistry. And because I have here made mention of Clemens Alexandrinus, it shall not alie from my purpose impertinent, to infer the words of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend Priests lawful matrimony, against certain vain boasters of Virginity, in his time. Dicunt gloriose ipsi iactatores, se imitari Dominum, qui neque uxorem duxit, neque inmundum aliquid possedit, se magis quam alios Evangelium intellexisse gloriantes. That is, These glorious braggers do vaunt themselves to be the followers of the Lord, who neither had Wife, nor yet possessed any thing here in the world, &c. And it followeth, Eis autem dicit Scriptura, Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde nesciunt causam cur Dominus uxorem non duxerit. Primum quidem, propriam Sponsam habuit Ecclesiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, ut opus haberet etiam adiutore aliquo secundum carnem, &c. To these the Scripture maketh answer, God will withstand the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Again they consider not the cause why the Lord took no Wife. First, he had his own peculiar Spouse, which is the Church. Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that he should stand in such need of a helper after the flesh, &c. And in the same Book a little after alledging against them that abhor Matrimony, he inferreth the words of Saint Paul, how that in the latter days, Some shall fall from the Faith, attending to spirits of Error, and to Doctrines of Devils, forbidding to marry, and to abstain from meats, &c.

Which place of Saint Paul, Clement here applieth not against the Novatians, and them that condemn Matrimony in general in all men, as naught; but he applieth it onely against such, as forbid marriage in parts, and namely in Priests, &c.

This Clement wrote after Christ two hundred years, and yet if we come downward to lower times, we shall find both by the Council of Gangren three hundred years, and also by the Council of Nice four hundred years after Christ, the same liberty, Priests marriage established and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the Gangren Council these; Si quis dixerit Presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, & ab ejus oblatione ideo abstinere, anathema sit, &c. That is, If any do judge that a Priest for his marriage sake ought not to minister, and therefore doth abstain from the same, let him be accursed.

Moreover proceeding yet in times and Chronicles of the Church, we shall come to the sixth Council called Synodus Constantinopolitana, almost seven hundred years after Christ: the words of the which Council be alledged in the Decrees, and be these in Latine. Quoniam in Romani ordine canonis esse cognovimus traditum, eos qui ordinati sunt Diaconi vel Presbyteri, confiteri

Divers of the Apostles were married.

Clemens Alexandrinus lib. Strom. 7.

Distinct 21

Canons of the Apostles;

A sophistical gloss.

Clemens Alexandrinus lib. Strom. 7.

To the cause why the Lord had no wife

1. Tim. 4

Council of Gangren

Council of Constantinople

confiteri quod non suis jam copulatur uxoris, tan-
cum, sequentes Canonem Apostolicam diligentia, & Con-
fraternitas sacerdotum rorum, legalemque a modo va-
lens volumus, nullo modo cum Uxoribus suis eorum con-
traria diffidentes, aut prevarices eos familiaritate adin-
vicem, in tempore opportuno, &c. That is, Because in
the order of the Roman Canon, we know it so to be
received, that such as be Deacons and Priests shall profess
themselves to have no more copulation with their Wives,
we following the ancient Canon of the diligent Apostles
and Constitutions of holy men, enact that such lawful
Marriage from henceforth shall stand in force, in no case
dissolving their conjunction with their Wives, neither
depriving them of their mutual society and familiarity
together, in such time as they shall think convenient,
&c. Hitherto ye have heard the decree; hear now the
penalty in the same decree and distinction contained. *Si
quis igitur præsumpserit contra Apostolicos Canones ali-
quos Presbyterorum & Diaconorum privare a consuetu &
communione legalis Uxoris sue, deponatur, &c.* That is,
if any man therefore shall presume against the Canons of
the Apostles, to deprive either Priest or Deacon from
the touching and Company of his lawful Wife, let him
be deprived. And likewise this Priest and Deacon, who-
soever for Religion sake shall put away his Wife, let him
be excommunicate, &c. and the Counsel of Gangren
saith: *Let him be accursed.* By these Words of the
Council recited, six things are to be noted.

ibid.

Six things
in this Coun-
cil are so
noted.

1. First, how this Council calleth the Marriage of
Priests lawful, contrary to these six Articles, and to a
certain late English writer of our Country, entitling
his Book against the unlawful Marriage of Priests.

2. In that this Council so followeth the Canons of the
Apostles, and Constitutions of holy men; we have to un-
derstand what the censures both of the Apostles and
determination of other holy men were therein.

3. If the Injunction of this Council, agreeing thus
with the Apostles and holy men, stood with Truth, the
contrary Canon of the Romans, and also of these six
English Articles, must needs be condemned of error.

4. By this Council appeareth, that so long time, almost
seven hundred years after Christ, this prohibition of
Priests Marriage was not yet entered into the Orient
Church but very stoutly was holden out.

5. By the Roman Canon here mentioned, which be-
gan with *Gregorius* six hundred years after Christ, a lit-
tle before this Council, it cannot be denied, but the
Church of *Rome* began then to disserve, not only from
the verity, but also from the unity of all other Churches
following the Apostolick Doctrine, albeit the said Roman
Canon at that time stood not long, but was shortly dis-
annulled by the said *Gregorius* again, by the occasion
of Infants Heads found in the fish Pond; whereof (Christ
willing) more shall be spoken hereafter.

The crafty
packing of
the Romans
in the pre-
facing and
countering
the
Canons of
Councils.

6. Sixthly here is to be noted and remembered the
crafty false packing, and fraud of the Romans, which in
the Latin Book of Councils, in divers new impressions
have suppressed this Canon, because belike it maketh
little with their purpose: playing much like with this,
as Pope *Sesimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Celestinus* played with
the sixth Council at *Carthage*, which for their supremacy
would have forged a false Canon of *Nice* had not the
Council sent to *Constantinople* for the true exemplar
thereof, and so proved them open liars to their faces.
So likewise this Canon above mentioned, although it be
omitted in some Books, yet being found in the ancient
and true written Copies, being alledged of *Nilus* a
Greek Bishop of *Thessalonica* two hundred years before;
and moreover being found and alledged in the Popes
own Book of Decrees, *Distind.* 31. must needs con-
vince them of manifest theft and falshood.

Dita 31.

Hildebrand
and Celestinus
first extor-
ed of
priests law-
ful Marriage.

Thus it may stand sufficiently proved, that the de-
privation of Priests lawful Marriage all this space was not
entered into the Church, neither Greek nor Latin, at least
took no full possession before Pope *Hildebrand's* time,
Anno Domini 1057. and especially Pope *Celestinus* time,
Anno Domini 1120. which were the first open Extor-
tors of Priests Marriage.

Aventinus, a faithful Writer of his time, writing of
the Council of *Hildebrand*, hath these words: *Sacerdo-
tes illa tempestate publice uxores, sicut ceteri Christiani,
habebant, filios procreabant, sicut instrumentis donati-
um que illi Templis, Myitis, & Monachis fecere, ubi
he nominatim cum conjugibus testes citantur & honesto
vocabulo Presbyterisse nuncupantur, invenio. Caesar tunc
&c.* That is, in those days Priests commonly had Wives,
as other Christian men had, and had Children also, as may
appear by ancient Instruments and Deeds of gift, which
were then given to Churches, to the Clergy, and to Re-
ligious Houses: In the which Instruments both the Priests
and their Wives also with them (which were then called
Presbyterisse) I find to be alledged for witnesses. It hap-
pened moreover the same time (saith *Aventinus*) that the
Emperour, had the investing of divers Archbishopricks,
Bishopricks, Abbeyes; and Nunneries within his Domi-
nions. Pope *Hildebrand* disdaining against both these
sorts aforesaid, that is, both against them that were in-
vested by the Emperour, and also against all those Priests
that had Wives, provided so in his Council at *Rome*
that they which were promoted by the Emperour, into
Livings of the Church, were counted to come in by
Simony; the other, which were Married Priests, were
counted for *Nicolaitans*. Whereupon Pope *Hilde-
brand* writing his Letters to the Emperour, to Dukes,
Princes, and other great Prelates and Potentates, namely
to *Bertholdus*, *Zaringer*, to *Rudolphus* of *Suevia*, to
Welfon of *Bavaria*, to *Adalberton*, and to their Ladies,
and to divers other to whom he thought good, also to
Bishops, namely to *Otto* Bishop of *Constance*, with other
Priests and Lay People, willed them in his Letters to
refuse and to keep no Company with those *Simoniacks*
and those *Nicolaitan* Priests (for so were they termed
then) which had either any Ecclesiastical living by the
Emperour, or else which had wives, to avoid their Masses,
neither to talk, neither to eat nor drink with them, nor
once to speak to them, nor to salute them, but utterly
to shun them, as men execrable and wicked, no o-
therwise than they would chew the Plague or Pestilence.

Aventinus
in histor.
Bosorum.Simoniack
Priests, Ni-
colaitan
Priests.Ex Aventino
Annal Boscor
lib. 5.

By reason whereof ensued a mighty schism and afflic-
tion among the Flock of Christ, such as lightly the like
hath not been seen: For the Priests went against their
Bishops, the People against the Priests, the Laity against
the Clergy: Briefly, all ran together in heaps and in con-
fusion. Men and Women, as every one was set upon
mischiefe, wickedness, contention, and avarice, took there-
by occasion, upon every light suspicion, to resist their
Minister, to spoyl the goods of the Church. The vul-
gar People contemned the Priests which had married
Wives, despised their Religion, and all things that they
did, yea, and in many places would purge the place
where they had been, with holy Water, and burnt their
Tithes. Also such was the mischief of them, that they
would take the holy Mysteries which those married
Priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and
tread them under their feet: For so then had *Hildebrand*
taught them, that those were no Priests, neither that they
were Sacraments which they did consecrate. So that by
this occasion many false Prophets rose, seducing the Peo-
ple from the Truth of Christ by forged fables, and false
miracles, and fained glosses, wresting the Scriptures as
served best for their own purposes. Of whom few there
were that kept any true chastity. Many could make glo-
rious boasts and brags thereof; but the greatest part
under the shew and pretence of honesty and pureness
of life committed Incest, Fornication, Adultery, every
where almost, and no punishment was for the same, &c.
Thus much out of *Aventinus*. lib. 5. *Annal.*

To this Testimony of *Aventinus* above mentioned
we will also adjoin the record of *Gebnilius* a writer of
this our later time, and one also of their own crew, who
doth testify that in the time of the Emperour *Henricus*
the fourth, *Anno* 1057. the number of twenty four Bi-
shops, both in *Germany*, *Spain*, and in *France*, were
married, with the Clergy also of their Dioceses.

Gebnilius.

Volusianus
vita cler-
icorum. Dio.
23 cap. Jus
Igitur.

Calixtus
Priests, that
is, of Calix-
tus, who
chiefly for-
bad Priests
marriage.

All the apo-
stles were
married ex-
cept John &
Paul.

Ex Ambrosio
2. Cor. 11.

Ex Epist.
Hilarij ad
Abrasu fil-
ium.

Ex Ruffino
lib. 2. cap. 9.

Ex Nazian-
zeno.

Ex Novell
constit. 21.

Ex Hiero-
nymo.

Ex Hiero-
nymo.

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Ex Hiero-
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Of the which Spanish Bishops we read also in *Ildorus*, which wrote more then six hundred years after Christ (And the place also cited in the Popes Distinctions) in his Book *De Clericorum vita*, how they ought either to lead an honest chaste life, or else to keep themselves within the band of Matrimony, &c. Whereby is declared the single life of Priests either to be then voluntary or else their marriage not to be refrained as yet by any law.

Moreover, such *Calixtin* Priests as be now a days, counting Priests marriage as a new devise, and not standing with ancient times, let them look upon the decree of Pope *Symmachus*, and answer thereof to the Gloss *Diff.* 81. where it is written: Let Priests be all refrained from the conversation of all Women, except it be their Mother, Sister, or their own Wife, &c. Where the Gloss in the margin giveth a Note, saying, *Hic loquitur secundum antiqua tempora.*

Thus if either the voice of Scripture might take place with these men that be so rigorous against Priests marriage: or if the examples of the Apostles might move them (whom Saint *Ambrose* witnesseth to have been all married, except only *Paul* and *John*) or else if the multitude of married Bishops and Priests might prevail with them, here might be rehearsed.

That *Terentian* was a married Priest, as witnesseth *Hierome*.

Spiridion Bishop of *Cyprus* had Wife and Children.

Hilarie Bishop of *Poyters* was also married.

Gregory Bishop of *Nissa*.

Gregory Bishop of *Nazianzum*.

Propper Bishop of *Rhegium*.

Cheremon Bishop of *Nilus*.

All these were married Bishops.

Of *Polycrates* and his seven Ancestors Bishops, and married Men, we spake before.

Epiphanius, Bishop of *Constantinople* in *Iustinians* time, was the more commended, because his Father and Ancestors before him were Priests and Bishops married.

Hierome saith, That in his time, *Plurimi Sacerdotes habebant matrimonia*; That is, Many Priests were then married Men.

Pope *Damasus* reciteth up a great number of Bishops of *Rome* which were Priests Sons; as.

Silverius, Anno 544.

Dionysius, about the year 622.

Adrianus the second, about the year 873.

Felix the third, about the year 474.

Hilarius.

Agapetus, Anno 534.

Gelasius, 484.

Bonifacius.

Theodorus, whose Father was Bishop of *Hierusalem* about the year 634.

Iohannes the tenth, Anno Domini 924.

Iohannes the thirteenth, the Son of *Leo* a Priest, about the year 984.

Richard Archdeacon of *Conventry*.

Henry Archdeacon of *Huntington*.

Volusianus Bishop of *Carthage*.

Thomas Archbishop of *York*, Son of *Sampson* Bishop of *Worcester*.

And how many other Bishops and Priests in other Countries, besides these Bishops of *Rome*, might be annexed to this Catalogue, if our leisure were such to make a whole beader of them all?

In the mean time the words of *Sylvius* Cardinal, and afterward Bishop of *Rome*, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certain Friend of his, which after his Orders taken was disposed to marriage. To whom the foresaid *Sylvius* answereth again in these words following: *Credimus te utrum in iusto consilio, cum nequeas contrahere, conjugium queris: quamvis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antea quam initiaveris sacri ordinis.*

Sed non sumus Dei omnes qui futura prospicere valeamus. Quando huc venimus est, ut legesistere nequeas, melius est nubere quam iri, &c. That is, We believe that you in so doing follow no sinner Counsel, in that you chuse to be married, when otherwise you are not able to live

chaste, Albeit this Counsel should have come into your Head before that you entred into Ecclesiastical Orders. But we are not all Gods to foresee before what shall happen hereafter. Now so much as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the Law, better it is to marry than to burn, &c.

All the premises well considered, it shall suffice I trust, though no more were said, to prove that this general Law and prohibition of Priests marriage, pretended to be so ancient, is of no such great time nor long continuance of years as they make it, but rather to be a late devised Doctrine, gendered by the Monks, and grounded upon no Reason, Law, nor Scripture, but that certain, which be repiners against the Truth, do wrack and wrest a few places out of the Doctors, and two or three Councils for their pretended purpose. Whose objections and blind Cavillations, I, as professing here but to write stories, refer to the further discussion of Divines, in whose Books this matter is more at large to be fought and searched. In the mean season, so much as appertaineth to the searching of times and antiquity, and to the conservation of such Acts and Mounments as are beehoveful for the Church, I thought hereunto not unprofitable to be adjoined a certain Epistle learned and ancient, of *Volusianus* Bishop sometime of *Carthage*, tending to the defence of Priests lawfull wedlock, which *Aneas Sylvius* in *volusianus*, *descriptio Germanie*, also *Ilyricus* in *Catal* and *Melan*, *lib. de Conjugio*, do father upon *Huldericus* Bishop of *Augusta*, in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the second: but as I find it in an old written example sent by *John Bale* to *Matthew* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as it is joynd in the large Book, so it beareth also the same title and name of *Volusianus* Bishop of *Carthage*; joyning also withal another Latine Epistle, which perhaps hath not been seen in Print before. The Copies of both which Epistles, as being pertinent to the purpose present, hereunder ensue in form as followeth.

The Epistle in Latin of Volusianus, or as some think of Huldericus Bishop of Augusta, to Pope Nicholas, against the forbidding of Priests Marriage.

Epistola Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi ad Nicolaum Romanorum Episcopum.

Hæc est rescriptio Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi, in qua Pater Nicolaus de continentia Clericorum, non iuste, sed impie nec canonice sed inclementer tradit, ita respondit.

Nicolaus Domino & Patri pervigili, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Provisor, Volusianus solo nomine Episcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut servus.

Um tua, Pater & Domine, decreta super Clericorum continentia nuper mihi transmissa à discretionis in-
venire aliena, timor me turbavit cum tristitia. Timor quidem propter hoc, quod dicitur Pastoris sententia, sive iusta sive iniusta, timenda est. Timebam enim in scriptura audire, qui vel iuste vix obediunt sententiæ, ne iniustam concalcantes liberi, merita, importabili Pastoris prævaricatione præcipite obligarent. Tristitia vero vel compassio, dum considerabam, qua ratione membra cavere possent, capite suo tam gravi morbo laborante. Quid enim gravius, quid totius Ecclesiæ compassione dignius, quam te summæ Sedis Pontificem, ad quem totius Ecclesiæ spectat examen, à sancta discretionis vel minimum exorbitare? Non parum quippe ab hac devias, cum Clericos, quos ad abstinentiam conjugii moneri debebas, ad hanc imperiosa quadam violentia cogi volebas. Nunquid enim merito communis omnium sapientium iudicio hæc est violentia, cum contra Evangelicam institutionem, ac sancti Spiritus dissolutionem, ad privata aliquis decreta cogitur exequenda?

Cum Ergo plurima veteris ac novi testamenti suppetant exempla, sanctam (ut nosti) discretionem docentia, tue rogo ne grave sit Paternitati, vel pauca ex pluribus huic paginae interseri. Dominus quidem in veteri lege Sacerdoti conjugium constituit, quod illi postmodum interdixisse non legitur. Sed idem in Evangelio loquitur; 1. Cor. 2. Sumus Eunuchi, qui se castraverunt propter regnum celorum;

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celorum, sed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui posse
capere, caput: Quapropter Apostolus quique ait: De
virginibus preceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem
da. Qui tiam iuxta prædictum Domini, Non omnes
boni consilium capere posse considerant, sed multos ejusdem
consilii assensatores, hominibus, non Deo, pro falsa pietate
continentiae placere volentes, gravia vides committere,
parum felices uxores subagere, maliorum ac pecu-
niarum amplexus non abhorre; ne morbi hujus asper-
sione ad usque pessimum convalescant, nimium status
labefacturi Ecclesie totius: Propter fornicationem,
dixit, non quique suam uxorem habeat. Quod pecu-
lier ad Lucas perimere idem meminitur hypocrite, qui
licet in quocumque sanctissimo Ordine constituti, alieni
tamen uxoris non dubitant abuti. Et quod fide-
renimus, omnes in supradictis virginitate secleribus: h
nimium non rectè Scripserim intellexerunt, cuius ma-
millas cum uxoribus pressere, languinem pro lacte bibi-
runt. Num illud Apostolicum, non quique suam habet
uxorem, nullum excepit vere, nisi professorem continen-
tie, vel eum qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate
prefixit.

Quod nihilominus in tuam, Pater venerande, concedit
ferventem, ut omnem, qui tibi manus vel ore votum
faciens continentia posita debitor apparet, aut ad
votum exequendum ex debito constrigat, aut ab omni
Ordine Canonica Autoritate deponat: & ut hoc viriliter
implere sufficias, me omnesque mei ordinis viri desic-
tutores habeatis non pigros. Verum ut hujus voti neces-
sario omnino finis esse cogendas, audi Apostolum dicen-
tem ad Timotheum: Oportet (inquit) Episcopum irre-
prehensibilem esse, virum uxoris virum. Quam enten-
tiam ne quis ad solam Ecclesiam vertet, subjungit;
Qui autem domui suae praefectus nescit, quomodo Ecclesiae
Dei diligantur habeati? Similiter, inquit, Diaconi
sunt viri uxoris viri, qui filius sui bene praefectus, & suis
domibus. Hanc autem uxorem ad sacerdotem benedicen-
dam esse, Sancti Sylvestri Papa decretis sic te sufficien-
ter docuisse. Hic & hujusmodi Sanctae Scripturae
sententias, regule Clericorum scriptor non immerito con-
cordans ait; Clericus fit pudicus, aut certe unus mari-
tum vinculo federatus. Ex quibus omnibus veraciter
colligit quod Episcopus & Diaconus irreprehensibiles no-
tantur, si in mulieribus multis avidentur. Si vero
unam sibi obtentu religionis asineant, utraque, scilicet
Episcopus & Diaconus sine graduum differentia, hac
Canonice damnetur sententia: Episcopus aut Presbyter
uxorem praeterquam nequam sibi obtentu religionis abici-
at, si vero & egerit, excommunicetur: & si perseve-
raverit, deiciatur. Sanctus quoque Augustinus, sanctae
differentiae non in eis; Nullum (inquit) tam grave
delictum facinus esse, qui admittendum sit, ut deiciatur pejus.

Legimus præterea in secundo Synodici Ecclesiæ sacre libro historicæ, quid cum Tripartiti Nicænæ hæc eadem velle sanctæ decreta, ut videlicet Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, præ consecrationem à propriis usibus vel omnino abstinere, vel gradum disponentes; largiens in medio Paphnutius (ex illis Martyribus) quos Maximus Imperator, oculis eorum dextris oculis & sinistris iuris incisis, damnauit; contradixit, dicentibus confessum nullum, ac lapsum esse, hinc, conuincum cum propria nuxæ; perquisique Concilio, ne talem ponerent legem, grauem afferens esse causam, que aut ipsi, aut eorum coniugibus oculo fornicationis existeret. Et hæc quidem Paphnutius, licet nuptiarum experti, exposuit; Synodusque ejus sententiam laudauit. & nihil ex hac parte sancitum; sed hoc in unicuiqueque voluntate, non in præcæditæ dimissi.

Sunt vero aliqui qui S. Gregorium suae fidei summi
adjucores; quorum quidam temeritatem iusto, ignoran-
tiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quod periculum huius he-
resis doctrinam ad S. Gregorium faciunt, condigno poeniten-
tie fructu postmodum ab eodem sit purgatum. Quippe
ante diem quam in vivorum sinu propter piosci mun-
di filios, esset, et alata inde plus quam sex milia Infantum
capita videres, minima me ductu poenitentia ingemiscis,
et facium à se de abstinentia decernam tanta cedi-
tiam confusus, condigno illud, ut dixi, penitentia
fructu purgatum; in quo decore profusus dampnato, ad
fructum illius laudandi confusum; Melius est nubere
quam uris: addens ex sua parte melius est nubere

quàm mortis occasione præbere. Hunc forsitan res
eventum si illi necum legissent, non tam temere, credo, 1 Cor. 7.
iudicarent, Dominicum saltem timentes præceptum;
Nolite iudicare, ut non iudicemini. Inde Paulus dixit
Tu quis es, qui iudicas alienum servum? si Dominus
stat, aut cadit. Stabit autem; potens est enim Dominus
sustinere illum. Cesset ergo Sanctitas tua cogere, quos
tantum deberet admonere; ne privato (quod absit) præcepto
tam veteri quam novo contrarius inveniaris testamē-
tamentum. Nam, ut ait Sanctus Augustinus ad Donatum,
solum est quod in tua iustitia perime[n]sus, ne non pro
lenitatis Christianæ consideratione, sed pro immanitate
facinorosi credas correndum: Quod te per ipsum Chris-
tum ne facias obsecramus, si enim peccata commissa
sunt, ut superius qui peccasse panitent. Ipsi etiam Augustinus
Augustini volumus te recordari, quod ait, Nihil nocen-
di sit cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate: &
nihil fiat immaniter, & nihil inhumantur. Idem
de eodem, et timore Christi, in nomine Christi
exhortor, quicunque non habetis temporalia, habere
non cupitis: quicunque habetis, in eis non præsumitis.
Dico autem, ne si ista habetis, dampnami; sed si in
istis præsumitis, dampnami: si propter talia magni
vobis videamini, si generis humani oblationem commu-
nem propter excellentem unitatem obliviscimini. Quod
nimium poculum deservitis ex illo fonte Apostolicæ ban-
deræ predicationis; Solutus es ab uxore, nisi quære
uxorem; aligatus es uxori, nisi quæres solutionem? Ubi 1 Cor. 7.
& subdit, Qui habent uxorem, sint tanquam non
habeant; & qui utuntur mundo, tanquam non utantur.
Idem dicit de vidua, Cui vult nubat, tantum in Domino.
Nubere in Domino est, nihil in contrahendo commix-
tum deo Dominus præbebat, attendere. Incertus quoque Hieronymus
ait, Nolite consilare in verbis mendacii, dicentes, 1 Tim. 4.
Templum Domini, Templum Domini, Templum Do-
mini est. Quod Hieronymus exponit, Potest (inquit)
& hoc illis virginibus convenire, quæ faciunt pudicitiam
suam impudens vultu: præferunt castitatem, quam aliud
habeat conscientia, & necant illius Apollolis definitio-
nem de virgine, ut sit sancta corpore & spiritui. Quid
enim prodest corporis pudicitia, immo confusio, si
ceteras virtutes, quæ Prebicus Sermo describit, non
habuerit? Quæ quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere
videmus, & quia discretionem, licet in hac re negligamus,
in aliis tamen vicia tua constitutionibus esse comitis
conferatam te cuius corrumptum non desuperamus. Est ideo non
quantæ possimus gravitate, istam licet gravissimam neg-
ligentiam corporis vel iudicamus. Quamquam enim
secundum vocabula quæ usus obtrivit, sit Episcopatus
Presbyterio maior: tamen Augustinus Hieronymo minus
est, & à minori quilibet non est refugenda corruptio
est; præsertim cum i qui corripitur, & contra vertitur, &
pro hominibus niti invenitur. Neque enim (ut ait San-
ctus Augustinus ad Bonifacium,) quorumlibet dissolutio-
nis quamvis Catholicorum & leodanorum curam,
velut Scripturæ Canonica habere debemus: ut non liceat
nobis scripta bonorificia quia illis debetur, aliquid in
eorum lapsu improbare acque respuere, si forte inven-
imus quod aliter [sensimus] quàm veritas habet, divino
adiutorio vel ab alio intellecta vel à nobis. Quid autem Ma-
ritatis magis contrarium, quam hoc, quod cum ipsa
veritas de continentia loquens, non unus hominis, sed
omnium planè (non excepto numero propositum continen-
tiae) dicat; qui potest capere, capias; isti [nescius]
unde instrigati dicant, Qui non potest capere, seriatim
anæstheticæ.

Quid vero per homines fieri potest? Solitudo? quid
divina maledictionis obligatus, quam cum aliqui, vel
Episcopi, videlicet, vel Archiepiscopi, in praecipites
sunt in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque incestus,
neque masculorum (proh pudor!) turpissimos amplexus
sciant abhorre? casu Clericorum conjugia sibi dicant
fettere? aut ea non vera iustitia compassione, sed
falsa justitiae designatione, non ut conserjos regem con-
sultis, sed ut servos iubeant ac cogant abstinere? Ad
cujus imperii, ne dicam Consilii, tam fatuorum, tamque
turpium addunt [suggerentem, ut dicunt; bene] ut
pluribus oculis implicari, quam apertè in hominum vultu
& conscientia cum una ligari. Quod profecto non dicent,
si ex illo, & in illo essent qui dicit, *Vae vobis Pharisei,*

Scriptura
perperam
intellecta
Darius p
mendo fa
guis elio
tur.

Can. Apost.
5.
If this Rule
of *S. Austin*
be true,
better it is
for the Pa-
pists to ad-
mit the ma-
riage of
Priests; than
that Adul-
tery, Sodomy,
and other like
ince. veni-
ences should
follow. as
they do.

6000 Infants
Heads found
in *Gregor, ca.*
Ponds.

1 Cor. 7.

Math. 7:
Rom. 14.

re
rly, & Con

010 Jere

system :

2715 CORR

? Ad

Thus, the

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diceren

quia omnia facitis propter homines. Et per Psalmistam, Qui hominibus placent, confusi sumi, quoniam Dominus sprevis eos. Hi sunt, qui prius debent nobis persuadere, ut in conspectu ejus, cui omnia nuda & aperta sunt, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum mundi esse. Licet ergo merito suas pravitas, nullius consilium mercantur pietatis, nos tamen memores humanitatis, divina eis consilium auctoritatis nunquam à pietate vacantis, per viscera ministramus charitatis. Dicimus nempe, Ejice primum hypocrita trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc perspicies ut ejicias fessicam de oculo fratris tui.

Math. 7.

John. 8.

Christus te-

git non

solvit, sed

competentes

legis noluit

fines exegit

Gregorius.

1. Tim. 4.

Ex collata

Sacredotum

qui fructus

crescunt.

Eph. 69.

Illud quoque rogami eos attendere, quod dominus dicit de muliere; Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in eam lapidum mittat, quasi diceret; Si lex jubet, si Moses jubet, jubeo & ego, sed competentes legis ministros exigo. Attendentes quod adducitis, attendite quaso & quid estis: sed ipsam, ut ait Scriptura, perspexeris, nulli unquam legem detraheris. Significaverit autem nobis de quibusdam eorum quod tanta apud se intumescant elatione, ut grigen Domini, pro quo boni pastores animas non dubitant ponere, isti verberibus etiam absque ratione presumant laniare. Quorum sententiam Sane Gregorius nimium deploratis ait. Quid fiet de ovibus, quando pastores lupi sumi? Sed qui vincitur, nisi qui sevit? Quis vero persecutorem judicabit, nisi qui dorsum suum ad flagellum patienter ministravit? Opera precium est ante, ut audiat, quod fructus tantum ecclesie Dei inducant scandalum, tantum clerici deprecantur, & ab ipsis Episcopis, & ab eorum infidelibus parantur. Nec enim eos infideles dicere dubitaverim, de quibus Paulus Apostolus dicit ad Timotheum; Quia in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam à fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris, & doctrinis demoniorum, in hypocrisis loquentium mendacium, & convitiantium habentium conscientiam, prohibentium numero.

Hic est autem, si diligenter inspicatur totius eorum manipulus xianorum, totius eventus infamia, ut dum clerici licetianus mulieris consortia, Pharisaeo devoti, quod absit, furore, relinquere cogantur, fornicatores, & adulteri, & aliorum pravitatum turpissimi ministri cum ipsis efficiantur. Qui hanc in ecclesia Dei heresim sicut ceteros ceterorum machinantur, ut videlicet illud impleretur quod Psalmista eis, utpote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur; Obsecurentur oculi eorum ne videant, &c. Quia ergo nemo, à Apostolice, ignorat, quod si tu per tui decreti sententiam, tantam futuram esse pestilentiam solite discretionis claritate perspexisses, nunquam quorumlibet tam pravorum suggestionibus concessisses: debita tibi subjectionis fidelitate consulas, ut vel nunc ad tanti scandali ab Ecclesia Dei propugnationem evigiles; & quod noster discretionis disciplina, Pharisaeam ab oculis Dei exitus doctrinam, ne scilicet unica Sunamitis, adulterini diutius usa meritis, gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium, per irrecuperabile à sponso, Christo videlicet, avellat avortum: dum nemo sine castitatis, non tantum in virginali flore, sed etiam in conjugalibus habitibus conjugatione, visurus sit dominum nostrum; qui cum Deo patre & spiritu sancto vivit & regnat per omnia secula seculorum, Amen.

As touching the antiquity of this Epistle above prefixed, it appeareth by the Copy which I have seen, and received of the above named Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, to be of an old and ancient writing, both by the form of the Characters, and by the wearing of the Parchment, almost consumed by length of years and time.

And as concerning the authors thereof, the superscription (if it be true) plainly declareth it to be the Epistle of Volusianus Bishop of Carthage. Albeit, heretofore it hath commonly been taken and alleged by the name of Huldéricus Bishop of Augusta, and partly appeareth to be so, both by the Testimony of *Aeneas Silvius*, in Descriptione Germaniae, who in the said treatise affirmeth that Huldéricus, Bishop of Augusta, did constantly resist the Pope, abolishing the Marriage of Priests, &c. and also by the record of *Illiricus*, testifying that the said Epistle not only remaineth yet to this day in old Monuments, but also that he himself did see two exemplars of the same, both pretending the name of the said

Huldéricus to be the Author, notwithstanding this Copy here above prefixed beareth the Title not of Huldéricus Bishop of Augusta, but of Volusianus Bishop of Carthage in Africa, as you may see by the words of the preamble, laying, This is the rescript of Volusianus Bishop of Carthage, unto Pope Nicholas, concerning Priests not to be restrained from lawful Marriage, &c.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas, this was to whom these Epistles were written, it is not plainly shewed in the same, but that by probable conjecture it may be guessed rather to be Pope Nicholas the second, for so much as in his time Priests Marriage began somewhat earnestly to be called in, more than at other times before.

Now as touching the English of this Latin Epistle above exhibited, sofar as much as the same is before inserted, we will refer the reader unto the same place. Wherein if the translation of the English do shew any thing from the Latin here above prefixed, the cause was for that the Latin Copy which here we follow, came not before to our hands.

Another Epistle of the said Volusianus, concerning Marriage not to be restrained from Priests and Ministers of the Church.

Um sub liberi arbitrii potestate creati sumus, & non sub lege sed sub gratia, qualiter creati sumus vivamus. Vos qui continentis legem nobis invitis imponitis, liberi arbitrii nos potestate privatis. Quod nolumus velle, & quod volumus nolle cogendo imperatis & imperando cogitis; & legis vinculo, à quo ipsa gratia nos in libertatem liberati sumus, alligare, & spiritum servitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipsamque gratiam, sine qua nihil facere possumus, omnino evacuare statuitis ita ut (sicut ait Apostolus) ipsa gratia jam non sit gratia, et Deum non sit Dei donum; Et non ex Deo, sed ex homine, nec ex vocante, sed ex operante; eundem Apostolus dicat, Quia non est volentis neque currentis, sed Dei misericordia.

Nam cum sint tria principalia & quasi effectiva, per que omnis anima humana capax et compos rationis, quicquid spiritualis boni apprehendere et percipere potest, apprehendit et percipit, et sine quibus nihil profici capere possit; liberum arbitrium videlicet, Mandatum, et gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona à malis discernimus atque eligimus; mandato ad omnia faciendi provocamur ac incitamus; gratia promovemur et adjuviamur, liberum tamen gratia Domini et Magistris et quasi prepotens imperatrix et Regina est, ad cujus nutum cetera pendunt et ab ea vim et efficaciam expectant, et sine illa nihil praevalent, sed quasi stola et mortua, sicut materia sine forma, jacens et subsacens. Loco enim materia, secundum proportionem aliquam, liberum arbitrium possumus accipere non incongruè; Gratiam vero, loco formae; mandatum autem, quod medium est quasi instrumentum, ad utrumque respicere, quo summus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quasi solidam materiam ducit et promoveat, et formam gratiae illi componat. Et sicut materia sine forma est horrida et deformis: ita liberum arbitrium est horridum et deformis sine gratia superveniente, se movente et promovente, mandato medio quasi instrumentum (ut diximus) interveniente. Quod ergo forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam similitudinem est gratia: et quod materia sub forma, hoc idem est libera voluntas sub gratia. Et item quod est instrumentum ipsarum, hoc est mandatum ad utrumque istorum. Instrumentum namque sordidam materiam, et horridam atque asperam, obscuram, et quasi caecam emaculat et excolit, et claram, planam, ac lucidam, formam superveniente, reddit. Sic et mandatum, liberum arbitrium sordidum, nudum, horridum, asperum et incultum, obscurum et caecum, nudum, comit, lenit, et excolit, lucidat, et illuminat; sicut propheta dicit; preceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, splendore gratiae superveniente. Et sicut materia et instrumentum sine forma nihil valent, ita libera voluntas et mandatum sine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum sine gratia praeveniente et subsequente potest? Gratia namque

Rom. 2.

Rom. 11.

Rom. 9.

Liberum arbitrium, Mandatum.

Liberum arbitrium, Mandatum, Gratia, Gratia loquens, Gratia loquens.

Mandatum loquens, Gratia loquens.

Psalm. 19.

Liberum arbitrium, Gratia loquens, Gratia loquens.

ad

ad liberum arbitrium mandatum quasi nuntium ac famulum mitti: mandatum liberum arbitrium provocat atque quasi sopitum excitat, ut ad bona facienda evigilet & exurgat, utique ei, quam peragere debeat, quasi ceco deducendo demonstrat. Quorum utrumque si à gratia deseritur, nihil omnino per se potest. Quod si conatur, deficit, non proficit, neque etiam efficit, vel perficit. Si præsumit, non assumit, sed potius totam operam & laborem frustra consumit. Cum enim mandatum, seu per hominem sive per Angelum mittitur, & etiam liberum arbitrium seu humano seu Angelico mandati nuntio commovetur, provocatur, & infruitur, nisi divina gratia comitetur, præveniat, & subsequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempe homini in paradisi posito mandatum quod audivit; Ex omni ligno paradisi comede, de ligno vero scientia boni & mali ne comedas? Nihil profus ad salutem, sed potius ad condemnationem. Quare? Quia gratia salvatrix & auxiliatrix deitur, quam ille, in ipsa suis viribus suis, contempsit. Aut quid valuit Israelitico populo in Eremo constituto, mandatum? Legit quod per Moysen acceptis, cui obediit neglexit? Aut quid profuit illi qui Dominum se qui suo arbitrio, & non illius vocatione præsumit dicens; Domine, sequar te quocunque ieris. Ex multis alijs divinis Scriptura locis novi & veteris Testamenti demonstrari potest quid neque mandatum, neque liberum arbitrium per se quicquam valet, nisi divina gratia præveniendo & subsequendo adjuvet. Cum igitur continentia bonum, imò omne bonum sit solius divine gratie donum, nec per mandatum, nec per liberum arbitrium comprehendatur, errant & frustra laborant qui se suis viribus illud apprehendere tentant. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc in vitiis & nolentibus imperant, & non spontaneè sed coactè in Sacramentum Dei dona offerre suadent, nescientes aut obliti illius quod Dominus Moysi, & Moyses Domino præcepit dicens; Separate apud vos primitias Domino, quicquid voluntarius; ut bono animo offerat eas Domino. Quid est separare apud vos primitias Domino, nisi studiosa cogitatione & meditatione in cordibus nostris tractare, & cum dyabolo deponere & dividere, quid Domino de thesauro cordis nostri valeamus offerre? Si enim reticere offeras & non rectè divides, peccasti. Et quid est prono animo offerre, nisi quod ait Psalmista; Voluntariè sacrificabo tibi: Et Apostolus, Non ex tristitia aut necessitate; Hilariter datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon; Bono animo gloriam reddo Domino, & in omni dato bilarem fac vul-tum tuum, & in exultatione sanctifica decimas tuas, & in bono oculo facito ad inventionem manuum tuarum. Et Apostolus Iacobus; Non amat Dominus (inquit) coacta servitia. Et, maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligenter; (id est) non curiose, neque voluntariè. Sicut nos ergo Dominus invitit aliquid offerre non jubet: ita vos invitos aliquos offerre aliquid cogere prohibet per eundem Moysen ubi ait; Ne facias Calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniam proximo facere, est eum non compatiendo & miserando corrigere de peccato; sed designando & exprobando & detrahendo arguere & accusare, & non in spiritu lenitatis instruere, sed in spiritu asperitatis & austeritatis destruere, cum Apostolus dicat; si preoccupatus fueris homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui spirituales estis instruere huiusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, considerans teipsum ne & tu teneas. Vi opprimere proximum, est ultra vires suas aliquid exigere, & onus quod portare non potest imponere, imponitibus fortassis importabile, cum Dominus de Pharisæo ad Discipulos loquens, hoc eis prohibent dicens; Super Cathedram Moysi sedent Scribæ & Pharisæi, &c. Et Apostolus Petrus, Pœnite (inquit) qui in vobis est, gregem Domini, providenter, non coactè sed, penitentes, secundum Dominum; neque turpis lucri gratia sed voluntariè; neque dominantes in Clero, sed forma estote gregi ex animo. Hic Pastor Pastorem, Princeps Apostolorum, quid ceteri Pastores vel Apostoli debeant facere, quomodo gregem Domini sibi credunt tractare, aperte, et piè demonstrat atque insinuat, et quantum sollicitudinem et compassionem erga subditos habere oporteat, eis inculcat: et omnem potestatem tyrannicæ dominationis vel ambitum cupiditatis, quam quidam in subditis sibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul abluunt, et ex n. d. m. m. m. ad paucos subditorum debere, neque eis aliud, ipso potentia imperare, vel de pietatis admonere et obsecrare iuxta vires universales, quæque secundum Dominum, non secundum suæ volun-

tatis arbitrium vel potestatis imperium: et illis formam esse gregi debere, ut quid alijs imperant, ipsi priores faciant, & non minus exemplis, quam verbo proficiant. Ex animo (inquit) non ex imperio; ex voluntate, non coactione; ex charitate, non ex cupiditate. Sunt enim plerique qui zelo cupiditatis, non charitatis accensi alijs imperant quod implere non valent; et, dum lucrum animarum querere se simulant, lucrum potius terrenum captant. Quod bene Baalam Prophetia exprimit, qui Prophetia donum et benedicendi gratiam, quam Divinitus acceperat, non ad utilitatem aliorum, sed ad usum suæ cupiditatis vertit; et sicut nonnulli qui dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere se ostentant, et dum meliores alijs se videri volunt, hoc præsumptione quadam et temeritate agunt, et ideo in ipso præsumptionis suæ et temeritatis actu corruunt. De quibus dicit Apostolus: Qui zelum Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam. Zelum Dei secundum est scientiam habere, provide et consulte in divinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profectio Oza similitudinem gerit, Qui dum Arcam Domini, calcitrantibus bobus qui eam portabant, inclinatum parum per erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tendens, mortuus cecidit. Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bobus inclinari, est legem Domini quam ipsi sacerdotes portare et tenere debent, ab eis non observantem contradicere, et quasi à recto statu in diversam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adiutor Dei interpretatur, erigere tentat: quia sunt quidam Prælati, qui dum sacramento ordinem, ipsam legem divinam maligno excessu vel leviter à sua rectitudinis via quasi inclinare et in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem castigare et corrigere magis virtutis suæ ostentationem quam divina emulatione præsumunt; et quia hoc inconculse agunt, dum adiutores Dei videri appetunt, plerumque mortaliter in deterius cadunt. Sunt et alij qui nullam infirmitatis humane considerationem, nec ullam misericordie respectum et compassionis affectionem habent, et cum Apostolo dicere nescientes: Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor? Dum se subditis, non conditione qua parat, sed auctoritate qua superiores sunt, conferunt, atque magistri vident, et plus præse quam prodesse cupiunt, illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis premunt, et eos sibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur, quod de Simone Cyrenæo in Evangelio legitur, quem angariaverunt persecutores Domini ut tollerent crucem ejus. Cujus etiam nomen bene figuræ convenienter aptatur. Simo namque interpretatur obedientem. Simo vero, id est, obediens; crucem Domini portare angariatur, cum subiectus quæ; à suis magistris vi dominationis vel auctoritatis, vel Anathematizati preliis, et eis obedire compulsi, crucem continentia patienter inviti: ipsam crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ipsam plus ad perniciem suam, quam ad salutem portant, nec ipsa cruce peccato moriuntur, sed potius ipsi peccato vivificantur: nam et alia peccata graviora exinde oriuntur. Inhibito enim naturali unius mulieris conjugio, surrepit non naturalis, sed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio: surrepit illicita et damnable, non legitima sed contra legem aliena uxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam et meretricibus nefanda pollutio: quin etiam abominabilis omnibus parentalibus incestus vel aliarum multarum immunditiarum vel libidinum à Diabolo inventarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Unde Lot de Sodomitico incendio angelo Domini educte creptus, et Uxor consortio viduatus, dum sit infirmitatis confusus ad montana non ausus est Angelo montem ascendere, ipse in Segor, parva civitate que juxta erat, elegit habitare, ipso Angelo præcipiente et sic ad eum loquente, Salva animam tuam, non respice post tergum, sed in monte salvum te fac, ne et tu simul pereas. Cui dicit Lot, Quæso Domine mi, quia invenisti servum tuum gratiam coram te ut salvares me: Non possum in monte salvari, ne forte apprehendant me malum et moriar. Est Civitas juxta hic ad quam possum fugere parvus, et salvabor in ea. Quid est quod Lot à Sodomis fugiens? præcipiente Angelo ut in monte salvaretur, montem affcendit, quia ibi mori timebat, nescit, sed Segor parvam caput civitatem juxta montem possum, ut in ea salvaretur ad habitandum elegit, nisi quicunque fidelium Sodomitica libidinis incendium et periculum evadere cupiens, dum celsitudinem virginalem non valet, et castitatis vitalis timet ascendere ne in ea periclitetur, ad conjugalem colam

Genes. 2.

Mandatum sine gratia nil prodest. Met. 2.

Donum continentie frustra humani viribus appetitur. Num. 11.

Psal. 54. 2. Cor. 9.

Eccles. 15.

Jerem. 42.

Levit. 3.

Galat. 6. Spiritus lenitatis viris coarctat a postolica.

Matth. 23. 1. Petri. 5.

Petri epist. ex consilio est, non imminuit gregem sed paucos

Rom. 21. Malitiam.

Rom. 20. Zelum Dei secundum scientiam habere quid sit. Oza quorum gerit familiaritatem.

1. Cor. 12. Non dominantes in clerum. 1. Pet. 5. Luke 22.

Ex continentia coacta, que inficitur mali.

Gen. 19.

Lot ad montana fugit.

Conjugalis
castitas cui
vi guali
mutat sit, ut
si montem as-
cenderit, ap-
prehendat eum
malum & mor-
tatur, & ne, si
continentiam non
sibi diuinitus
concessam,
suis viribus
obtinere tentaverit,
malum incontinentie,
vel fornicationis,
vel aliquarum
supradictarum
pestium eum
apprehendit, & in
eius mortaliter
percat. Sunt enim
multi qui dum
infirmiorem suam
non considerant,
& diuina maiora
se apprehendere conantur,
ipsa sua praeci-
patione retro-
trahuntur, in deterius
labuntur; quia dum
maiora inconsulti
ambunt, minora,
quae tenere videban-
tur, amittunt. Quod
exemplo ipsius Loth
aperte demonstratur;
qui dum reliqua
Segor quam ad habitan-
dum elegerat, & in
qua saluari putabat,
in montem ascendit,
ibi que mansit, in
incestum filiarum
suarum, ipsarum
iurisdictione corruit,
sicut Scriptura dicit.
Ita namque scripsum
est, Ascendit Loth
de Segor et mansit
in monte, dederuntque
filiae patris sui libere
vinum nocte illa,
& ingressa est maior
domiuitque cum patre.
Nequaquam sibi
contigisset, si in Segor
in qua saluari poterat,
ad praecceptum Angeli,
sicut ille posuisset,
remaneret. Sed quia
hoc quod sibi ab Angelo
concessum fuerat,
dereliquit, & quod
concessum non fuerat,
id postea sua
voluntate contra
praecceptum Angeli
praesumpsit, salus
suae dispensationem
perdidit, et graue
incestus peccatum
incurrit. Sic plerique
contingit, qui dum
quod sibi concessum
est a Deo relinquunt,
& id quod sibi
concessum non est
ambunt, & illud quod
sibi concessum non est
apprehendunt. Quia
sunt nonnulli qui dum
conjugalem vitam
qua sibi concessa est
& in qua saluari possunt,
vel inuiti vel volentes
deserunt, & maioris
profectus desiderio
calidius vitam
acciusque persequuntur,
salutem quam in illa
habere poterant,
perdunt, & periculum
maximum in ista
incurrunt, & ex quo
priores conabantur,
magis deficiunt. &
sicut supra diximus
in maioris ruinae
voraginem vergunt.
Quod bene Doctor
gentium Paulus
considerans, & infir-
miti quibusque
benigne prospiciens
Corinthiis, super his
scriptis suis se
consultantibus, ita
rescriptis dicens,
De quibus autem
scriptis uestris mihi,
bonum homini est
mulierem non tangere;
propter fornicationem
autem vitandam,
unusquisque uxorem
suam habeat; &
unaquaeque virum.
Et uxori vobis
debitum reddat; sicut
et viro. Et post
paucula, Nolite,
inquit, fraudare
inuicem, nisi forte
ex consensu ad
tempus, ut vocetis
orationem: et iterum
revertimini in
idipsum, ne tentet
vos Satanar propter
incontinentiam vestram;
quoniam, sicut ait
Petrus, non omnia
possumus omnes:
Et sicut Apostolus
in superioribus
dixit: Quia non est
volentis neque
currentis, sed
Dei miserantis;
Et alibi, Quia
uniuscuique nostrum
data est gratia
secundum mensuram
donationis Christi.
Hanc mensuram
unicuique tenendam
nec transgrediendam
esse, docens mox
inquit; Volo autem
omnes homines
esse sicut meipsum,
sed unusquisque
propriam habet
donum ex Deo,
alius quidem
scit, alius autem
noscit; Quia
videlicet mensura
nostra arcenda
& debere esse
contentos in
sequentibus
intima-
uit dicens, Vnusquisque
sicut vocatur
deus, ita ambulet.
Et unusquisque
in qua vocatione
vocatus est, in
hac permaneat
apud Deum. Et
hoc idem repetit
paulo inferius
causa confirmationis;
Unusquisque
in quo vocatus
est frater, in hoc
permaneat apud
Deum. Et quia
infirmiorem
humanam videbat
non posse tolerare
incentiva
genium coloris,
nisi per gratiam
Dei, neque vincere
pugnam
carnis aduersus
spiritum; & quia
ipse dixit de se
alibi, Videbam
aliam legem in
membris meis,
repugnantem
legi mentis meae,
hoc se misericorditer
& compatiens
dixisse, sicut in
alia Epistola
monstrauerat,
ubi ait, Huiusmodi dico
propter infirmitatem
carnis vestrae. Et in
hac Epistola paulo
superius, in eadem
schemata, ubi ait;
Hoc autem dico
secundum indulgentiam,
non secundum
imperium, subdicens
demonstrat; De
virginibus autem
praecceptum domini
non habeo: consilium
do tanquam misericordiam
consecutus, ut
sini fidelis. Id est,
misericordia
qua mihi Dominus
consuluit quando
ad fidem me
vocavit, & sibi
sibi sem fecit, &
ego alij consulo
& eandem
mihi misericordiam
illi impendo. Et
quoniam bonum
est virumque,
cum uxore esse
& sine uxore
esse, & cum

Loth, quo
modo in
cestum in-
cidit.

Quo quilibet
dono con-
tentus me-
fura non at-
tendat.

1. Cor. 7

Item p.
Rehef. 4.
Quilibet
inter mem-
fura suam
se continet,
a. Cor. 7.

Porte legem
dum inquit

Item 6.
1. Cor. 7.

virum esse & cum viro non esse, neque peccatum est vel cum uxore esse, vel cum viro esse, mox subiungit dicens; Estimo ergo bonum esse propter instantem necessitatem; quoniam bonum est boni esse sic, &c.

Quid est propter instantem necessitatem? Quae est necessitas instantis, nisi infirmitas praesens? Vel necessitas instantis, est necessitas urgens & cogens praesens necessitas extiterit vel cogerit. Vel instantem necessitatem dicit illius temporis necessitatem & angustiam, quae tunc extabat & tum coegit ut talia scriberet, & eis sic indulgeret, causa scilicet vitanda fornicationis quae tunc temporis acciderat, & aliarum multarum fornicationum supradictarum quae accidere possent. Pro qua fornicatione hoc incepit, & sibi scribentibus rescriptis, & Corinthiis in superioribus huius Epistolae vehementer inuoluit, in hac verba proripit; Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate & spiritu mansuetudinis? Omnino audiat inter vos fornicatio, & talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita ut uxorem patris sui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo necessitatem vitanda fornicationis dico bonum esse homini sic esse, ut si continere non potest, nubat, vel uxorem accipiat. Quod exponendo subiungit; Aliquis est uxori? Noli querere solutionem. Soluitur ab uxore? Noli querere uxorem. Si autem acceperis uxorem, non peccasti: & si nupseris virgo non peccauit. Et hic iterum non imperando sed invitando & compatiendo se dixisse ostendit; Ego autem vobis parco, id est, infirmitati vestra cedo. Hoc itaque in potestate voluntatis unuscuiusque posuit utrum vellet eligere; nec se dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quocumque astringat & teneat, inire; consequenter subiungens, porro, hoc ad utilitatem vestram dico non ut laqueum vobis iniciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, & quod facultatem praebet Dominum obsecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam superius hortatus fuerat, & qui consortio uxoriae conjunctionis impediti, vel solliciti esse volebant. Alijs vero ita dicit; Si quis autem turpem videri se existimat super virginem suam, quod sit supradicta, & ita oportet fieri; quod vult, faciat: non peccat si nubat. Et iterum, utrumque bonum esse, unum tamen melius esse concludendo confirmat. Legitur qui matrimonio coniungit virginem suam, bene facit, & qui non coniungit melius facit.

Quod concordatur superiori sententiae utriusque scilicet datae, in qua ait; Si acceperis uxorem non peccasti, & si nupserit virgo non peccauit. Si ergo virum acceperis uxorem, & virginem nubere, iuxta Apostolum, peccatum non est, & beatitudinem non auferit sed affert; & quia uterque bene facit, idem ambo beati: nec qui uxorem propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus? Aut si Apostolus unicuique propter fornicationem suam suam habere indulget & permittit, cur nos qui ex eadem massa sumus, & carnem peccati ex carne adde peccatricem traximus, & continere non possumus, propter eandem causam & secundum eandem indulgentiam uxores habere non permittitur, & habitas dimittere angustiamur? Aut itaque uxores nobis habere imitantes Apostolum permittit, aut nos ex eadem massa non esse docet, & aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, & permissionem non esse concessam ab Apostolo demonstrat. Quod opinor dicitur esse, quia hac indulgentia non fuit data ab Apostolo Clericis aut alijis nostri ordinis, sed solis Laicis. Quod ex verbis Apostoli, vel ex circumstantia Epistolae non potest defendi, cum nulla ibi certa distinctio vel denominatio habeatur personarum vel graduum seu professionum, nec ipse dixerit seu nominibus seu officiis, vel qui sibi scripserunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus ipse scribebat, nisi tantum generaliter omni Ecclesia Corinthiorum, sicut ipse in principio huius Epistolae his verbis demonstrat; Paulus vocatus Apostolus Christi Jesu per voluntatem Dei & Sathane. Frater Ecclesiae Dei quae est Corinthi, sanctificationis in Christo Jesu, vocatus sanctus, cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini. (Et post nonnulla alia quae compendij causa hic reijcimus, haud ita multum ad rem attinentia, subiungit mox ad hunc modum: Infirmitatem nostram vos considerare, ac misereri rogamus, & ne ei violentiam inferatis suppliciter imploramus. Nam sicut iam satis superius inculcavimus vobis, nullus ad continentiam inuitus debet compelli. Neque hoc genus virtutis ulli per Legem Dei necessario imperatum est, sed voluntaria

Necessitas
instantis
Paulum
sua sit.

1. Cor. 7.

1. Cor. 7.

1. Cor. 7.

1. Cor. 1.

- taria devotione Domino offerendum, dicente ipso de hoc Evangelio; Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed qui datus est. Ad quam tamen benigna mox exhortatione eos qui possunt invitari dicens: Qui potest capere capiat. Unde gratia distinctionis non Moyses femoralibus vestire Aaron & filios eius iubetur, ut de prioribus dicitur: vestire ut Aaron fratrem tuum & filios eius cum eo: sed facies (inquit) femoralia linea ut operiant carnem turpitudinis sue. Ipsi (inquit) operiant carnem turpitudinis sue, tu femoralia Pontifici & filiis eius facies; tu castitatis regulam docebis; tu abstinendum ab uxore complexu eis qui Sacerdotio functuri sunt, intimabis; nulli tamen violentum huiusmodi continentiae iugum imponens; sed quicumque Sacerdotes fieri ac ministerio Altaris servare volunt, ipsi sua sponte uxori servi esse desistant. Quod ubi perferimus, argus suscepto semel continentiae proposito, ministros se Sanctuarii atque Altaris fore consenserint, aderit divina gratia, qua velut ceteris illis habitum Sacerdotibus congruum imponens, quomodo vivere vel docere debeant, abundanter insinuat. Qui sensu subsequenter quoque Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus post pauca subiungit; Cumque laveris partem cum filii aqua, induet Aaron vestimentis suis, id est, linea & tunica, & superhumerali, & rationali, quod fringes balteo, & pones tiaram, & oleum unctionis fundes super caput eius, atque hoc ritu consecrabitur. Filios quoque illius applicabis & induet tunicis lineis, cingisque Aaron Balteo, scilicet & liberos eius & imponens eis Mitras, eruntque Sacerdotes mei in religione perpetui. Namque hic de femoralibus a Mose accipiendis precipitur. Unde liquido constat, quod si hoc genere vestimenti ipsi prius Aaron ac filii eius induerant, & sic ad manus Mosis lavandi, induendi, ungendi, & consecrandi instrabant. Hic aperte ostenditur & docetur, nullis continentiae iugum invito imponendum, sed a Deo prompta & devota voluntate accipiendum. Quod & Dionysius Areopagita theosophus, id est, Deus sapiens, Pauli Apostoli Discipulus, & ab eo Atheniensium Archiepiscopus ordinatus, in Epistola quadam ad Pymtum Gnatiorum Episcopum missa, in qua plurima de nuptiis & castitate commemorat, sicut Ecclesiastica refert historia, monet, & precatur illum ne gravia onera discipulorum cervicibus imponat, neve fratribus necessitatem compulsae castitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum periclitatur infirmitas. Atque Pymtus Dionysio rescriptis sententiam se consilii melioris, quod ipse dabat, amplecti. Hoc itidem & Paphnutius vir divinus atque castissimus, cum in Niceno Concilio (ut in Tripartita historia invenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere Sacerdotibus voluissent, in medium eorum zelo humane infirmitatis commotus & consensu exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogavit, quin potius in voluntate unusquisque poneret exoravit, ne forte per hoc locum darent & occasionem adulterio & fornicationi. Hac namque cautela sancti viri in religione utebantur, ut cum de instructione & edificatione subditorum aliquid agerent, & eos ad meliorem vitam de divinis Praeceptis commoveri facerent, cum patientia & mansuetudine potius obedienda praeberent, quam cum potentia & austeritate imperarent, nullumque inviolatum sibi obsequium compellerent. Quorum vos exempla sequentes, qui eorum loca tenetis & nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem sarcinam quasumus imponatis, ne imprecatione dominica cum Pharisaeis & legisperitis suscipiamini, in qua ait: Vae vobis legisperitis, qui oneratis homines oneribus quos non possunt portare, & ipsi uno digito vestro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamor filiorum Israel ascendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorum qui praesens operibus. Neque vos voleitis facere eunuchos qui de utero matris sic nati sunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violenter ab hominibus facti sunt, sed potius eos eunuchos, qui seipsos sua sponte eunuchizaverunt propter regnum caelorum: neve sacris Ordinibus & divino Mysterio, propter nos tantum, calumniam faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter nostram vitam improbam illud hominibus contemptibile facitis, dum eis hic a nobis illud audiant & percipiant, prohibitis: ac per hoc vitam improbam & infamam & odorem nostrum coram Pharaone & servis eius facere facitis. Quod vos non recte, si dici liceat (ne melle accipiatis) videretur nobis facere, & contra divinam auctoritatem & Canonice regulam hoc quod facitis esse: cum Dominus per legislatorem dicat; Turpi-
- tudinem matris tuae non reveles, & ignominiam ejus ne discoperias. Mater nostra Ecclesia est; Filiusque matris quique fidelium sunt. Cujus tamen mater appellatio maxima in Sacerdotibus est. Nam ipsi generant fideles & verbo predicationis & Sacramento baptismatis. An non mater erat quae dicebat; Filii mei quos iterum parturio? Turpido ergo & ignominia matris Galat. 4: nostrae reprehensibilis est actio Sacerdotalis vita. Qua turpido tunc revelatur, & ignominia discoperitur, cum Sacerdotalis vita publice infamatur. Quod vos nimirum facitis, qui fragilitatem nostram, quasi baculum latentem & coepertam (quia eam nullus ita cognoverat) baculis dissamatis, & propter eam divina mysteria vel ministeria aspernanda solcitis. Quasi ad ea pertinet pollutio aliena, & ea pollutat & commaculat immunditia nostra, cum Psalmogr. dicat, Lex Domini immaculata. aut quasi illa nostra contagione contaminantur, qui ea ex nostro ore & ex nostro officio adipiscuntur. Quod si, ut dicitis, esset, nequaquam Discipulus & turbis de Pharisaeis Dominus praeceperet; Omnia quaecumque dixerint vobis, servate & facite. Et rursum, si ita esset, nequaquam Dominus Judam, quem scire esse sciebat & proditorem suum futurum, cum discipulis aliis ad predicandum mitteret, neque potestatem signa faciendi & sanitatis donandi, neque ad Communionem Sacramentis canae eum admitteret. Et si immunditia nostra divina Mysteria & Ministeria & eorum capacitas & auditoris inficeret & deterioraret, nequaquam Dominus leprosum quem munderat, tangeret, neque ei osculum daret, & nequaquam cum Simone alio Leproso manducaret, & nequaquam a Maria peccatrice pedes suos oscularet, & lacrymis lavaret, & capillis tergi, & caput suum ungi permitteret. Hinc sacrorum Canonum veneranda auctoritas laxavit, nullum per iniquum tradita Sacramenti gratia minus firma videatur. Nam & baptismum (quod procul sit ab Ecclesia) sive ab adultero, sive a fure datum fuerit, ad percipiendam non minus pervenit salubritas. Quod vos illa quae sonant per columbam: Omnia malitiam vel maculam humanae pollutionis excludit, qua declaratur ac dicitur; Mut. 1: Hic est qui baptizavit, &c. Nam si visibilis solus istius radii cum per loca sedatissima transiunt, nulla contactus iniquatione maculantur; multo magis virtus illius qui istum visibilem solem fecit, nulla mysterii dignitate constringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in Ecclesia minister pro officio suo videtur operari, hoc totum continens implendo divinitus effectum. Ita ille, per quem Christus loquitur, Paulus affirmat, Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit; sed Deus incrementum dedit. A Deo non queritur quis vel qualis praedicet, sed sic praedicet, ut invidios etiam bene de Christo predicare confirmet. Tanta est namque divina potentia gratia, ut per malos acquirat bonos, & per reprobos & improbos acquirat & colligat probos. His itaque auctoritatibus & aliis praedictis rationibus persuadi debetis, neque nos ad divini officii celebrationem arceret, neque illos, quorum nihil interest, ab ejus communione suspendere. Quod si mali sumus, nobis ipsi sumus, & plus nobis quam aliis nocemus; & quos fortasse malos conspiciatis, quid boni interius habeant ignoratis. Sunt enim plerique quos de inconvenientia iudicatis, qui continentiores sunt quam illi quos de continentia glorificatis. Qui habemus uxores, juxta Apostolum tanquam non habemus. Quam videlicet continentiam qua nobis non preest dare, grate nobiscum & pro nobis ut ille nobis donet, cuius hoc donum nobiscum esse, & sine quo nemo poterit continens esse. Alter enim illam habere non possumus nisi ex totis precordis illum oramus cuius hoc donum esse cognoscimus. Et hoc ipsum (inquit Salomon) Sap. 6: est sapientia, scire cuius hoc donum est, & quoniam super hoc nihil est.

The same in English.

FOrasmuch as we are created under the Power of *Free-will*, and not under the Law but under Grace, let us solve as we are created. You, which lay upon us the Law of Contineny against our will, to deprive us of the liberty of Free-will. You command us, and by commanding compel us to will that we would not, and not to will that we would do. You bind us to the Law, from the which by Grace we are made free: and you constrain us to receive the Spirit of Bondage again to fear; and go about to make the Grace of God of no effect, without the which we can do nothing; so that, as the Apostle saith, *Grace is no grace, and the gift of God is not the gift of God; and not of God, but of man; not of him that calleth, but of him that worketh*: whereas the Apostle saith, *It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy*.

And whereas there be three principal and effectual things, whereby every human Soul, indued with reason, apprehendeth and perceiveth whatsoever spiritual thing it is able to apprehend and perceive, and without the which it can perceive nothing; the which three things be these; to wit, *Free-will*, the *Commandment*, and *Grace*, (for by *Free-will* we discern and chooseth the good from the evil: By the *Commandment* we are provoked and stirred up to do all things: By *Grace* we are furthered and holpen to perform the same) yet of all these, *Grace* is the Lady and Mistress, and as a mighty Empress and Queen, upon whose beck the other do wait and give attendance, receiving of her both their strength and efficacy, and without her can do nothing, but remain as things of themselves dull and dead, much like as amongst the Philosophers their *Materia* without *Forma* being thereto adjoynd.

For in the stead of *Materia*, we may after a manner not unfully place *Free-will*; and in the place of *Forma* we may set *Grace*, and the *Commandment* (which is the mean between them both, as a certain Instrument) to have respect to both; whereby the principal Artificer, which is God, furthereth and setteth forward *Free-will* as a rude dull matter, applieth to it his *Grace* as the form thereof. And like as the said *Materia* without *Forma* is rude and shapeless, so *Free-will* is a thing rude and deform, if it be not holpen with *Grace* coming therunto, to move it and to further it, the *Commandment* coming as a mean between them both, in the stead of the instrumental Cause, as is before said. Therefore like as *Forma* is in respect of *Materia*, the like resemblance beareth *Free-will* in respect of *Grace*. And again, as *Materia* is in respect of *Forma*, the same also is *Free-will* in respect of *Grace*. And as the Instrument serveth between the aforesaid *Materia* and *Forma*, so doth the *Commandment* coming and working upon the said *Materia* being of it self ugly, rugged, and a thing without all shape and fashion, doth form it, shape, and polish it, and maketh it handfome, sightly, lightfome, bright and clear; even so likewise the *Commandment* coming and working upon *Free-will*, being of it self a thing rude, gross, unshapen and deformed, blind and obscure, doth clarify it, deck it, adorn it, beautifie and enlighten it through the brightness of *Grace* coming unto it, according to the saying of the Prophet, *The Commandment of the Lord is bright and clear, giving sight unto the eyes*.

And as the Matter and the Instrument without the Form can do nothing, even so *Free-will* and *Commandment* without *Grace* have no power to work. For what can either *Free-will* or the *Commandment* do, except they be holpen with *Grace*, both going before and following? For *Grace* fendeth the *Commandment* as a Messenger and Minister to *Free-will*; the *Commandment* provoketh *Free-will* and stirreth it up, as out of a sleep to do good works, and leadeth it as a blind man by the hand, teaching him the way wherein to go. Which both, if they be destitute of *Grace*, are able of themselves to do nothing. And if they begin, yet they proceed not, neither do they perform or accomplish any thing; and if they presume, it prospereth not, and is but labour lost. For where the *Commandment* cometh, either by Man or by an Angel, and also

where *Free-will* is moved, provoked, and informed either by the motion of Man or Angel, yet unless Gods *Grace* go withal, preventing and following the same, what is it able to do? For when Man was put in Paradise, what availed him the *Commandment* which he heard, *Thou shalt eat of every Tree of Paradise, but only of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat*. Which *Commandment* wrought not to his salvation, but to his condemnation. And why? because *Grace*, that faweth and helpeth, was wanting, which he presuming unjustly upon his own strength despised. Or what did the *Commandment* of the Law, given by *Moses*, profit the people of *Israel* in the Wilderness, which Law they refused to obey? Or what profit wrought it to him which presumed to follow the Lord of his own free will, and not of the Lords calling, saying unto him, *Lord, I will follow thee*. *Whitherforever thou goest*. By these, and many other places of holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, it may be proved that neither the *Commandment* nor *Free-will* have power to work of themselves, unless they be holpen by Gods *Grace* preventing and following them.

Seeing therefore the gift of Contineny; as all other gifts be, is the gift only of Gods *Grace*, and cometh not by the *Commandment* nor by *Free-will*; they err therefore, and strive in vain, which labour to obtain it by their own power: And much more they also do err, which by force constrain men against their will therunto, moving them to offer gifts into the Sanctuary of God, not of their own accord, but by coercion, either not knowing, or else not remembering the saying of the Lord to *Moses*, *Separate amongst you the first fruits unto the Lord, and let every man of his own voluntary and willing mind come and offer the same unto the Lord*. What is this, to separate with you the first fruits to the Lord, but only to weigh and consider diligently in your hearts, and with discretion to lay down and separate unto the Lord, what we ought to present unto him out of the treasure of our heart? for if thou offer rightly, and dost not rightly divide, thou sinnest. And what is it to offer with a willing and ready mind, but as the Psalmist saith, *I will offer Sacrifice unto thee willingly and cheerfully*: And the Apostle *2 Cor. 9.* saith, *Not grudgingly or of necessity: For God loveth a cheerful giver*. And Solomon saith, *Give the Lord his glory with a good and free heart, and in every gift thou givest, shew a joyful countenance, and sanctifie thy thytes with gladness: and with a cheerful eye do all that thou takest in hand*. And the Apostle *1 James* saith, *The Lord loveth not constrained service. And cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently; that is, not carefully, and with a willing mind*.

Wherefore, as the Lord willeth us not to offer any thing to him against our wills; so doth he forbid us to compel any man to offer any thing against their wills by the forced *Moses*, where he saith, *Thou shalt not do thy Neighbour wrong, neither oppress him with violence*. To do wrong to thy Neighbour, is to correct him for his sin, not of any compassion or mercy towards him, but to reprove him and to judge him, in disdain, upbraiding and rebuking him; not to inform him in the spirit of severity, but to destroy him in the spirit of bitterness and rigor, as the Apostle saith, *If a man be taken in any fault, you that are spiritual inform such in the spirit of severity, considering thy self lest thou also be tempted*.

To oppress our Neighbour with violence, is to exact any thing of him above his power, and to lay upon him more than he is able to bear, and more peradventure than they themselves are able to wield, which lay it upon him. Whereas the Lord, speaking of the Pharisees to his Disciples, forbiddeth them the same, saying, *The Scribes and Pharisees do sit upon the Chair of *Moses*, &c.* And the Apostle *Peter*, *Feed*, saith he, *as much as in you lyeth, the Lords flock*; providing for them, not by constraint, but willingly after a godly sort, and not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, not as though ye were Lords over the Clergy, but be you as an example to the flock of good will.

This Shepherd of Shepherds, and Prince of the Apostles, doth plainly and evidently declare and insinuate what all other Pastors and Apostles ought to do: how to instruct the flock of the Lord committed unto them, and what great care & compassion of mind they ought to have

L i towards

The Epistle
of Volufianus
Bp. of Carthage
for Priests marriage.
* What he
meaneth
here by
Free-will,
he expound-
eth plainly
in another
place.

Rom. 8.

1. Free-will.
2. The Com-
mandment,
or the Law.
3. Grace.
Grace, Lady
and Queen
over the Com-
mandment
and Free-will.

Free-will
likened to
Materia,
Forma

Free-will,
which after
he calleth
voluntary
Deviotion,
without the
Law, and
the Law,
without
Grace, can
do nothing.

Phil. 1.

Free-will
and the
Law, with-
out Grace,
have no
power.

Gen. 2.
The Com-
mandment
without
Grace, avail-
eth nothing in
Paradise.

Contineny
only the
gift of God

Nam. 18.

1. 2.
2. Cor. 9.
Rom. 12.

Jerem. 48.

Gal. 6.

1. Pet. 5.

Lords do
over the
Clergy
bidded.

towards their cure : and removeth far out of their hearts all power of tyrannical Lordship and all Ambition, which some do exercise with greediness upon those that are committed to their charge, and pronounceth, that they ought not to be Lords, but Fathers over their Flock: and not imperiously to command them, as exercising statelie Authority and Power upon them, but gently to admonish them and beseech them in the zeal of Piety, according to the strength of every person, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their own will, or ambitiously setting forth their own Power and Jurisdiction, and that they ought to be an example to the Flock, doing first themselves that thing which they command others, and so to teach them no less by examples than by words. Willingly, faith he, and not by constraint; of Charity, and not for greedy gain. For there be many, which being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of covetous greediness and ambition, command others that which they are not able to accomplish, and while they pretend to seek the gain of Souls, they hunt and seek rather for worldly Lucre: which *Balaam* the Prophet did well expresse; who converted the gift of Prophecy, and the grace of Blessing which he had received of God, not to the profit of others, but to his own commodity.

Num 21.

Rom 10.
Zeal with-
out know-
ledge, what
it is.

2 Kings 6.

Ose punish-
ed for hold-
ing up the
Ark.

Luke 21.

What incon-
venience ri-
scheth caus-
ed Mar-
riage.

And some there be, which whiles they correct others, they pretend to do with the zeal of God, and whiles they would seem to be better than other; this they do with a certain presumption and rashness, and so fall in their own presumption and temerity. Of whom the Apostle speaketh, *Which have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.* To have a zeal of God according to knowledge, is to do any thing in Gods matters prudently and circumpectly. Of whom *Ose* beareth a type and resemblance. Who whiles that he went about with his hand to stay the Ark of the Lord, flaggering a little by reason of the kicking of the Oxen which carried it, fell down therefore dead. The Ark of the Lord to stagger or miscarry by the kicking of the Oxen, signifieth the Law of the Lord (which the Priests themselves ought to bear and hold up) to be contrariet of them in not observing the same, and to be turned out of the right course to the contrary part, which *Ose*, who is interpreted to be a helper of God, attempteth to hold up. For there be certain Prelats, which while they see the Order of Priesthood, by some enormity or excess, to strain the Law of God never so little out of the right course, and labour to redress and rectifie that disorder, rather by vain ostentation of their own strength, then for any pure zeal to God: while they thus presume inordinately to do, thinking to seem to be the helpers of God, many times do mortally fall, and incur thereby great danger and peril. Some other also there be, which having before their eyes no consideration of mans infirmity, neither being touched with any respect of mercy and compassion, nor knowing how to say with the Apostle, *Who is infirm and I am not infirm?* these, whiles they compare themselves to such as be under their charge, not in condition wherein they are equal, but in authority wherein they are superiours, and covet to be their Masters, and more to rule over them than to profit them, they oppress the weakness of them, by force and violence of Authority, and compel them to their Obedience; which is rightly figured by the Fact, which is read in the Gospel of *Symon Cyrenensis*, whom the Persecutors of the Lord constrained to take up the Cross of Christ. Whose Name also doth fitly agree with the same Figure: for *Symon* by Interpretation is called *Obedient*. *Symon* then, that is to say, the obedient man is forced to bear the Cross of the Lord, when as Subjects being constrained of their Masters, by the rigor either of Lordship or Authority, or fear of their Curse, and so compelled to obey them, are driven to sustain the Cross of Contineny against their wills; who neither do love the Cross which they bear, because they bear it rather to their destruction than to their health; neither by bearing the Cross do they unto sin, but by the bearing thereof are rather quickened unto sin: For thereof rise divers other more grievous sins. For by the inhibiting of lawful and natural marriage with one woman, riseth the unnatural and most execrable Sodomitical Fornication; riseth also the unlawful and damnable detrauing of other mens wives, riseth furthermore cursed and who, if filthy

ness and pollution; and moreover riseth most abominable Incest against all Nature, with their own Kindred, with a heap of manifold other filthy abominations and lecherous pollutions, whereby the frail infirmity of man is brought no doubt into great peril.

Wherefore *Lot* being delivered from the burning of *Sodom* through the guiding of the Lords Angel, and bereaved of the fellowship of his Wife, whiles he considering his own Infirmity, durst not ascend unto the Mountain as the Angel bad him, did choose rather to dwell in *Segor* a little City near by, the Angel thus bidding him, and speaking unto him, *Save thy Soul and look not behind thee, but save thy self in the Mountain, lest thou also perish.* To whom *Lot* answered, *I pray thee Lord, because thy Servant hath found such grace in thy sight that thou wilt save me, I cannot be saved in the Mountain, lest perhaps some evil take me, and I dye: There is a little City hereby wherunto I may fly and be saved in it.*

Gen. 19.

What meaneth this, that *Lot* flying from *Sodom* by the commandment of the Angel, to be saved in the Mountain, would not ascend up to the Hill, fearing there to perish, but did choose rather to dwell in *Segor*, a small City near unto the Hill, there to be saved, but that every faithful man coveting to eschew the burning and danger of Sodomitical Lust, while neither he is able to mount up to the top of Virginitie, and also is afraid to ascend to the Mountain of the state of Widowhood, lest he perish therein, flyeth therefore to the state of Matrimony, which is a small Contineny in respect of the other two, and also near unto them both. For after those two kinds of Contineny, this Chastity is also proved to be laudable, and is not deprived of the reward of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Lot refusing to go up to the Mountain, a tale, what it meaneth.

The Chastity of matrimony, as near to Virginitie.

Unto this Chastity he is commanded to fly, which cannot otherwise contain, and to be saved in it, lest peradventure if he climb up to the Mount, he fall into inconveniency and perish therein: that is, lest if he shall attempt to obtain by his own strength the Contineny which is not given unto him of God, the evil of Incontinency, or Fornication, or of some of the other evils afore rehearsed, do fall upon him, and so he perish in them mortally. For there be many, who while they consider not their own Infirmity, and while they strive to achieve greater things than they are able to reach, in this their climbing, do fall headlong into worse inconveniency, and while they foolishly seek for great things, do lose the less, which before they seemed to have. Which we may well understand by the example of *Lot* afore said, who what time he left the small City *Segor*, which he chose before to inhabit, in the which he sought to be saved, went up to the Mountain, and there abiding, fell into the stoll Incest of his own Daughters, as the Scripture witnesseth, saying, *Lot went up from Segor and remained in the Mountain, and his Daughters gave to their Father wine to drink that night: And the elder of them went and lay with her Father: which thing had not befallen him, if he had kept himself still in Segor, where he might have been saved at the bidding of the Angel, as he himself required. But because he forsook that which was granted to him of the Angel, and presumed to that upon his own will, contrary to the Precept of the Angel, which was not granted; therefore he fell into great danger of his Soul, and committed the grievous sin of Incest.*

No otherwife doth it happen to many other, who while either they forsake the thing which is granted them of God, or ambitiously climb after that which is to them not granted, both they loose that which they had granted unto them, and fall into that which to them was not granted. For divers there be which while they forsake, either willingly or against their will, the married life which is to them lawfully permitted, and in which they might be saved, and strive with a presumptuous desire to lead a single life, both they lose that health and safety which they might have had in one, and incur great danger in the other: So that whereby they suppose most to gain, by the same they lose and fall into the Pit of greater Ruin. Which thing *S. Paul*, the Doctor of the Gentiles, well considering, and tenderly providing for the infirmity of the weak *Corinthians*, writing to him for counsel touching this matter, did write to them again in this wise, saying, As concerning the things whereof you wrote unto me, it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless

Every man ought to be contented with his own gift.

1 Cor. 7.

themselves to avoid Whoredom, let every man have his Wife, and let every woman have her Husband. Let the Husband give unto his Wife due Benevolence: likewise also the Wife unto her Husband. And a little after, withdraw not (saith he) your selves one from another, except it be with consent for a time, that you may give your selves unto Fasting and Prayer, and afterward come together again, lest Satan tempt you for your Incontinency. For as the Apostle saith, *We cannot all do all things*: and as the Apostle saith, *It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy*. Also in another place, *For to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ*. And that every one of us ought to keep, and not to transgress this measure, he teacheth anon after, saying, *I wish that all men were as I myself am; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, another after that*.

And that we are to be kept within our compass and measure, and ought therewith to be content, he teacheth moreover as followeth, *Let every man abide in that Vocation wherein he is called*. And shortly after, for confirmation thereof, he repeateth the same again, and saith, *Let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with the Lord*. And because he perceived that the infirmity of man was not able to sustain the burning motions and heats of Nature stirring in a man, but only by the grace of God, neither be able to conquer the Flesh fighting against the Spirit, according to that which he saith of himself in another place, *For I see another Law in my Members rebelling against the Law of my Mind*; he therefore of Mercy and Compassion, as condescending unto their weakness, and not by rigor of Law and force of Commandment, thus said. As also in another place in his Epistles he speaketh in like words, saying, *I speak thus grossly after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh*. And in this fore said Epistle, moreover a little before, using the same manner of speech, he saith, *This I say to you as of favour and not of commandment*. And adding moreover, he sheweth, *As touching Virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, but only do give counsel, as one that have found mercy with God, that I should be faithful*. That is, after the same mercy wherewith the Lord hath informed and instructed me when he called me to the Faith, and made me faithful to him; so I likewise do give counsel to others, and shew the same mercy to them.

And forasmuch as both are good, to wit, to have a Wife, or not to have; to have a Husband, or not to have; neither is there any sin in having Wife or Husband; shortly after he inferneth, saying, *I suppose therefore this to be good for the present necessity: I mean, that it is good for a man so to be*. What meaneth this, for present necessity? What is this necessity present, but present infirmity? or else instant necessity, compelling to do as the order of necessity requireth. Or else he meaneth by this present necessity, the distress of that time which then was instant, and compelled him to write, and so to bear with them, which was for the avoiding of Fornication amongst them, and many other kinds of filthiness above touched which might have happened. For the which Fornication he took occasion to write unto the *Corinthians*, and to answer to their Letters; and therefore he vehemently against the said *Corinthians*, in the former part of the said Epistle, uttereth these words; *What will you I shall come to you with a rod? or in love and in the spirit of meekness? There is heard among you to be Fornication, and such Fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one should have his own Fathers Wife, &c.* And therefore for this necessity of avoiding such Fornication, he saith, *It is good for a man so to be, that he which cannot continen shall marry and take a Wife*; which afterward he expoundeth, thus inferneth, *Art thou bound to a Wife? seek not to be loosed. And if thou be loosed from a Wife, seek not to be married. But if thou takest a Wife thou sinnest not; and if a Virgin marry she sinneeth not, &c.* And that he spake not this by way of commanding, but of succourance and compassion, he sheweth plainly in these words following; *But I spare you; that is to say, I bear with your infirmity*; and therefore he leaveth it in the free power and will of every man, to choose what he liketh best. Neither doth he enforce

any man (he saith) violently, nor charge them with any strait commandment, and therefore addeth these words following, *And this I speak for your own commodity, not to tangle you as in a snare, but for that it is good and benefit for you, that you may serve the Lord without separation*.

This he saith to them whom before he exhorteth to Continency; and whom he would not to be let or troubled by Matrimonial Conjunction. But to other he saith thus, *If any man think that it is uncomely for his Virgin to remain over-long unmarried, and if need so require, let him do what he thinketh good, he sinneeth not, let them marry*. And again, *both be good*, he saith; but yet the one to be better he concludeth, saying, *Therefore be that joineth in Matrimony his Virgin, doth well; but he that doeth not, doth better*. Which agreeeth well with the Text above, speaking of both kinds, as well the man as the woman, where he saith, *If thou take a Wife thou sinnest not; and if the Virgin take a Husband, she sinneeth not*.

If therefore it be no sin for the man to take a Wife, nor for the Virgin to take a Husband, after the Apostles mind, neither doth diminish their felicity, but rather increase it; and forasmuch as both do well, and so both be blessed; we then which take Wives for our infirmity, what do we sin in having them? Or if the Apostle do suffer and permit to every man, for the avoiding of Fornication, to have his Wife; we then which come of the same lump or mass, and taking our sinful flesh of the sinful flesh of Adam, are not able otherwise to contain, why are we not permitted for the same cause, and by the same permission, to have likewise our Wives, but are enforced to forsake them, being married?

Wherefore either do you permit us, following the Apostle, to have our Wives, or else teach us that we come not of the same mass, either else shew us that the same sufferance and permission is not granted to us by the Apostle, which is granted to other. Which cause peradventure you will thus pretend; That this sufferance was granted of the Apostle, not to the Clergy, or to any of our Order, but only to Lay-men. Which cannot well be defended, neither by the words of the Apostle, nor by any circumstance of his Epistle, forasmuch as there is no certain distinction or denomination either of Persons or Degrees or Professions there mentioned, neither doth he make any difference either in Names or Offices of men, either of them which wrote unto him, either of those Persons of whom he wrote, or else of those to whom he answered, but only in general to the whole Church of the *Christians*, as he himself in the beginning of his Epistle purporteth in these words, *Paul called the Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, and Softeneth his brother, to the Church which is at Corinth, such as he sanctified in Christ Jesus, called Saints, with all that invoke the Name of the Lord, &c.* (And after a few other words, which here for brevities sake we omit, as not being greatly to the purpose pertinent; thus he inferneth.) These Premises being well considered, we beseech you to have regard and compassion of our infirmity, most humbly desiring you not to oppress us with this violence. For as we have sufficiently before proved, no man ought to be constrained unto Continency against his will, neither is this kind of virtue commanded of God to any man of necessity, but only of voluntary Devotion to be offered to the Lord; as he himself speaketh in the Gospel, *All men cannot receive this saying, but to whom it is given*. Wherunto he gently exhorteth them that can take it, saying, *He that is able to receive this, let him receive it, &c.* Wherefore for distinctions like *Moses* is not himself commanded to clothe Aaron and his Sons with Breaches, as in these words going before, *Thou shalt clothe with these Aaron thy brother, and his sons, &c.* But he thus saith, *Thou shalt make linen breeches that they themselves may cover the filth of their flesh*. That they themselves, saith he, may cover the filth of their flesh. Thou, saith he, shalt make the breeches for the Bishop and his sons: thou shalt teach the rule of Chastity; thou shalt exhort them to abstain from the company of their Wives, and shalt do the Priests Office; yet laying upon none violently the said yoke of Continency; but whosoever shall be Priests, and shall serve the Altar, shall of their own accord surcease from the use of Matrimony: which when they shall do, and of their own

Marriage is permitted to the infirmity of all men. Priests are inferior as to their meat, &c. Virgins ought to be permitted to Priests like.

Cor. 1.

Forced Chastity is no Virtue. Math. 11.

For present necessity to marry what it meaneth.

1 Cor. 4.

1 Cor. 7.

voluntary consent shall take upon them the purpose of Continency to serve the Altar, then shall the grace of God be present, which as it did apparel those other Priests afore said with attire for them convenient, so shall it instruct them abundantly, how they ought to live and to teach. And this is well agreeth with the Text that followeth, saying, *And when thou shalt wash the Father and the Son with water, then shalt take the Garments, that is, the great Coat, the Tunicle, and the Breast-lap, and put them upon Aaron, and gird them to him with a brodered girdle of the Epled. Then thou shalt put the Afters upon his head, and shalt put the holy Crown upon the Myrr, and thou shalt be consecrated. Also thou shalt bring his Sons, and put Coats upon them, and shalt gird them with girdles, both Aaron and his Sons, and shalt put Bannets on them, and the Priests Office shall be theirs for a perpetual Law.*

This then you see a Commandment of receiving of the seven Breaches of *Adels*. Whereby it plainly appears, that *Aaron* and his Sons first did apparel themselves with the kind of Apparel, and so entered in to be washed, instructed, anointed and consecrated by the hands of *Moses*.

By the which we are plainly taught, that the yoke of Continency is not to be enforced upon any man against his will, but it is to be received of God with a prompt and devout will. Which thing also *Dionysius Areopagita*, that godly wise man, the Disciple of *S. Paul*, and ordained of him Bishop of *Athens*, in a certain Epistle of his sent to *Pylatus* Bishop of the *Gnathina*, in which he toucheth many things of Marriage and Chastity (as is in the Ecclesiastical History related) doth admonish the said *Pylatus*, and prayeth him that he will lay no grievous Burthen upon the necks of the Disciples, neither infer any necessity of cooped Chastity upon the Brethren, whereby the inamity of some of them might be in danger. And *Pylatus* answering to *Dionysius* again, sheweth himself willing to embrace the Sentence of his wholesome Counsel. The same also did *Papinianus*, the divine and chaste Bishop, who in the Council of *Nice* (as the Tripartite History doth shew us) when the Fathers which there were present went about to restrain Priests from Marriage, he rising up among them, and moved with the zeal of mans infirmity, desired them that the would not to do, but rather to leave it unto the voluntary discretion of every man, lest in so doing they might peradventure give occasion of Adultery and Fornication. For those holy men did then use this Cautel and Moderation in Religion, that when they treated any thing concerning Instruction and Edification of the People, and would have taken steepest up to a better life by godly Instructions, they would rather perswade things to be observed with Patience and Lenity, than command with Rigor and Authority: neither would they compel any man to their Obedience against his will.

Whole Examples you also following, which succeeded in their room and name, do you not lay upon us infirm persons such importable Burthens, lest you be partakers with the Pharisees and Lawyers of the Lords Curse: who saith, *Wo to you Lawyers, which lay burthens upon men, which they cannot bear, and you your selves teach not the burthens with one finger.* And left the cry of the Children of *Israel* ascend up to the Lord for the cruel dealing of them which are Overseers of the works. Neither do you make such Eunuchs which are so born from their Mothers womb, or such Eunuchs which are violently made by men, but rather those Eunuchs, that of their own accord have gelded themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven. Neither do you bring upon the holy Order of Gods Ministers, for us only, such an offence and slander, that for our wicked life you make the Ministry to be despised of others, while you will not suffer them either to hear us, or to receive the Sacraments of us, infaming thereby our lowly life, and causing the flavor of us to stink before *Pharab* and his Servants. Wherein it seemeth to us that you deal not soundly and uprightly, if a man may so say (I pray you take it in good worth that I speak) and also to be against the Authority of Gods Word, and the Canonical Constitutions, which you do, whereas the Lord saith by *Moses* the Law-giver, *The shame of thy Mother thou shalt not disclose, and her ignominy thou shalt not*

discover. Our Mother is the Church, the Sons of this Mother be all the Faithful, which name yet most fitly is appropriate to Priests, for they do beget the Faithful, both by the Word of Preaching and Sacrament of Baptism. Was not he to be counted a right Mother who said, *My little Children of whom I travel in birth again?* The same shame and ignominy of our Mother, what is it but the reproveable Conversation of the life of Priests: which shame and ignominy is then revealed when the life of Priests is publicly infamed: which thing you do, that discover and notice to men our fragility, lying before as hid and covered, because before it was not known, and for that same you bring the holy Ministry and Mysteries of God into contempt and hatred: as though the polluted life of others did any thing pertain thereto to pollute the same, and as though our uncleaness did any thing blemish them, or diminish the pureness thereof, whereas the Psalmist saith, *The Law of the Lord is pure and immaculate, or as though they were any whit polluted by our infection, which do receive the said Mysteries either by our Mouth or Ministry: which if you grant, then the Lord would never have spoken so to his Disciples, and the People, touching the Pharisees, saying, Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.*

And again, if it were so, the Lord would not have sent forth *Judas*, whom he knew should betray him, with the other Disciples to preach, neither would have committed to him the power of working Miracles, and of giving Health, nor have admitted him to the Communion of the Supper. And if our impurity should infect our holy Mysteries or Ministrations, and make them worse that bear and receive the same, then the Lord would never have touched the Leper whom he had healed, which would have killed him, neither would have taken with *Simon* another Leper, neither would have suffered his face to be kissed, and with the tears to be washed, and with the hair to be dried, and his head to be anointed of *Mary* the sinner.

Therefore the holy Canons have thus decreed: That no man, which rightly receiveth the Lords Sacraments of an Heretick, should be therefore any thing corrupted by his heretical pravity, nor the said Sacraments should be any whit defained by the infection of him. Whereupon the Church of *Rome*, in a certain Epistle directed unto *Anastasi* the Emperor, to *Anastasi* the Pope, did so ordain and write, That none of all them whom *Anastasi* did baptize, or whom he ordained Canonically to be Priests or Levites, should be any thing hurt by the name of the said *Anastasi*, so that thereby the Sacraments which by him were ministrated, should seem the less firm and effectual. For the Sacrament of Baptism also being ministrated of an Adulterer or a Thief (which God foreknew to be in the Church) doth come unto the Receiver never a whit the worse. What meant that voice which sounded by the Dove, but that it excluded all evil and impurity of the corruption of man? in the which it is declared and said, *This is he which baptizeth, &c.* For if the beams of this visible Sun, passing by the filthy places, receive no spot or filthiness thereby, much more the grace of him which made this visible Sun, is not tyed to any worthiness of our works. Whatsoever therefore any Minister of the Church worketh in his Function to the behoof of the People, all that taketh his effect by the operation of God. Thus witnesseth *Paul*, by whom Christ speaketh, *I have planted, and Apollo hath watered, but it is the Lord that hath given the increase.* God regardeth not so much who or what manner of person doth preach, but that he so preach that he may confirm them that be taught, and cause them to preach well of Christ. For such is the operation of Gods mighty Grace, that by evil men he winneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked persons he getteth and gathereth together those that be good.

By these, and such other Reasons and Authorities above alleged, you ought to be perswaded, neither to abandon us that be married from the administration of Divine Service, nor yet to Excommunicate such to whom the matter nothing pertaineth, from the Communion thereof. And if we be evil, we are evil to our selves, and hurt our selves more than others. And such as you suppose peradventure to be vicious, yet may have some good thing inwardly which you know not of.

For

to be Nicolas the Second, which in the third Book of the Laws, called Panormia, tit. De Lapis, is named Nicolas the younger: Which Nicolas also is Author of the next Decree that followeth, &c.

Objection answered.

Wherefore if any man shall object hereafter, That because Gratian in the Distinction aforesaid nameth Pope Nicolas absolutely without any additions, it is therefore to be taken for Nicolas the first; unto this Objection I set here these two Lawyers to answer. Unto whose answer this I add also, That the common manner of Gratian lightly in all his Distinctions, is, that when he speaketh of Popes, as of Innocentius, Gregorius, Leo, Lucius, and such other, very seldom he expresseth the difference of their names: So in the Distinction 18. Presbyteris, where he bringeth in the Decree of Calixtus in like manner against the Matrimony of Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, he addeth thereto no difference of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was Calixtus the Second, and not the First, &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The Letters (no doubt) by their title appear to be written by Volusianus. Most certain this is, by whomsoever they were written, fruitful Epistles they are, and effectual to the purpose.

But lest we should seem too much to digress from our purpose, let us return to the story and time of Nicolas the Second again, which was about the year, as is said, 1060. a little before Hildebrand was Pope. Which Hildebrand, albeit he was then but a Cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him listeth in the Church of Rome, and also made Popes whom he would, as appeareth both by this Nicolas, and also Pope Alexander which followed him. So that this dissolution of Priests marriage began somewhat to kindle under this Pope Nicolas, through the Pessilent means of Hildebrand, and after him increased more under Pope Alexander, as appeareth by the Synod holden at Millain, Anno 1067. But most of all it burst out under the said Hildebrand himself, being Pope, the year as is said 1070.

Read more.

The times removed of this Epistle to Pope Alexander.

Council Carthage c. 13.

Dist. 24. cap. Cum prece-

rico.

Although as touching this Prohibition of Priests to be married, I am not ignorant that certain of the contrary Faction, in searching out the reach and antiquity of this Tradition, for Priests to abstain from Wives, do refer the same to the time of the second Council of Carthage, which was about the time of Pope Syritius, a great enemy to Ministers Wives, as appeareth Distinct. 84. cum Præteritis. Yet notwithstanding to the same may be answered, That this was no universal or general Council, but some particular Synod, and therefore of no such great forcible Authority.

2. Secondly, The same Synod being about the time of Pope Syritius, who was a capital Enemy against Priests marriage, may seem to draw some corruption of the time then present.

3. Thirdly, Neither is it impossible, but as divers bawdy Epistles have been falsely fathered upon certain ancient Bishops of the Primitive Church, and divers Canons also, as of the Council of Nice, have been corrupted by Bishops of Rome, so some falsehood likewise or forgery might be used in this second Council of Carthage.

4. Fourthly, Although no false Conveyance had been used therein, yet so much as the said Canon of the second Council of Carthage doth mis-report and falsify the Canons of the Apostles, in so doing it doth justly diminish his own credit.

Priests and Bishops married long after the second Council of Carthage.

5. Fifthly, Seeing the foresaid Canon of this second Council of Carthage tendeth clean contrary to the Canons of the Apostles, to the Council of Gangra, and other Councils more, and commandeth that which they do accuse, the Authority thereof ought to have no great force, but rather may be rejected.

6. Finally, though this Constitution of the Council of Carthage were perfectly sound without all corruption, yet plain and evident it is by this Volusianus, Bishop also of Carthage, that the same Constitution took no great hold in the Church, so much as we see, that both this Volusianus is married after that in Carthage himself, and also beliveth him, many hundred years after, marriage was a common matter through most

Churches of Christendom, amongst Bishops and Priests, as partly before hath been declared. And more may be seen in Histories, what great tumults and business was long after that in Hildebrands time, and after him also amongst the Clergy-men, both in Italy, Spain, France, and in all Quarters of Christendom, for separating Priests from their liberty of marrying.

And again, if this Tradition concerning the unmarried life of Priests had stood upon such an old Foundation from the second Council of Carthage (as they pretend) what needed then in the time of Pope Nicolas the Second, Pope Alexander the Second, Pope Gregory the Seventh, and other Popes after them, so much labour to be taken, so many Laws and Decrees to be devised and enacted, for the abolishing of Priests marriage, if the same had been of such a long Antiquity as they would make men believe?

By these things considered it may appear, that this The general Law forbidding Priests to marry, when it first began.

About which time first it is to be noted, That under Pope Leo, and this Pope Nicolas, Cranzius, and certain German Chronicles do say, that Symony and Priests marriage were prohibited. This Pope Leo was Anno 1051.

After this Pope Nicolas (to whom the foresaid Letter of Volusianus seemeth to be written) made this Ordinance: *Ut nullus Missam audiat Presbyteri quem sit Concubinam* *Ex Romana Synodo 4.* *indubitanter habere aut subintroductam mulierem. Et quicumque Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, post constitutum beatæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri sanctiss. Papæ Leonis, de castitate Clericorum, Concubinam palam duxerit, vel duxim non reliquerit, ex parte Omnipotentis Dei & Autoritate beati Petri & Pauli præcipimus, & omni contradicimus ut Missam non canet, &c.* That is, Whatsoever Priest, Deacon, or Sub-deacon, according to the Constitution of Pope Leo our Predecessor, concerning the Chastity of Clerks, shall openly marry a Concubine, or shall not put her away being married: in the behalf of Almighty God, &c. we utterly charge and forbid the same, that he sing no Mass, nor read the Gospel or Epistle at Mass, nor execute any Divine Service, &c. And this was about the year of our Lord, 1058.

Although in this Constitution of Pope Nicolas, this word Concubine may be understood for no Wife, but so as Gratian understandeth it in the sixteenth Canon of the Apostles in these words, *Concubina vero intelligenda est præter uxorem*: That is, For one besides a mans Wife. Then after this Pope Nicolas coming Pope Alexander, and specially Pope Hildebrand, do expound this Concubine forbidden, for a Wife, and such Priests as be married, they expound them for Nicolaitans; for so we read in the Synod of Millain, under Pope Alexander the Second: *Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur Clerici, qui contra castitatis Ecclesiasticæ regulam faminis administrant, &c.*

And further it followeth in the same Synod, *Nicolaitarum quoque hæresin nibilominus condemnamus, & non modo Presbyteros, sed & Diaconos & Subdiaconos ab Uxoribus, vel Concubinarum sado consortio nostris studiis, in quantum nobis possibilitas fuerit, arcendos esse promittimus, &c.*

And after it followeth in this wife, *Si hæc de Simoniacis & Nicolaitarum hæresi delenda & funditus destruenda fideliter non observaverit, ab Omnipotentis Deo & omnibus Sanctis sine excommunicationis & anathematizationis, & ab omni Christianorum consortio inveniar alienus.*

And moreover it followeth upon the same, *Amibemathidom tito quoque omnes hæreses exollentes se adversus sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, specialiter vero & nominatim Simoniacam hæresin; deinde Nicolaitarum æque abominabilem hæresin, quæ impudenter latrat, sacri Altaris Ministris debere vel posse licenter uti Conjugibus, quomodo & laicos, &c.* As much to as I say in English, as, I do accuse all Heresies extolling themselves against the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, but especially and namely, the heresie of Symony:

The general Law forbidding Priests to marry, when it first began.

Ex Romana Synodo 4.

Concubina.

Dist. 13. quæ. Ex Synodo. Melitole. Married. Priests call'd Nicolaitans.

The Synod against Priests marriage.

Symony: and in like manner the abominable Heresie of the Nicolaitans, which impudently barked, that the Ministers of the holy Altar may and ought to use Wives lawfully, as well as Lay-men, &c. And thus much concerning the Synod of Millain, under Pope Alexander the Second, *An. 1067.*

Anno 1067.

Pope Hildebrand and the greatest enemy to Priests marriage.

And after this Alexander rose up Pope Hildebrand, of all other the chiefest and most principal Enemy against Priests marriage. For whereas all other approved Canons and Councils were contented, that any Clergyman, having a Wife before his entering into his Ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his Marriage, so that he married not a Widow, or a known Harlot, or kept a Concubine, or were twice married; now cometh in Pope Hildebrand, making Priests Marriage to be Heresie, and further enacting, *That whatsoever Clerk, Deacon, or Minister had a Wife, whatsoever she was, Maid or other, either before his Orders, or after, should utterly part her from him, or else forsake his Ministry, &c.*

Tim: Ex Limber to Scholre barguill.

Although notwithstanding the greatest part of Ecclesiastical Ministers facing this strange Doctrine and Proceedings (which S. Paul expressly calleth *The Doctrine of Devils*) did what they could to withstand the same. Of whom Lambertus Schafnaburgensis thus writeth; *Adversus hoc Decretum prout vehementer infremuit tota factio Clericorum, hominem plane Hæreticum, & vesani dogmati esse clamitantes, qui oblitus sermonis Domini, quo ait, Non omnes capere hoc verbum; Qui potest capere, capiat, &c. Et Apostoli, Qui se non cominet, nubat; Melius est nubere, quam uri; violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret ritu angelorum. Quod si pergeret, male se Sacerdotium quam conjugium deserere, &c.* In English thus; *Against this Decree the whole number of the Clergy did vehemently storm and grudge, crying out upon him as a pernicious Heretick, and one that made Phantastical Doctrine: who forgetting what the Lord saith, All men cannot take this word; he that can take it, let him take it. And also what the Apostle saith, Who so cannot otherwise contain, let him marry; better it is to marry than to burn, &c. Yet notwithstanding would he bind men to live like Angels. Who if he continued as he began, they would (they said) sooner forsake the Order of Priesthood, than their Order of Matrimony, &c.*

The Council of Ruma-giella Priests marriage unles Pope Hildebrand. Anno 1074.

Which Hildebrand, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call upon them, and to send to the Bishops every where to execute his Commandment with all severity, threatening to lay the Apostolical Censure upon them, if otherwise they shewed not their diligence therein to the uttermost. *Ex Lamb.* This was *An. 1074.* Of the same Hildebrand Radulphus de Diceto also writing, hath these words:

Ex Radulpho de Diceto.

Gregorius Papa septimus Hildebrandus, celebrata Synodo, Symoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos Sacerdotes a divino remotis officio, & Laici Missarum eorum audire interdixit novo exemplo, & (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato præjudicio contra sanctorum Patrum Sententiam, &c. The English is this; Pope Gregory the Seventh, called Hildebrand, bolding a Synod, accused such as committed Symony, and removed married Priests from saying Service, forbidding also the Lay-men to hear their Mass, after a new and strange example, and as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the Sentence of holy Fathers.

And thus much for the Antiquity of bringing in the single life of Priests, which first springing from the time of Pope Nicolas and Alexander the Second, began first with a Custom, and afterwards was brought into a Law, chiefly by Pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italy into other Countries, and at length into England also, albeit not without much ado, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing.

Law for Priests not to marry.

In the mean while, as Pope Nicolas and Hildebrand were busie at Rome, so Lanfrank Archibishop of Canterbury likewise was doing here in England about the same matter, although he began not altogether so roughly as Pope Hildebrand did, for so it appeared by his Council holden at Winchester: where though he inhibited such as were Prebendaries of Cathedral Churches to have Wives, yet did he permit in his Decree, that such Priests as dwelt in Towns and Villages, having

Wives, should retain them still, and not to be compelled to separate from them, and they which had none, should be admitted to have; imposing moreover the fifth part of the tithes hereafter, to it they presumed not to admit into Order any Priests or Deacons, unless they should first make a solemn position to have no Wives.

The words of the Council be these; *Decretumque est, ut nullo Canonico uxorem habeat, Sacerdotum vero in Castellis & in vicis habitantium uxores uxores, non cogantur dimittant: non habentes, interdicanur ut habeant. & diuince caveant Episcopi, ut Sacerdotes vel Diaconos non presumant ordinare, nisi profiteantur ut uxores non habeant, &c.*

Ex Mat: Parit. Lanfrank not to be a pure Virgin.

And here to note by the way of the said Lanfrank, for all his glorious gay shew of his Monkish Virginity and single Life, yet he escaped not altogether so unsupported for his part, but that the story of Matthew Paris, writing of Paulus Cadomensis, whom Lanfrank preferred to be Abbot of S. Albans, thus reporteth of him, *Paulus (inquit) Monachus Cadomensis Archiepiscopi Lanfranci nepos, jure, aliquorum relationibus, consanguinitate propinquior, &c.* That is, Paul a Monk of Cadune, and Nephew of the Archbishop Lanfrank, yea, as some say further, more near in blood to him than so, &c.

Then after Lanfrank came Anselme into the See of Canterbury, who taking to him a stouter stomach, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the Marriage of Priests, Deacons, Sub-deacons, and of the Universal Clergy, not permitting (as Lanfrank did) Priests that had Wives in Villages and Towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only Priests and Deacons, but Sub-deacons also (which is against the Council of Lateran) which were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into Order hereafter, without profession of perpetual Chastity.

Anselme Archbishop of Cantuarie, a constant doer against Priests marriage. Conc. Later. Can. 16. De Clericis matrimon. cop. 1. 12.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish *emphes*, the Priests yet still holding their own as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawful Injunction, but kept still their Wives almost two hundred years after, refusing and resisting of long time the yoke of that servile Bondage, to keep still their freedom from such vowing, professing, and promising, as may well appear by those Priests of York, of whom Gerardus Archbishop of York speaketh, writing to Anselme in these words:

Sitio Clericorum meorum integritatem, sed præterquam in paucis admodum, vel Assiduè juridicam, vel sancti cujusdam Præbiteri mutabilitatem invenio. Varii linguarum aculeis, modo minus, modo convicia infingunt. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores sunt, tolero. Illud omnino grave genus mali est, quod his qui quasi in sinu meo sunt, qui Canonico nomine gaudent, Canones aspernant, adversus Concilia nostra statuta, quasi sophistis disputantes argumentantur, professiones vero minus potius abnegant Canones illi, qui sine professione ad sacros Ordines inordinabiliter sunt processu, & qui in Presbyterium vel Diaconatum constituti, Uxores sive Concubinas in publico ballenus habuerunt, ab Altari nulla e reverentia continentur. Cum vero ad ordines aliquos accessu, dura cereræ naturam, ne in Ordinando castitatem profiteantur. In English thus; I much desire the purity of my Clergy-men: howbeit, except it be in very few, I find in them the deafness of the Serpent Alps, and the inconstancy of Proteus, that the Poets Fable, make of. With their stinging Tongues they cast out sometimes threats, sometimes taunts and rebukes. But thus grieveth me less in them that be further off. This grieveth me most of all, that they which be of mine own Church, as in mine own bosom, and Prebendaries of mine own See, contemn our Canons, and argue like Sophistical Disputers, against the Statutes of our Council. The Prebendaries which unordinately have been taken into Orders heretofore, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make profession to me. And they that be Priests or Deacons, having married before openly Wives or Concubines, will not be removed for any reverence from the Altar. And when I call upon any to receive Order, signify they deny to profess Chastity in their Ordering, &c.

Thus

Hereby ap-
proacheth that
Priests in the
old time
here in
England ne-
ver made
vow of
Chastity, at
their orders
before this
time.
Ex Editoro
h. 4.

Read before

Read afore

After the prohibition of Matrimony followed the vice of Sodomitry.

An Act of
Anfelms a-
gainft Sode-
mity.

The penalties provided against Sodomy.

Ex Epist. A
selm. Reg.
Hovada.

The curse a-
gainst cursed
Sodomitry
called in a-
gain.
Ex *Jean, Tre-
visa.*

scapula free

Anselm:
Offendiculum
Sacerdotum.

Argument.

The Reasons
and Argu-
ments of
Anselm a-
gainst the
marriage of
Priests.

**marriage of
Priests.**

Another Argument.

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Another Argument.

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Another Argument.

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Another Argument.

John 12.

Christ was born of a Virgin, Christ lived ever a Virgin, and commandeth them that will serve him, to follow him. *Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur, (id est) Si vis mihi ministrare, me casse vivendo imitare.*
Ergo, Priests that have Wives are not meet to serve him.

1 Cor. 7.

Let every Man have his own Wife for avoiding of Fornication.

The exposition of *Anselm*.The great exposition of *Anselm*, upon the words of S. Paul.

That is meant and granted of the Apostle only to Laymen: *Hoc solis Laicis concessisse, nemo ignorat.*

1 Cor. 7.

Melius est nubere quam uri: It is better to marry than to burn.

The exposition.

Melius, id est, levius est legitimæ uxori nubere, quam uri, id est quam alienarum mulierum concupiscentia consumi. It is a lighter fault to marry one lawful wife, than to be consumed with concupiscent of strange Women.

1 Tim. 3.

Oportet esse Episcopum irreprehensibilem, unius uxoris virum, &c. A Bishop ought to be unreplicable, the Husband of one Wife, &c.

The exposition.

Præcipit Apostolus, ne quis ad sacerdotium accedere præsumat, nisi is qui non nisi unicam uxorem laicis habuisset. Accepit autem Ordine nunquam ei carnis commixtionem se copularet, tantum vitæ necessaria ei subministraret: That is; *The Apostle here commandeth, that none should presume to be Priest, but he who being a Layman before, hath had no more but one Wife: And after he be made Priest, not to couple himself any more with her, but only to minister to her things necessary for her living, &c.*

And finally after these things thus disputed and alleged, the said *Anselm* concludeth the matter with this final censure and determination, as followeth:
Per hoc autem quod sacras vestes induunt, vel sacra vasa tangunt, Christo violenti manus injiciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præsumunt, Christum quodammodo visibiliter in Altari crucifigunt. Legitur ministerium eorum Christi persecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur. In English thus; *In that these men (he speaketh of married Priests) do put on the holy Vestments, or do touch the holy Vessels, they do lay violent hands upon Christ. And in that they presume impudently to offer, they do in a manner visibly crucify Christ upon the Altar. The ministry of such is read to be a persecution, or rather a Crucifying of Christ, &c.*

The conclusion or censure of *Anselm* upon married Priests.

Loe here the mighty Reasons, the strong timbered Arguments, and the deep Divinity wherewith this *Anselm* and all other that draw after his thing, go about to impugn the lawfulness of Priests marriage. Because the Israelites when they should appear before the Lord at Mount Sinai, were commanded to be kept from their Wives three days; and because the Priests of the old Law in doing their Function, as their turn came about, refrained the company of their Wives for that present time; *Ergo*, Priests of the new Law must at no time have any Wives, but live always single, &c.

And why might not *Anselm* as well argue thus: the People of Israel approaching to the Mount, were commanded in like sort to wash their Garments; *Ergo*, Priests of the new Law, which are occupied every day about the Altar, ought every day to wash all their Garments.

Moses, approaching to the presence of the Lord in the Bush, was commanded to put off his shoes; *Ergo*, Priests of the new Law, which are ever approaching

to the presence of their God, should never wear shoes.

Of King David and his company, which but once in all their life did eat of the Shew-bread, it was demanded by the high Priest, whether they had kept them from their Wives three days before: *Ergo*, Kings and the people of the new Testament, which every year eat the Bread of the Lords Board, more precious than ever was that *Panis Propositionis*, should abide all their life wifeless and unspoused.

But here *Anselm* should have considered by these Scriptures, how we are taught not to put away our Wives, but wisely to distinguish times, when and how to have them. For as Solomon teacheth that there is a time for all things; so is there a time to marry; and a time not to marry, a time to resort, a time to withdraw, a time of company, a time of abstinence and Prayer; which S. Paul calleth, *ἡσυχασμός*; and as he speaketh of a time of Prayer and abstinence, so he speaketh also of a time of resorting together, and addeth the cause why; *Ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram, &c.* That is, Left Satan, saith he, tempt you for your incontinency.

And thus should *Anselm*, with Solomon and Paul, have considered the order and distinction of time. Oftentimes in Scripture that is commanded to some and at some time, which extendeth not to others. And that which for a time is convenient, is not by and always convenient. Neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever. Neither ought special examples to break general orders; neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make an universal rule.

They were then commanded to sequester themselves from their Wives at the coming of the Lord; not that the coming of the Lord did break Wedlock, but his commandment did bind obedience and therefore obeyed they, because they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their Wives, but only to separate themselves for a time, and that not for Months and Years, but only for three days: which abstinence also was enjoined them, not in the presence, nor at the appearing of the Lord, but three days before his descending to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth, that the use of their Wedlock neither displeased God being present, nor yet did drive his presence away when he was come; for he remained there present amongst them on the hill forty days notwithstanding.

Furthermore, this time of separation from their Wives, as it was expressly commanded to them of God, so was it not long nor tedious, but such as was neither hard for them, nor inconvenient for the time: giving us thereby to understand, how to use separation in Wedlock wisely, that is, neither at no time, nor yet too long.

For as they do not well, which never follow the time of Saint Paul called, *ἡσυχασμός*, for abstinence and Prayer: so do they worse which fall into that *ἡσυχασμός*, whereof Saint Paul again giveth us warning. *Ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam vestram.* But worst of all do they, which so separate their Wives clean from them, and so abjure all Matrimony, that they fall headlong into the Devils pitfall of fornication and all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord foreseeing the peril thereof, said unto the people, *Estote parati in diem tertium, &c.* Appointing indeed a separation from their Wives; but yet, knowing the infirmity of Man, limiteth the time withal, adding, *in diem tertium* and goeth no further.

He saith not, as *Anselm* laid in the Council of Winchester, *Jurabunt Presbyteri, Diaconi, & Subdiaconi, uxores suas omnino abjicare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis conversationem habere, sub distinctione censure, &c.*

The like order also was taken by the Lord with the Priests of the Old Testament, who although they were enjoined to withdraw themselves from their Wives during the time of their Priestly service, yet for avoiding fornication they were permitted to have their Wives notwithstanding. So that both their absenting from their Wives served to Sanctification, and their resorting again unto them served to Avoid Adultery and Fornication.

But here our Priestly Prelates will object, That because they be continually conversant about the Priestly Function,

A time for all things.

Special examples break no general orders.

Separation of the Monks from their Wives for three days is no Argument that Priests should never marry.

Separation in Wedlock, how it is to be used.

Exod. 19.

Objection of the Papists why Priests should leave Wives.

tion, therefore a perpetual sanctification is of them specially required. Whereupon I answer.

1. First, The Prieſtly Function of thoſe high Prieſts, Sacrificing for the people in the old Law, repreſenteth only the Function of Chriſt the High-prieſt, Sacrificing for the Sins of the World, which truly and only performed that pure chaſtity in his ſanctified Body, which the Law then in thoſe Prieſts prefigured.

2. Secondly, ſpeaking now of the Prieſts of the New Teſtament (and ſpeaking properly) the Scripture neither knoweth nor admitteth any Prieſt to Sacrifice to God for the Sins of Man, but only the high King and Prieſt Chriſt Jeſus.

3. Unto that Prieſt all other be but Servants and Miniſters; of whom ſome be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangelists, ſome Preachers, having the gift of utterance, ſome Interpreters and Doctors, having the gift of underſtanding, ſome Deacons ſerving the Lords board. The Office of all whom chiefly conſiſteth in miniſtring the Word, next in adminiſtring the Sacraments.

4. Fourthly, Forasmuch as in theſe, principally above all other, pureneſs and Sanctification of life is required, as much and more too, than was in the Prieſts of the old Law, and from whom all Fornication, Adultery, Inceſt, and uncleaneſs of life ought moſt to be baniſhed; therefore in theſe eſpecially, above the Prieſts of the old Law, Matrimony and Spouſe is moſt requiſite and convenient, whoſeever he be, which otherwiſe cannot contain; according to the Apoſtle, ſaying, *Unuſquiſque uxorem ſuam habeat propter fornicationem.*

5. Fifthly. Neither is this Matrimony in theſe any hindrance to their Sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their ſanctification, forasmuch as where Matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth Adultery, Fornication and all kinds of filthineſs; according to the true ſaying of Bernard, *Talis de Eccleſia honorabile concubium, & thorum immaculatum, nonne repleam Concubinarum, inceſtuos, ſeminiſus, molibus, maſcularum concubitoribus & omni denique genere immundorum?* That is, *Take from the Church honourable marriage, and the bed undefiled, ſhalt thou not repleniſh it with Concubines, with inceſtuous perſons, Sodomitical vices, and finally with all kind of beaſtly filthineſs?*

The truth of which ſaying lacketh no kind of examples for confirmation, if we liſted here to ranſack the lives of theſe glorious deſpiſers of Matrimony, even from Lanſfrank, the firſt Ring-leader of this dance here in England, with * Paulus Monk of Cadene his Nephew whom Matthew Paris miſdoubted to be his own Son, even to Stephen Gardiner with his Gold Locks, the Author and Work-maſter of theſe ſix Articles. But to the Reaſons of Anſelme hitherto ſufficient, which of themſelves are ſo frivolous and groſs, that only to recite them is enough to confute the ſame.

Permitting therefore the reſt to the diſcuſſing of Divines, it ſhall ſuffice for our purpoſe, profeſſing here to write Stories, to declare and make manifeſt by proceſs of times and Hiſtories, that this cruel Law, compelling Miniſters of the Church to abjure Matrimony, entred not into this land before Lanſfranke and Anſelme his Succeſſor, as both may appear by the multitude of Prieſts Sons lawfully begotten in Matrimony, and ſucceeding in the Churches here in England, ſcited by the Epistle of Pope Faſchals to Anſelme before, and alſo may appear likewiſe by the Council of Anſelme, holden at Wincheſter, which, partly was touched before, and now the full Act we have more largely expreſſed to be read and ſeen of all poſterity, as under followeth.

The Act againſt Prieſts Marriage, concluded in the Council at Wincheſter, under Anſelme, Anno 1104.

Ita ſunt Statuta de Archidiaconis, Presbyteris, & Canonici in quocunque gradu constituti, que Wintonie constituerunt Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, & cum eo, Girardus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et omnes alii Anglia Episcopi, in presentia gloriosi Regis Henrici, assensu omnium Baronum, iurorum. Statutum est ut Presbyteri et Diaconi caste vivant, et feminas in domibus suis non habeant prater proxima conjugumque sibi junctas,

*secundum hoc quod sancta Nicena Synodus definiit. Illi vero Presbyteri, Diaconi, sive Subdiaconi, qui post interdictum Londonensis Concilii, feminas suas tenuerint vel alias duxerint, si elegerint in sacris Ordinibus remanere, jurent quod cum eis carnale commercium non habebunt amplius. Statutum est etiam ut predicta femina in domo cum eis scienter non conveniant, neque hujusmodi femina in territorio Ecclesie habuerint. Si autem propter aliquam honestam causam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus ad minus legitimis testibus extra domum colloquantur. Si vero in duobus aut tribus legitimis testibus vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorum accusatus fuerit, quod hoc statutum transierit, purgabit se adiunctis secum ordinis sui idoneis testibus, sex si Presbyter, quinque si Diaconus, quatuor si Subdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hac purgatio defecerit, ut transgressor sacri Statuti judicabitur. Illi vero Presbyteri qui divini Altaris et sacrorum Ordinum contemptores preceperint cum uxoriis suis habitare, a divini officio remoti, extra * hortum penantur, infames pronuntiantur. Eadem sententia Archidiaconos et Canonicos omnes complectitur, et de abjiciendis uxoriis, et de vitanda earum conversatione, et destructione censura si statuta transgressi fuerint. Jurantur et Archidiaconi omnes quod pecuniam non accipiant pro toleranda transgressione hujus Statuti. Sed neque ullo modo tolerabunt Presbyteros uxoriis carere, vel vicarios habere, et quod ipsi non dissimulabunt per Archidiaconos suos hoc inquirere, et fideliter Episcopus suis renuntiabunt, et attente, et fideliter de exequenda hujus rei vindicta Episcopos suos adjuvabunt. Qui vero Archidiaconus, vel Diaconus hoc jurare noluerit, Archidiaconatus vel Diaconatus irrevocabiler perdet. Presbyteri vero, qui relictis uxoriis Deo et sacris Ordinibus servare elegerint, quadraginta dies ab officio cessantes, pro se vicarios habebunt, inuncta eis penitentia secundum quod Episcopus eorum visum fuerit.*

And yet this unreasonable Statute of Anſelme, ſo diligent defended with ſharp Cenſures and Penalties, had no great ſpeed, neither in the life time of the ſaid Anſelme, nor long after his death, but divers Prieſts notwithstanding living kept ſtil their Wives, or after his death, they returned to their Wives again, through the ſufferance of the Famous and Learned King, named then Henry Bewelark, who ſomething ſtayed the Importunity of this Monkliſh Prelat, and willed the Prieſts ſhould keep both their Wives and their Churches, as they did before in Lanſfranks days.

Then after Anſelme followed Radulphus Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in whole time was no great ſtir againſt the Prieſts that were married. About the time of this Archbiſhop King Henry called a Council at London, where he obtained of the Spirituality a grant to have the puniſhment of married Prieſts (which the Spirituality afterward did much repent) whereby the Prieſts, paying a certain ſum to the King, were ſuffered to retain their Wives ſtill, as is above ſtoied.

Next after this Radulph, then ſucceeded William Turbiline, ſurnamed De Turbine, who renewed again the conſtitution of Anſelme againſt married Prieſts, eſpecially by the help of Joannes Prieſt and Cardinal of Crema, the Popes Legate, ſent the ſame time into England, Anno 1129. Of which Cardinal Cremeniſis, becauſe enough hath been before declared, how after his ſtout replying in the Council of London, againſt the married ſtate of Prieſt exclaiming what a ſhameful thing it was to riſe from the ſides of a Whore to make Chriſts Body, the night following he was ſhamefully taken with a notable Whore, &c. as is apparent before.

I will therefore paſs over that matter, returning again to William the Archbiſhop, who with the Cardinal Legate aforeſaid, although he buſily occupied himſelf in re-proving the Matrimony of Prieſts, inſomuch that he would give them no longer reſpite to put away their Wives but from Michaelmas to Saint Andrews-day following, yet could he not bring his purpoſe to paſs, but that the Prieſts ſtill continued with their Wives by the Kings leave, as the Saxon Story plainly recordeth in theſe words: *This beſede Archbiſcop William of Canterbrige, and ealle thelede Biſcopes the the woren on Engelen, and neforſod nobe ealle the biſcopes. ealle beuden the piſes be thes kinges leve, ſwa ſwa hi ear didon; That is to ſay in Engliſh,*

Answer to the obj. di. ou.

No ſervice for ſin but only Chriſt.

Marriage more convenient for Prieſts of the new law than of the old.

1 Cor. 7.

Matrimony is no hindrance, but a furtherance to ſanctification.

Bern. ſup. Cant. Sermon 6.

* Math. Paris. Paulus Monk of Cadene his Nephew whom Matthew Paris miſdoubted to be his own Son, even to Stephen Gardiner with his Gold Locks, the Author and Work-maſter of theſe ſix Articles. But to the Reaſons of Anſelme hitherto ſufficient, which of themſelves are ſo frivolous and groſs, that only to recite them is enough to confute the ſame.

As is collected at the Council in Wincheſter.

* Forte est tra horrentu parali in religio.

The cruel law of Anselme too big no great place.

Excepit. An. Radulphus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.

Read afore.

Richardus de Turbine Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. Of this Cardinal Cremeniſis read afore.

Cronic. Sax. on.

English, This William Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops which were in England did command, and yet all these Decrees and Biddings stood not: all held their Wives by the Kings leave, even so as they before did. So hard was this Cause to be won, that the Archbishop at length gave it over, and left the Controversie wholly unto the King. Whereupon he decreed that the Priests should remain with their Wives still. And so continued they after that, in the time of Theobaldus after him, of Thomas Becket, Richard Baldwin, Stephen Langton, Richard Edmund, Boniface, Peckham, and other, during well-near the time after Anselme, two hundred years.

And least the quarrelling Adversary, being peradventure disposed here to cavil, should object and say that such marriage amongst the Spiritual Men might be private and secret, but not openly known, nor quietly suffered by any Law of this Realm: to avoid therefore what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this Story, and for the further satisfying of the Readers mind herein, to infer and make known by good Record, not only that the liberty of marriage amongst Spiritual Men, hath continued within this Realm during the time aforesaid (videlicet) two hundred years, or thereabouts, after Anselme, and not only in secret wise, but also openly, and the same being well known, suffered, and lawfully allowed of, in such sort, as both they, their Wives, Children, and Assigns might inherit and enjoy Lands, Tenements, and other Hereditaments, by way of Feoffment, Deed of Gifts, or any other Assurance, in such sort, manner and form, as Lay-men, their Heirs and Assigns at this day lawfully may do. As by divers Writings and Instruments shewed to us at the writing hereof, by divers Men whose names hereafter follow (some to this day remaining fair sealed, some by Antiquity and long keeping much worn and their Seals mouldered and wasted) is very evident and manifest to be seen. The Copies whereof being by us truly and faithfully excerpted out of the very Originals (being yet extant) we have hereunder inserted, as followeth.

Priests with Wives, how long they continued in England after Anselme.

Carta feoffment, Will. de Blund. Mil. iust. Stephan. de Saxlingham Clerico, & Matildæ uxori sue pro homagiis & servis suis & pro sex marcis argenti quæ mihi dederunt in germaniam, unam peciam terræ arabilis, quæ jacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter messuagium Galfridi Sulyard, & cœmeterium Ecclesiæ de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, & terram Joannis de Neuton, & abbatem super regiam stratum versus orientem, & super terram quæ fuit Henrici Popilte versus occidentem: habendum & tenendum de me & hæredibus meis, illis & hæredibus suis aut quibuscunque dare, legare, vendere vel assignare voluerint, in quocunque statu fuerint, liberè, quiete, in feodo, perpetuè & hæreditariè. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios, scilicet ad Festum Sancti Andree denarium, & ad Nativitatem Sancti Joannis Baptiste unum Denarium. Et ad festuagium Domini Regis quando evenit unum obolum tantum et non amplius pro omnibus servis, consuetudinibus, sectis curiæ & exactio-nibus secularibus. Et ego Willielmus de Blunwel, & hæredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus prædictam peciam terræ prænominatam Stephano & Matildæ uxori suæ & hæredibus suis aut cuicunque dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, contra omnes gentes tam Judæos quam Christianos in perpetuum per prædictum servitium. Et ut hæc concessio et donatio rata sit & stabilis in perpetuum, hæc Chartam Sigillo meo roboravi; His testibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Reynestrop, Joanne de Neuton, Willielmo Canebor, Joanne filio Simonis Milone le Moch, Radulpho de Kineham, Willielmo de Champe, Thomæ Crowe, Andree Waleys, Willielmo Valiant, & a. iis.

This said piece of Evidence, called a Deed of Feoffment of Lands, remaineth in the keeping of Thos. mas Blunwel, of Neuton Elmton in the County of Norfolk. The said Elquire, at this present videlicet, 22. Die Novembris, Anno, Regni Elizabeth. R. 3. anno, 1567. Who (I know) will not refuse to shew the same to any Man that shall desire the sight thereof.

1. Other Deeds and Instruments of like Antiquity, declaring the same, recovered of M. John Forde.

Ciant omnes præsentēs & futuri, quod ego Williel. filius Walteri, Dominus de Ridware Hanuital, concessi & tradidi Joanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal Clerico, & uxori suæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, unam aciamam virgatum terræ in Edinghal, cum omnibus pertinentiis in totis & croftis, pratis & palturis in villa & territorio de Edinghal, illam scilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit. Habend. & tenend. de me & hæredibus meis, sibi & uxori suæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum libere, et quiete, benè & pacifice, &c. Et ego vero Willielmus et hæredes mei prædicti. dimidiam virgatum terræ cum pertinentiis prædictis Joanni et uxori suæ prædictæ. ad totam vitam eorum contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, &c. In hujus concessionis & traditionis robur & testimonium uterque nostrum alterius scripto sigillum suum apposuit; His testibus Roberto Salvein de Hételour, Andree Salvein de eadem, Joanne filio Radulphi de Edinghal, Richardo de Ykebrom, Rob. de Fryford, & aliis.

Carta Will. filii Walteri de Ridware 22. die Novembris, Anno, Regni Elizabeth. R. 3. anno, 1567. Who (I know) will not refuse to shew the same to any Man that shall desire the sight thereof.

2. Another Evidence touching the same, of Lands in the County of Leicester.

Ciant præsentēs & futuri, quod ego Radulphus filius & hæres Joannis Willcard de Sceyle, dedi, & concessi, & hac mea præsentī charta confirmavi Agneti de Wellingtona unam aciamam terræ in territorio de majori Sceyle quæ jacet super le Wovelonis, inter terram monachorum de Merival, extendentem se ad unum caput super foreram monachorum de Merival, & aliud caput versus villam de Sceyle: Habend. & tenend. de me & hæredibus meis vel assignatis & eorum hæredibus, præd. Agneti de Wellingtona & pueris suis de Wil. Parsona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willfilio suo primogenito, si supervixerit matri suæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri ejus. Postea Roberto fratri eorum juniore. Deinde sororibus eorum si frater supervixerit non fuerit. Ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram, cum pertinen. licentia tunc sine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis. faciendā: & quod hæred. vel assign. ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis renanciat ulterius in perpetuum liberè, & quiete, benè & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddend. inde annuatim mihi & hæred. meis vel assignatis meis & eorum hæredibus unum obolum argenti ad pascha, pro omnibus servis, & exactio-nibus. wardis, maritagis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis sectis comitatus, hundredorum & curiæ meæ, & hæred. meorum, & aliorum & servitiis forinsecis et exigentis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæred. mei vel assignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædictā terram cum pertinent. præd. Agneti & filiis suis & filiabus post decessum præd. Agnetis, singulis eorum de dicta Parsona genitis uni post alterum successive, & hæred. vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia supradicta rata & inconcussa permaneant in posterum, præsentem chartam Sigilli mei impressione corroboraui; His testibus Willielmo tunc Parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantithorp, Richardo & Roberto filiis suis, Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle. Williel. filio suo, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, Wil. Clerico de eadem, et multis aliis.

Carta feoffment. Radulphi Willcard de Sceyle facti Agneti de Wellingtona & pueris suis de Wil. Parsona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willfilio suo primogenito, si supervixerit matri suæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri ejus. Postea Roberto fratri eorum juniore. Deinde sororibus eorum si frater supervixerit non fuerit. Ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram, cum pertinen. licentia tunc sine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis. faciendā: & quod hæred. vel assign. ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis renanciat ulterius in perpetuum liberè, & quiete, benè & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddend. inde annuatim mihi & hæred. meis vel assignatis meis & eorum hæredibus unum obolum argenti ad pascha, pro omnibus servis, & exactio-nibus. wardis, maritagis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis sectis comitatus, hundredorum & curiæ meæ, & hæred. meorum, & aliorum & servitiis forinsecis et exigentis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæred. mei vel assignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædictā terram cum pertinent. præd. Agneti & filiis suis & filiabus post decessum præd. Agnetis, singulis eorum de dicta Parsona genitis uni post alterum successive, & hæred. vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia supradicta rata & inconcussa permaneant in posterum, præsentem chartam Sigilli mei impressione corroboraui; His testibus Willielmo tunc Parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantithorp, Richardo & Roberto filiis suis, Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle. Williel. filio suo, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, Wil. Clerico de eadem, et multis aliis.

3. Another Evidence of like effect.

Ciant præsentēs & futuri, quod ego Radulphus Willcard, filius & hæres Joannis Willcardi de Sceyle, dedi & concessi, et hac mea præsentī charta confirmavi Agneti de Wellington, quatuor Acres & unam Rodam terræ arabilis in campo de majori Sceyle. Quarum una acia jacet super Wodde Holles, &c. (Et paulo infra: Har

Carta Radulphi Willcard de Sceyle facti Agneti de Wellington & pueris suis de Wil. Parsona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willfilio suo primogenito, si supervixerit matri suæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri ejus. Postea Roberto fratri eorum juniore. Deinde sororibus eorum si frater supervixerit non fuerit. Ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram, cum pertinen. licentia tunc sine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis. faciendā: & quod hæred. vel assign. ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis renanciat ulterius in perpetuum liberè, & quiete, benè & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddend. inde annuatim mihi & hæred. meis vel assignatis meis & eorum hæredibus unum obolum argenti ad pascha, pro omnibus servis, & exactio-nibus. wardis, maritagis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis sectis comitatus, hundredorum & curiæ meæ, & hæred. meorum, & aliorum & servitiis forinsecis et exigentis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæred. mei vel assignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædictā terram cum pertinent. præd. Agneti & filiis suis & filiabus post decessum præd. Agnetis, singulis eorum de dicta Parsona genitis uni post alterum successive, & hæred. vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia supradicta rata & inconcussa permaneant in posterum, præsentem chartam Sigilli mei impressione corroboraui; His testibus Willielmo tunc Parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantithorp, Richardo & Roberto filiis suis, Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle. Williel. filio suo, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, Wil. Clerico de eadem, et multis aliis.

habendum & tenendum de me & heredibus meis vel assignatis & eorum heredibus, prædictis Agnetæ de Wilton & pueris suis de Wilton. Parsona de Lollinton prædictis, videlicet Wilhelmo filio suo primogenito si supererit matris suæ, deinde Galfrido Fratri ejus, postea Roberti corum juniori, deinde fororibus eorum si Fratres non fuerit, ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram cum pertinentiis, licentia-ter sine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis facienda, & quod heredibus vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum libere, & quiete, bene, & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & heredibus vel assignatis & eorum heredibus, unum obolum argenti ad pascha, aut unam paralarum Chirothecarum de precio unius oboli apud Seyle ad voluntatem solventis, pro omnibus servitiis & exacti-onibus, wardis, maritagis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis scēlis comitatus, hundredorum, & curiæ meæ & heredibus meorum et aliorum, et servitiis forinsecis vel exigentis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & heredes mei vel assignati et eorum heredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis, prædictæ Agnetæ & filiis ejus & filiabus post discessum prædictæ Agnetis singulis eorum de dicta Parsona genitis, uni post alterum successive, & hæredibus vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia prædicta rata et inconculsa permaneant in perpetuum præsentem cartam sigilli mei impressione corroboravi; his testibus, Will. tunc Parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantithorp, Rich. et Rob. filiis suis Henr. filio Parsonæ Seyle, Joanne filio, Radulph. Aky, de eadem, Rob. Halting, Wil. Grym, & aliis.

4. Another Evidence upon the like matter.

Carta Henrici de Apleby facti Henrici de Aldrester Clerici, & Amicie uxoris sue, de terrarum territorio de Apleby in Com. Leicest.

Sciatis præsentibus & futuri, quod ego Henricus filius Domini Willielmi de Apleby militis, dedi, concessi, et hac præsentem Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldrester Clerico et Amicie uxori suæ, illud messuagium quod Matheus Gilbert quondam de me tenuit in parvo Apleby, in longitudine, juxta altam viam: tenendum et habendum de me et hæredibus meis sibi et Amicie uxori suæ et eorum heredibus, et cui vel quibus communibus horis quandoque dare vel assignare voluerint libere, quiete, bene, et in pace, &c. Et ego præd. Henricus et heredes mei prædictum messuagium cum omnibus assignatis et pertinentiis suis, præfatis Henrico et Amicie uxori suæ et eorum heredibus et assignatis (ut supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum, &c. Ut hæc omnia subscripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic præfati scripto sigillum meum apposui, His testibus, Joanne de Norton, Wil. Huelin de Apleby, &c.

5. Another Evidence touching the like.

Carta Rogeri Pefcher de Apleby facti Henr. de Aldrester Clerici, & Amicie uxoris sue, de terris in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leicest.

Sciatis præsentibus & futuri, quod ego Roger. Pefcher de Apleby dedi, concessi, et hac præfati carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldrester Clerico, et Amicie uxori suæ, viginti buttes Terræ arabilis cum pertinentiis suis in territorio de Apleby. Quarum tres buttes jacet super Brodelein, &c. (Ex Paulo post.) Habendum et tenendum prædictis Henrico et Amicie uxori suæ et eorum heredibus et assignatis, cui vel quibus in fanitate, vel in egritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, libere, quiete, bene, et hæreditarie in perpetuum, &c. Et ego prædictus Rogerus Pefcher & heredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis suis ubicunque memoratis, Henrico & Amicie uxori suæ et eorum heredibus & assignatis (ut supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes in calumniis warrantizabimus, et in omnibus per omnia acquirabimus et defendemus in futurum, &c. Ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, & Cartæ meæ confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuum, huic præfati scripto sigillum meum pro me et hæredibus meis duxi apponendum, fide mediantē, his testibus, Williel. de Meycam, Joanne filio Henr. de Norton, &c.

6. Another Evidence touching the same, of Lands in the County of Darby.

Sciatis præsentibus & futuri, quod ego Willielmus filius & hæres quondam Williel. Mahenney de Banquell Clerici, dedi, concessi, & omnino quietum clamavi de me & hæredibus meis in perpetuum Nich. de Crumford, pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam idem Nicolaus mihi præ manibus donavit, omnes terras & tenementa cum gardinis, curtillagiis, burgagiis, & edificiis, & cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in omnibus rebus & locis, sine aliquo retinimento, quæ et quas habuit jure hæreditario in feodo de Banquell, per Williel. de Banquell Clericum quondam patrem meum. Habend. & tenend. Ipso Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel assignatis in feodo et hæreditate de capitali Domino de Banquell, libere, bene, quiete, et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et assignatis in omnibus locis et singulis ad prædictas terras & tenementa pertinentibus infra villam de Banquell et extra: Ita quidem quod nec ego Willi. nec heredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine nostro, jus vel clameum in prædictis terris et tenementis, gardinis, curtillagiis, burgagiis et edificiis, et omnibus pertinentiis suis de cætera, habere, exigere, vindicare, vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prædictis terris et tenementis capitali Domin. 7. solidos, 3. denarios et obolum argenti annui redditus ad terminos statutos Paschatis et Sancti Michaelis. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto præfati sigillum meum apposui et munimenta inde eidem Nicolao tradidi; His testibus, Domino Joanne de Osemondifston perpetuo Vicario de Banquell, Mathzo de Reynedon, Mattheo Drabill, Elio de Banquell Clerico, Richardo de Yollegrave, Roger. filio Yoke, & aliis.

7. Another Evidence concerning the like.

Sciatis præsentibus & futuri, Quod ego Williel. filius & hæres quondam Williel. de Mahenney de Banquell Clerici, dedi, concessi, et hac præfati carta mea confirmavi de me et hæredibus meis in perpetuum, Nicolaus de Crumford pro quadam summa pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, unum capitale messuagium ædificatum, et unam bovatum terræ, cum prato & omnibus pertinentiis suis sine aliquo retinimento, illam videlicet bovatum terræ cum pertinentiis quam Willielmus Mahenney quondam pater meus habuit et tenuit in villa et territorio de Banquell; et octo acras terræ arabilis, et unam particulam prati divisim jacentes in campis de Banquell, &c. Habend. et tenend. ipsi Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel suis assignatis in feodo et hæreditate libere, quiete, bene, et in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus et assignatis in omnibus rebus et locis infra villam de Banquell et extra, ad prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis pertinentibus de capitali Domino de Banquell, &c. Et ego Williel. et heredes mei omnia prædictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis suis (ut prædictum est) dicto Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel assign. suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium præfati scripto sigillum meum apposui: His Testibus Domino Joanne de Osemondifston perpetuo Vicario de Banquell, Math. de Reynedo. Math. Drabill, Elio de Banquell, Richard. de Yollegrave, Rogero filio Yoke de Banquell, et aliis.

8. Another Evidence concerning the like.

Sciatis præsentibus & futuri, Quod nōs Thom. de Billeston Clericus, et Leticia uxor mea, dedimus, concessimus, et hac præfati carta nostra confirmavimus Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wilton & Cæcilie uxori suæ, omnia illa burgagia, messuagia, gardina, curtillagia, terras, tenementa, prata et ædificia, fidas cum redditibus, servitiis, pascuis, communis, pascuis, et cæteris omnibus pertinentiis suis in feodo de Banquell, quarum abimus ex dono & feofamento dicti Gerardi: Habendum et tenendum dictis Gerardo & Cæcilie uxori suæ ad totam vitam eorundem de nobis & hæredibus nostris libere, quiete, bene, & in pace, cum omnibus suis

Note to have and to hold of the Priest, his Wife, and their heirs, during the lives of the Executors, for a penny yearly Rent

fuis pertinentiis; faciendo inde annuatim nobis & heredibus nostris, prædicti Gerard & Cæcilia ad totam vitam, unum denarium argenti ad Festum Sancti Michaelis, & faciendo etiam pro nobis & heredibus nostris capital. Dominis feodi illius servitia inde annuatim debita & consueta. Et nos vero prædicti Thomas & Leticia & nostri heredes omnia prædicta Burgagia, messagia, gardina, curtillagia, terras, tenementa, prata, & ædificia, seldas cum redditibus, servitiis, pascuis, communis, pasturis, & ceteris omnibus pertinentiis suis prædictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorumdem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentis Cartæ nostræ sigilla nostra apposuvimus; His testibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Cotterell, Willielm. de Cromford, Williel. de Gratton, Nic. de Cromford in Banquel, Rad. Brecrio in eadem, Rob. de Walley in eadem, & aliis.

9. Another Evidence touching the same.

Universis ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Leticia quæ fuit uxor Thomæ Bylleston, salutem in Domino. Novemus in pura viduitate mea concessisse & confirmasse, pro me & heredibus meis, Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyllon, & Cæciliæ uxori sue omnes terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in Banquel, quæ idem Gerardus & Cæcilia uxor ejus habent ex concessione Thomæ de Bylleston quondam viri mei: Habendum & tenendum eidem Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorumdem de me & heredibus meis libere, quiete, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; faciendo inde mihi & heredibus meis unum denarium argenti ad Festum Sancti Michaelis, & faciendo inde pro me & heredibus meis capitalibus Dominis servitia inde annuatim debita & consueta. Et ego præfata Leticia & heredes mei prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis prædictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorumdem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Robert le Walley, Robert le Taylor, & aliis.

Datum apud Banquel, die Veneris proximo post Festum Annuntiationis beate Marie, An. Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, nono.

10. Another Evidence touching the like matter.

Sicant præsentis et futuri, Quod ego Williel. dictus Basket, dedi, concessi, & hac Præsentia mea Charta confirmavi Johanni de Bradburne Clerico, & Alicie uxori sue, & heredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, unam particulam curtillagii mei (videlicet) centum pedes in longitudine, & triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentiis & assumentis, eidem placet pertinentibus: Habendum & tenendum eidem Johanni & Alicie & eorum heredibus legitime procreatis, libere, quiete, bene, & in pace in perpetuum, reddendo inde annuatim mihi & heredibus meis unum florem Rosæ ad Festum Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptiste pro omnibus. Et ego prædictus Willielmus Basket & heredes mei prædicti placeam cum assumentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & contra omnes gentes defendemus. Et si contingat (quod absit) quod prædictus Johannes & Alicia sine heredibus de corporibus eorum legitime procreatis obierint, quod prædicta placea sine alicujus contradictione revertat. Et ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, & præsentis Cartæ meæ confirmatio rata sit, & stabilis permaneat, huic præsentis Cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, Richardo de Longdon, Robert Brag, Roger Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Joanne Glankirion, & aliis. Datum apud Yelgrave in Fefso S. Joannis ante Portam Latinam, Anno Dom. 1314.

11. Another Evidence touching the same.

Sicant præsentis et futuri, Quod ego Rogerus le Porter hæres Alicie filie Williel. de Downedale de parva Ridware dedi, concessi, & hac præsentis Cartæ meæ confirmavi magistro Richard. de Hampton Clerico & Margaretæ uxori ejus, & heredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. omnes terras & tenementa mea quæ habeo in diversis locis in feodo de parva Ridware: Habend. & tenend. omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum pertinentiis eorum, prædicti Rich. & Margaretæ uxori ejus & heredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. & capitali Domino feodi illius per servitia debita & de jure consueta, libere, quiete, bene, & in pace in perpetuum. Et ego vero prædictus Rogerus & heredes mei omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum, prædicti Rich. & Margaretæ uxori ejus & heredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentis Cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus Thoma de Pipe, Rich. Julian, Roberto Ka. Edmund le Walthemon, Williel. le Flecher, & aliis. Datum apud Parvam Ridware, die Lunæ proximo post Festum Sancti Gregor. Papæ, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post Conquestum, 28.

natis prædicti Rich. omnes terras & tenementa mea quæ habeo in diversis locis in feodo de parva Ridware: Habend. & tenend. omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum pertinentiis eorum, prædicti Rich. & Margaretæ uxori ejus & heredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. & capitali Domino feodi illius per servitia debita & de jure consueta, libere, quiete, bene, & in pace in perpetuum. Et ego vero prædictus Rogerus & heredes mei omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum, prædicti Rich. & Margaretæ uxori ejus & heredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentis Cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus Thoma de Pipe, Rich. Julian, Roberto Ka. Edmund le Walthemon, Williel. le Flecher, & aliis. Datum apud Parvam Ridware, die Lunæ proximo post Festum Sancti Gregor. Papæ, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post Conquestum, 28.

The Originals of these eleven pieces of Evidences last recited, I received, in the writing of this Story, of a right honest and worshipful Gentleman, called Master John Forde, a Student of the Laws in the Inner Temple, in whose hands I trust (after the finishing of this Story) they shall remain to be seen of them that shall desire the same.

1. The Copies of other Evidences touching the same matter, received of Mr. John Hunt.

Sicant præsentis et futuri, quod ego Philippus Poupu de Parva Bradley, dedi, concessi, & hac præsentis Cartæ meæ confirmavi Henrico de Denardiston Clerico & Alicie uxori ejus, pro servitiis eorum, & pro quadam summa pecunie quam mihi dederunt præstantibus in personam, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinentiis, five habetur plus five minus, prout boundie testantur, in Campo vocato Grimescroft, in villa de Parva Bradley, jacentem inter terram meam ex parte una, & terram prædicti Henrici ex altera, uno capite abutante super cœmeterium de Parva Bradley, & alio capite abutante super terram prædicti Henrici: Habend. & tenend. de capitali us Dominis feodi prædicti Henrico & Alicie uxori ejus, hered. & assignat. dicti Henrici, vel cuiunque ve, quibuscunque dict. peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinentiis, dare, vendere, legare vel assignare voluerint, libere, quiete, jure, bene in pace in perpetuum & hereditarie: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus Dominis feodi servitium inde debitum & consuetum, videlicet unum obolum ad Nativitatem beati Joannis Baptiste pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, annis, curiarum feodis, & secularibus demand. Et ego prædicti Phil. hered. & assignati mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. prædictis Henrico & Alicie uxori ejus, hered. & assignat. dicti Henrici, contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentis scripto sigillum meum apposui; His testibus Petro de Walepol, Richard. de Hanvile, Williel. Wastell, Hugone Wastell, Tho. de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, & aliis.

2. Another Evidence touching the same.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Williel. de Bigod, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Novemus universitas vestra me dedisse, concessisse, remisisse, ac omnino tam pro me quam pro heredibus meis in perpetuum, quietum clausale Henrico de Denardiston Clerico & Alicie uxori ejus, hered. & assignat. eorum totum jus & clameum quod habui & vel habere potui, aut potero in omnibus redditibus, homagiis, wardis, releviis, eschaets, libertatibus & omnibus pertin. suis quæ in aliquo modo suo tempore facere debuerunt vel consueverunt pro terris & tenementis quæ quondam fuerunt Richard. Poupu in villa de parva Bradley, & in aliis terris & tenementis quæ el. quas prædict. Henr. & Alicia tenent vel tenuerunt de me feodo de feodo meo die consecrationis præsentiam in prædicta villa de Parva Bradley: Ita quod e-

go Williel. prædict. nec hæred. mei nec aliquis nomine nostro à modo in præmissis aliquid juris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vendicare poterimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium, huic præfenti scripto sigillum meum apposui; His testibus Joh. Maveyfin, Rich. Bercar, Henr. Maveyfin, Joh. Bercar, Will. Wastel, Hug. Wastel, Wil. Attegrene, Walt. Bercar, & aliis.

3. Another Evidence touching the same.

Carta Reginaldi filii Jordani Wethresfield facta Henrico de Denardilston Clerico & Alicie uxori ejus, de terra in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff. & Cursona money paid before hand, which we call a fine.

SCiant præfentes & futuri, quod ego Reginaldus filius Jordani de Wethresfield, dedi, concessi, & hac præfenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardilston Clerico & Alicie uxori ejus, pro homagiis & serviciis eorum & pro quadam summa pecunie quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in * gersumam unam peciam, terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, five habeatur plus five minus in villa de Parva Bradley, in Campo vocato Heldhey, jacentem inter terram Will. de Mampford quondam, & terram Joannis le Rede quondam, ex parte una in longitudine, & terram Richard. de Hanuyle ex altera, & abutatur ad unum caput super terram Joannis le Lombard, & aliud caput super Campum vocatum Crondon, cum sepibus & foveis & omnibus aliis pertinentiis ad dictam terram spectantibus: Habend. & tenend. de me hæredibus & assignatis meis, prædictis Henrico & Alicie uxori ejus, hæredibus & assignatis dict. Henrici vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dict. Henrici prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis prædict. dare, vendere, vel aliquo modo assignare voluerit, libere, quiete, jure, bene, in pace, & hæreditarie: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi, hæredibus, & assignatis meis, unam rosam ad festum nativitat. Sancti Joannis Baptiste pro omnibus serviciis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum sectis & secularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Reginaldus, hæredes, & assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædictam terram cum sepibus & foveis & omnibus aliis pertinentiis, prædictis Henrico & Alicie uxori ejus, hæredibus, & assignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. servitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium, huic præfenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: His testibus Joanne Maveyfin, Petro de Walepol, Richardo de Hanuyle, Richardo Bercar, Henrico Maveyfin, Joanne Bercar, Willielmo Wastel, Hugone Wastel, Tho. de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, & aliis.

4. Another Evidence of the like effect.

Carta Rich. Hanuyle de Parva Bradley facta Henrico de Denardilston Clerico & Alicie uxori ejus, de terra in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præfentes & futuri, quod ego Richardus de Hanuyle de Parva Bradley, dedi, concessi, & hac præfenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardilston Clerico, & Alicie uxori ejus, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, cum omnibus pertinent. in Parva Bradley in Campo vocato Mortecroft, pro homagiis & serviciis eorum & pro quadam summa pecunie quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gersumam, jacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex utraque parte, & unum caput abutatur super Campum vocat. Wodcroft. Habendum & tenendum de me, hæred. vel assignatis meis, ipsis, hæred. & assignat. eorum, vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis, dare, vendere, legare, vel assignare voluerit, libere, quiete, jure, bene, in pace & hæreditarie: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad Festum Sancti Michaelis unum denarium, & ad Pascha unum denarium pro omnibus serviciis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, Curie sectis, & secularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Richard. hæred. & assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis prædictis, Henrico & Alicie uxori ejus, hæred. & assignat. eorum per prædictum servitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic præfenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: His testibus Petro de Walepol, Williel. Wastel, Hugone Wastel, Rich. Bercar, Hen. Maveyfin, Johanne Bercar, Rob. de Ponte, Williel. Picot, & aliis.

5. Another Evidence touching the same.

SCiant præfentes & futuri, quod ego Matheus de Ractliffe dedi, concessi, & hac præfenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Denardilston Clerico & Alicie uxori ejus, hæred. & assignat. dict. Henrici; unam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinent. five habeatur plus five minus, pro ut jacet in villa de Parva Bradley in Campo vocato Crondonbrede inter terram Rich. de Hanuyle ex una parte, & terram dict. Henr. de Denardilston ex alia parte, & unum caput abutatur super viam vocatam Libreddich, & aliud caput super terram Richard. de Hanuyle ante dict. Habend. & tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, & cuicunque vel quibuscunque prædictis Henr. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerit, libere, quiete, jure, bene, in pace hæreditarie in perpetuum: faciendo capitali Domino feodi servitia inde de jure debita et consueta. Et ego prædict. Matheus et hæredes mei prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. (ut prædictum est) prædict. Henr. & Alicie hæred. & assignat. dict. Henr. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic præfenti Cartæ sigillum meum apposui: His testibus Richard. de Hanuyle, Joanne de Stonham, Joanne Godfrey, Wil. Wastel, Clement de Bures, & aliis. Dat. apud Parvam Bradley, die Lunæ in quinquagesima Sancti Michaelis, An. Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, octavo.

6. Another Evidence touching the same.

SCiant præfentes & futuri, quod ego Richardus de Loverhal de parva Bradley, dedi, concessi, & hac præfenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardilston Clerico, & Alicie uxori ejus, & hæred. dict. Henr. unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, five habeat plus five minus, prout jacet in villa de Parva Bradley in Campo vocato Peterfeld, inter terram Henr. Cofin ex una parte, & terram Thom. Bercar ex alia parte, uno capite abutante super croftam Williel. Attegrene, & alio capite super le Overhall mede. Habend. & tenend. dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de Capitali Domino feodi, præd. Henr. & Alicie & hæred. dict. Henr. cuicunque & quibuscunque dictam peciam terræ dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerit, libere, quiete, jure, bene, in pace, hæreditarie, in feodo & in perpetuum: faciendo eidem capitali Domino feodi servitia inde de jure debita & consueta. Et ego præd. Richard. et hæred. mei prædict. peciam terræ præd. Henr. & Alicie & hæredib. dict. Henr. et suis assignat. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic præfenti Cartæ sigillum meum apposui: His testibus Richard. de Hanuyle, Johan. de Stonham, Wil. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, Wil. Aleyne, & aliis. Datum apud Parvam Bradley, die Dominica proxima post Festum Pasche. An. Regis Edw. filii Regis Edw. 10.

7. Another Evidence touching the like matter.

SCiant præfentes & futuri, Quod ego Clemens de Cloptone, concessi, dedi, et hac præfenti Carta mea confirmavi Joan. de Bofco de Coulynge Clerico & Basile uxori ejus & Hæredibus præd. Joannis, tres acras terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. in Coulynge, five sibi majus five minus, prout simul jacent inter terram domini Robert. de Aspal ex parte una, & terram quondam Joan. le Pogey ex alia, uno capite abutante super viam communem, & alio super terram quandam prædict. Joan. Pogey: Habend. & tenend. prædict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. prædict. Joanni & Basile & hæred. præd. Joannis de capitalibus Domin. feodi illius per servitia inde debita & de jure consueta. Et ego prædict. Clemens & hæredes mei prædict. Joanni de Basile & hæred. præd. Joannis totam prædictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinent. contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. In cuius rei testimonium, huic præfenti Char-

Scriptum
facta de
Ractliffe
facta de
Denardilston
clerico &
Alicie uxori
ejus de terra
in Parva
Bradley in
Com. Suff.

Dated an. R.
Edw. 1. a.
which was
An. 1315.

Scriptum
Rich. de Loverhal
de parva
Bradley
facta Henrico
Denardilston
clerico &
Alicie uxori
ejus de terra
in parva
Bradley
prædict.
This deed
fenneth by
the date to
be made An.
R. Edw. 1.
1310. an.
which was
about
200 years
since 1596.

Clericus ad Ecclesiam confugiens pro felonis, pro
immunitate Ecclesiastica obtinenda, si asserit se esse
Clericum, regnum non compellatur abjurare, sed legi regni
se reddens gaudebit Ecclesiastica libertate, juxta lau-
dabilem consuetudinem regni hactenus usitatam.

Not long after that, about the time of Pope *Nicolas* Anno 1069; the Second, *Anno 1060.* of *Alexander* and *Hildebrand*, came into the See of *Canterbury* another Monk called *Lawfrank*, who also, being a promoter of this professed Chastity, made the Decree more general, that all Prebendaries being married in any Churches should be displaced; yet the Priests in Towns and Villages should

not be compelled to leave their married Wives, unless they would.

Anno 1106. Last of all followed Monkish *Anselme*, Anno 1106. by whom was made this Law at *Winchester* aforesaid, that Priests, Arch-deacons, Deacons and Sub-deacons, which had Wives and Spiritual Livings, should be put from them both; and also that none after should be admitted to their Orders, but should first profess single life, that is, to live without Wives. And thus much concerning Priests marriage forbidden.

Let us add moreover to these Evidences above rehearsed, for more confirmation of the ancient use and liberty of Priests marriage, another testimony or two out of like ancient Records, with like plain words declaring unto us, how the Matrimony of Priests, before the time of *Lanfrank* aforesaid, was no strange example in the Church. And first we will infer the words of an old Martyrologue pertaining to the Records of *Canterbury*. The words of which Martyrologue be these.

Ex antiquo Martyrologio Ecclesie Cant.

Livingus
Presbyter
cum uxore

Livingus Archiep. reddidit Ecclesie Sancte Andree, quia de jure ipsius Ecclesie antiquitus fuerunt, in Sutberge, Martilac, Londonia, Monasterium Sancte Marie cum terris & domibus, quas Livingus Presbyter & Uxor illius Londonia habuerunt.

To this also may be adjoined another like Antiquity out of an old written History belonging to the Church of *S. Asaph*, after the time of *Lanfrank*, as followeth.

Anno Domini 1261. ex antiq. libro Asaph. Manuscripto.

* Forbonizatum
scilicet in Saxonia
in terra, id
significat
much as a
man can
lawed

*DE Clerico Uxorato receptante publico * Forbonizatum scilicet, & possit contra ipsum probari, nobis ostendat quod teneatur respondere in foro Ecclesiastico. Si vero facit residentiam in terra principis, & contingat ipsum mulierem, tota mulier sua principi debetur. Si vero residentiam in terra Episcopi facit, mulier droidatur inter Episcopum & Principem. Si vero Uxor alienius talia scilicet vel volenter in eius absentia receperit, Mulier in foro Ecclesiastico respondeat, & Clericus ratione sui facti non puniatur, nec pro ea, (nisi velit) respondere cogatur.*

Neither is the testimony of *Mantuanus* unworthy also hereunto to be added, writing in the Life of *Hilarius* Bishop of *Pisavum*, as followeth.

Ex Mantuano.

*Innegritas vite, legum prudentia, cultus
Caliculum, tutela inopum, diadema, pedumque
Pisavienſe tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum vivis tibi, sorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente, tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obstitit Uxor
Legitimo conjuncta toro; non horruit illa
Tempeſtate Deus thalamos, cubacula, tædæ.
Sola erat in pretio, quæ nunc incognita virius
Sordet, & attrito vivit cum plebe cuniculo.
Propterea leges, quæ sunt connubia contra,
Esse malax quidam perhibent. Prudentia patrum
Non jatu advertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuset,
Quod valeat natura pati. Cervicibus, aium,
Hoc infuere jugum nostrum imponere Christus
Noluit; ipsum omni quod adhuc quam plurima mon-
stra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate reperiunt.
Tutus esse volumus, quæ lex divina inibat
Ista via, veterumque legum vestigia parum;
Quorum vita fuit melior cum conjugio, quam nunc
Nostra sit exclusis thalamis & conjugio n. u.*

The sixth Article, touching Auricular Confession.

OF Confession three things we find in the Scriptures expressed and approved. The first is our Confession on privately and publickly made unto God alone; and this Confession is necessary, for all men at all times. Wherefore *S. John* speaketh, *If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive, &c.*

The second is the Confession which is openly made in the face of the Congregation. And this Confession also hath place when any such thing is committed, whereof is a publick offence and slander to the Church of God; as examples there be of Penitentiaries in the Primitive Church, as *Melchior* and other, &c.

The third kind of Confession is that which we make privately to our Brother. And this Confession is requisite, when either we have injured or by any way damaged our Neighbour, whether he be rich or poor. Whereof speaketh the Gospel, *Go and reconcile thy self first unto thy Neighbour, &c.* Also *S. James*, *Confess your selves one to another, &c.* Or else this Confession may also have place, when any such thing lieth in our Confidence, in the opening whereof we stand in need of the counsel and comfort of some faithful Brother. But herein must we use discretion in avoiding these points of blind Superstition. First, That we put therein no necessity for remission of our sins, but that we use therein our own voluntary discretion, according as we see it expedient for the better satisfying of our troubled mind. The second is, That we be not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The third, That we tye not our selves to any one person, more than to another, but that we use therein our free choice, whom we think can give us the best Spiritual counsel in the Lord.

But as there is nothing in the Church so good and so ghostly, which through peevish Superstition either hath not, or may not be perverted; so this Confession also hath not lacked his abuses. First, The secret Confession to God alone, as it hath been counted insufficient; so hath it been but lightly esteemed of many. The publick Confession to the Congregation hath been turned to a standing in a heet, or else hath been bought out for money. Furthermore, the secret breaking of a mans mind to some faithful or spiritual Brother, in disclosing his infirmity or temptations, for counsel and godly comfort, hath in like sort been turned into Auricular Confession in a Priests ear, for assuaging of his sins. In which Auricular Confession, first of the free liberty of the Penitent, in uttering his griefs, they have made a meer necessity, and that unto salvation and remission of sins. Secondly, They require without enumeration and a full rehearsal of all sins whatsoever, both great and small. Also besides the necessity of this ear Confession, they add thereto a prescription of time, at least once in the year for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confessed; making moreover of the same a Sacrament, and lastly, whereas before it stood in the voluntary choice of a man to open his heart to what Spiritual Brother he thought best, for an easment of his grief and ghostly Consolation, they bind him to a Priest (unless some Friar come by the way to be his ghostly Father) to whom he must needs confess all, whatsoever he hath done, and though he lack the Key of Knowledge, and peradventure of good discretion, yet none must have power to assuile him, but he through the Authority of his Keys.

And this manner of Confession, they say, was instituted by Christ, and his Apostles, and hath been used in the Church ever since to this present day. Which is a most manifest untruth, and easie by Stories to be convinced.

For *Soc. li. 5. c. 19.* and *Soc. li. 7. c. 16.* in the Book of Ecclesiastical History, do give us plainly to understand that this Auricular Confession never came of Christ, but only of Man.

Item, In the time of *Tertullian*, *Beatus Rhenanus* testifieth, that there was no mention made of this Auricular Confession. Which may well be gathered hereof, for that *Tertullian* writing upon Repentance, maketh no mention at all thereof.

Three kinds of Confession to God.

Private Confession to our Brother.

James 5. Confess to one another as to the Lord.

four or five abuses in Auricular Confession. 1. Necessity. 2. Enumeration of all sins. 3. Prescription of time. 4. Confession made a Sacrament. 5. Tye to Priest only.

Soc. li. 5. c. 19. Soc. li. 7. c. 16. Beatus Rhenanus in argumentum. Tertullianus de Repentantia.

Chryf. in Ep. 30. hom. 1. Item, In the time of *Chryfoftom*, it appeareth there was no fuch affoiling at the Priests hands by thefe words, where he faith, *I require thee not that thou fhouldeft confeft thy fins to thy fellow fervant. Tell them unto God, who careth for them.*

Chryf. in hom. de pen. & conf. Juliane. Item, The faid *Chryfoftom* in another place writing upon Repentance and Confession, *Let the examination of thy fins and thy judgment, faith he, be fecret and clofe without witnefs; let God only fee and hear thy Confession, &c.*

De pen. diff. 1. Perus in Gloffa. Item, In the time of *Ambrofe, de Penit. Diff. 1. Perus*, the Glofs of the Popes own Decrees reporteth, *That the Institution of Penance was not then begun, which now in our days is in ufe.*

De pen. diff. in principio. Item, It is truly faid therefore of the Glofs in another place, where he testifieth, *That this Institution of Penance began rather of some Tradition of the Univerfal Church, then of any Authority of the New Testament, or of the Old, &c.*

Erasm. in Schol. in Epiaphani. Fabiola. The like alfo testifieth *Erasmus*, writing upon *Jerome*, in thefe words, *Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum instituta fuisse, &c.* That is, It appeareth that in the time of *Jerome*, this fecret Confession of fins was not yet ordained, which the Church afterward did institute wholly only, if our Priests and Lay-men would use it rightly. But herein, Divines not confidering advifedly what the old Doctors do fay, are much deceived. That which they fay of general and open Confession, they wret by and by to this privy and fecret kind of Confession which is far divers, and of another fort, &c.

Graden de penit. diff. 1. Quamvis. The like Testimony may alfo be taken of *Gratian* himfelf, who fpeaking of Confession used then in his time, leaving the matter in doubtful fufpence, neither pronouncing on the one fide, nor on the other, but referreth the matter to the free judgment of the Readers, which the Act of thefe fix Articles here enjoyneeth as neceffary, under pain of death.

The first Institution of Auricular Confession, when and by whom it began. Briefly, in few words to fearch out and notifie the very certain time, when this Article of car Confession firft crept into the Church, and what Antiquity it hath, in following the Judgment of *Joannes Scotus*, and of *Antonius*, it may well be fuppofed, that the Institution thereof took his firft original by Pope *Innocent* the Third, in his Council of *Laterane*, Anno 1215. For fo we read in *Joan. Scotus, Lib. 4. Sent. Diff. 17. Artic. 3. Præcipua autem specificatio hujus præcepti invenitur in illo cap. Extra de penit. & remiff. Omnis uiriusque fexus, &c.*

Joan. Scot. 4. Non Diff. 17. Artic. 3. And after in the fame Article it followeth, *Nam ex prima institutione Ecclesiæ non videtur fuisse distincti proprii Sacerdotes. Quando enim Apostoli vincti & inde ibant predicando verbum Dei, &c.* By the which words it appeareth that there was no Institution of any fuch Confession fpecified before the Constitution of Pope *Innocentius* the Third.

Antonius part. 1. diff. 19. But more plainly the fame may appear by the words of *Antonius* in 3. parte Hist. which be thefe: *Innocentius tertius in Concilio Generali prædicto, circa Sacramenta Confessionis & Communionis sic statuit: Omnis utriusque fexus fidelis postquam ad annum discretionis pervenerit, omnia peccata sua (solus, scilicet semel) in Anno, confiteatur proprio Sacerdoti, & inquantam sibi penitentiam proprii viribus student adimplere, aliqui & vivens ab ingressu Ecclesiæ arceatur, & mortui Christiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare Statutum frequenter in Ecclesiis publicetur: ne quisquam ignorantia excitate velamen excusationis assumat, &c.* That is to fay, Pope *Innocent* the Third, in his General Council aforesaid, touching the Sacraments of Confession and the Communion, made this Constitution, as followeth. That every faithful person, both man and woman, after they come to the years of discretion, shall confesse all their fins by themselves alone, at least once a year, to their own ordinary Priest, and shall endeavour to fulfil by their own strength their Penance to them enjoined. Or else who so doth not, shall neither have entrance into the Church, being alive, nor being dead, shall enjoy Christian burial. Wherefore this wholefool Constitution we will to be published often in the Churches, lest any man through the blindness of Ignorance, may make to themselves a Cloak of Excuse, &c. And thus much hitherto we have alledged by occasion incident of these

The Constitution of Pope Innocent, touching the Auricular Confession. six Articles for some part of confusion of the same, referring the Reader, for the rest, to the more exquisite tractation of Divines, which professedly write upon those matters.

In the mean time, forasmuch as there is extant in Latin a certain learned Epistle of *Philip Melancthon*, written to King *Henry* the Eighth against these wicked Articles above specified, I thought not to defraud the Reader of the Fruit thereof, for his better understanding and instruction. The tenour and effect of his Epistle translated into English thus followeth.

The Copy of Melancthon's Epistle sent to King Henry, against the cruel Act of the six Articles.

MOST famous and noble Prince, there was certain a fruitful Emperor of Rome, as *Adrianus*, *Pius*, and afterward the two Brethren, *Verus* and *Marcus*, which did receive gently the Apologies and Defences of the Christians; which so prevailed with those moderate Princes, that they swaged their wrath against the Christians, and obtained mitigation of their cruel Decrees: Even so, forasmuch as there is a Decree set forth of late in your Realm against that Doctrine which we profess, both godly and necessary for the Church, I beseech your most honourable Majesty favourably both to read and consider this our complaint, especially seeing I have not only for our own cause, but much rather for the common safeguard of the Church, directed this my writing unto you. For seeing those Heathen Princes did both admit and allow the defences of the Christians, how much more is it becoming for a King of Christian Profession, and such a one as is occupied in the studies of holy Histories, to hear the Complaints and Admonitions of the godly in the Church? and so much the more willingly I write unto you, for that you have so favourably heretofore received my Letters with a singular declaration of your Benevolence towards me. This also giveth me some hope that you will not unwillingly read these things, forasmuch as I see that the very phrase and manner of writing doth plainly declare, not your self, but only the Bishops to be the Authors of those Articles and Decrees there set forth; albeit, through their wily and subtle Sophistifications, they have induced you (as it hapned to many other worthy Princes besides you) to condescend and assent unto them, as the Rulers persuaded *Darius*, being otherwise a wife and just Prince, to cast *Daniel* unto the Lions.

It was never unfeemly for a good Prince to correct and reform cruel and rigorous Laws (as it is commonly said) to have a second view and oversight of things before passed and decreed.

The wife *Athenians* made a Decree when the City of *Mitylene* was recovered, which before had forsaken them that all the Citizens there should be slain, and the City utterly destroyed. Whereupon there was a Ship sent forth with the same Commandment to the Army. On the next morrow the matter was brought again before the same Judges, and after better advice taken, there was a contrary Decree made; that the whole multitude should not be put to the Sword, but a few of the chiefest Authors of their Rebellion should be punished, and the City saved. There was therefore another Ship sent forth with a Countermand in all haste to overtake and prevent their former Ship, as also it happened. Neither was that noble City, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, ashamed to alter and reform their former Decree. Many such examples there be, the most part whereof I am sure are well known unto you. But in the Church especially Princes have many times altered and reformed their Decrees, as *Nebuchodonsor* and *Darius*. There was a Decree set forth in the name of *Affuerus*, concerning the killing of the Jews: that Decree was afterwards called in again. So did *Adrianus* and *Antoninus* also correct and reform their Decrees.

Therefore, although there be a Decree set forth in England, which threateth strange punishments and penalties, disagreeing from the custom of the true Church, and swerving from the Rules and Canons thereof;

A fruitful Epistle of P. Melancthon, sent to King Henry touching the six Articles.

** He meaneth here the Kings liberal reward sent to him before in money, by Mr. J. Hale, which money he then distributed among the Ministers and learned men of Wittenberg.*

Example of the Athenians revoking their Decree.

Esther. 1.

yet I thought it not unseemly for us to become Petitioners unto you, for the mitigation of these your sharp and severe proceedings. The which, when I consider it, grieveth my mind, not only for the peril and danger of them which profess the same Doctrine that we do, but also I do lament for your cause, that they should make you an Instrument and a Minister of their bloody Tyranny and Impiety. And partly also I lament to see the course of Christian Doctrine perverted, superstitious Rites confirmed, Whoredom and lecherous Lusts maintained.

Besides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in Doctrine and Vertue, to be there detained in Prison, as *Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton*, and others, to whom I wish strength, patience, and consolation in the Lord. Unto whom, albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriously, then to give their lives in the Confession of the manifest Truth and Verity; yet would I wish that you should not disdain your hands with the blood of such men; neither would I wish such Lanthoms of Light in your Church to be extinguished; neither these spiteful and malicious Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, to have their wills so much fulfilled; neither again would I wish that you should so much serve the will and desire of that Romish Antichrist, which laugheth in his sleeve to see you now to take part with him against us, hoping well, by the help of his Bishops, to recover again his former Possession, which of late by your virtues and godly means he lost: he seeth your Bishops for the time loyal unto you, and obsequious to obey your will; but in heart he seeth them linked unto him in a perpetual bond of Fidelity and Obedience. In all these feats and practices the Romish Bishops are not to seek. They see what great storms and blasts therefore they have passed by bearing and suffering. They see that great things be brought to pass in time. Neither do they forget the old Verse of the Poet:

*Multa dies variisque labor mutabilis ævi
— Retulit in melius.*

Many good and learned men in Germany conceived of you great hope, that by your Authority and example other Princes also would be provoked to surcease likewise from their unjust Cruelty, and better to advise themselves for the Reformation of Errors crept into the Church; trusting that you would be as a Guide and Captain of that godly purpose and enterprise. But now seeing these your contrary proceedings, we are utterly discouraged; and the indignation of other Princes is confirmed; the stubbornness of the wicked is augmented; and old and great Errors are thereby established.

But here your Bishops will say again, no doubt, That they defend no Errors, but the very Truth of Godsholy Word. And although they be not ignorant that they strive in very deed both against the true Word of God, and the Apostolick Church, yet like crafty Sophisters they can find out fair glosses, pretending a goodly shew outwardly, to colour their Errors and Abuses.

And this sophistication not only now in England is had in great admiration, and esteemed for great wisdom; neither in Rome only reigneth, where Cardinal *Contarminus*, *Sadolet*, and Cardinal *Pool*, go about to paint out Abuses with new colours and goodly glosses; but also in Germany divers Noblemen are likewise corrupted and seduced with the like sophistication. And therefore I nothing marvel that so many there with you be deceived with these crafty jugglings. And although you for your part lack neither learning nor judgment, yet sometimes we see it so happen, that wise men also be carried away, by fair and colourable persuasions, from the Verity.

The saying of *Simonides* is praiseworthy, *Opinion* (saith he) many times perverteth Verity. And many times false Opinion hath outwardly a fairer shew than simple Truth: and specially it so happeneth in cases of Religion, where the Devil transformeth himself into an Angel of Light, setting forth, with all colourable and goodly shews, false Opinions. How fair seemeth the Glois of *Samosatenus* upon the Gospel of *S. John*. In the beginning was the Word, &c. and yet is it full of Impiety. But I omit foreign Examples.

In these Articles of yours, how many things are craftily and deceitfully devised? Confession, faith the Article, is necessary, and ought to be retained. And why say they not plainly, That the rehearsing and numbering up of sins is necessary by Gods Word? This the Bishops knew well to be very false, and therefore in the Article they placed their words generally, to bear the eyes of the simple people, that when they hear confession to be necessary, they should thereby think the enumeration of sins to be necessary by Gods Word.

The like *Legerdmain* also they use in the Article of private Masses, albeit the beginning of the said Article containeth a manifest untruth, where they say that it is necessary to retain private Masses. What man in all the Primitive Church, more then four hundred years after the Apostles time, did ever so say or think, at what time there were no such private Masses used: for afterward in the process of the Article follow other blind sophistications, to make the People believe that they should receive by them Divine Consolations and Benefits. And why do they not plainly declare what Consolations and Benefits those be? The Bishops here do name no application and merit, for they know that they cannot be defended. Yet they dally, with glossing words, whereby they winde out and escape, if any should improve their application. And yet notwithstanding they would have this their application to be understood and believed of the People. They would have this idolatrous perversion confirmed, to wit, that this Sacrifice doth merit unto others remission *à pana & culpa*; release of all Calamities, and also gain and lucre in common Traffick, and to conclude, whatsoever else the careful heart of man doth desire.

The like sophistication they use also, where they say that Priests marriage is against the Law of God. They are not ignorant what *S. Paul* saith, *A Bishop ought to be the Husband of one Wife*: and therefore they know right well that marriage is permitted to Priests by the Law of God. But because now they say they have made a Vow, they go craftily to work, and do not say that Priests for their Vows sake cannot marry, but plainly give out the Article after this sort; That marriage of Priests is utterly against the Law of God. Again, what impudency and tyranny do they shew moreover, when they compel marriages to be dissolved, and command those to be put to death which will not put away their Wives, and renounce their Matrimony? Whereas the Vow of Priests, if it had any force at all, should extend no further, but only to put them from the Ministry if they would marry. And this, no doubt, is the true meaning of the Councils and Canons.

O cursed Bishops! O impudent and wicked *Wincheſter*! who under these colourable fetches thinketh to deceive the eyes of Christ, and the judgments of all the godly in the whole World. These things have I written, that you may understand the crafty sleights, and so judge of the purpose and policy of these Bishops. For if they would simply and heartily search for the Truth, they would not use these crafty Collusions and deceitful jugglings.

This sophistication, as it is in all other affairs pernicious and odious, so above all things, most specially it is to be avoided in matters of Religion: wherein it is a heinous Impiety to corrupt or pervert the pure Word of God. And hereof the Devil, which is called *Diabolus*, specially taketh his name, because he wresteth the Word of God out of mens hearts by such false juggling and sophistical Cavillations. And why do not these Bishops as well plainly utter and confess, that they will abide no Reformation of Doctrine and Religion in the Church, for that it shall make against their Dignity, Pomp, and Pleasure? Why do not their Adherents also, and such as take their part, plainly say that they will retain still this present state of the Church, for their own profit, tranquillity, and maintenance? Thus to confess were true and plain dealing.

Now whilst they pretend hypocritically a false zeal and loveto the Truth and sincere Religion, they come in with their blind sophistications, whereby they cover their Errors. For their Articles set forth in this Act be erroneous, false and impious, how glorious soever

Mitigation
of the six
Articles de-
fied.

Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others imprisoned for the six Articles.

The Bishops pretend outward obedience to the King, but their hearts be with the Pope.

The Bishops maintain errors against their knowledge.

Falseness of men thus beareth a fairer shew than Truth.

John 1.

Confession.

Private Masses.

By application of Masses is meant, when the Priest and Merits of Christ is applied to any by the virtue of the Mass.

Priests marriage Tit. 1.

Wincheſter cunning in the Art of juggling, called *Diabolus* and *esui*.

The Word of God ought simply to be handled without all sophistry.

the cloak of false piety.

soever they seem outwardly. Wherefore it were to be wished that these Bishops would remember Gods terrible threatnings in the Prophet *Isaiah*; *Wo to you* (saith he) *which make wicked Laws; what will you do in the day of visitation and calamity to come?* &c. *Wo unto you that call evil good, &c.*

in hand; this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkness hath been in the Church of Christ. Mens Traditions not only have been a yoke to good Mens Conferences, but also (which is much worse) they have been reputed for Gods holy service, to the great dishonour of God. There were Vows, things bequeathed to Churches, diversity of Garments, choice of Meats, long babbling Prayers, Pardons, Image-worship, manifest Idolatry committed to Saints, the true Worship of God, and true good Works not known. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the Chritlian and Heathen Religion, as fill is yet to *Rome* to this present day to be seen. The true Doctrine of Repentance, of Remission of Sins, which cometh by Faith, and the true Judgment of Faith, with, the difference between the Law and the Gospel, the right use of the Sacraments, was hid and unknown. The Keyes were abused to the maintenance of the Popes usurped tyranny. Ceremonies of Mens invention were much preferred before Civil Obedience and duties done in the Common-Wealth.

Unto these things moreover was joyed a corrupt life, full of all lecherous and filthy lusts; by reason of the Law forbidding Priests to marry. Out of this miserable darkness God doth something hath begun to deliver his Church through the reſorting again to true Doctrine. For ſo we muſt needs acknowledge, that theſe fo great and long eſtimated errors have not been diſcloſed and brought to light by the induſtry of Man; but this light of the Goſpel is only the Gift of God, who now again hath appeared unto the Church. For ſo doth the holy Ghoſt prophecy before-hand in the later times the Godly ſhould ſuſtain fore and perilous conflicts with Antichriſt, fore-ſeeing that he ſhould come, environed with a mighty and ſtrong Army of Biſhops, hypocrites, and Princes; that he ſhould fight againſt the Truth, and ſlay the Godly.

And that no all these things are so come to pass, it is most evident and cannot be denied. The tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome* hath partly brought in errors into the Church, partly hath confirmed them, and now maintaineth the fame with force and violence, as *Deu* well forebowed. And much we rejoyce to see you divided from him, hoping and trusting well that the Church of *England* would now flourish. But your Bishops be not divided from the Romish Antichrist; his Idolatry, Errors, and Vices they defend and maintain with tooth and nail; for the Articles now passed are craftily picked out. They confirm all Humane Traditions, in that they establish folem Vows, single Life, and Auricular Confession. They uphold and advance not only their pride and authority, but all errors withal, in retaining the private Mass.

Thus have they craftily provided that no Reformation can take any place, that their dignity and wealth may still be upheld. And this to be the purpose of the Bishops, experience'll felt doth plainly teach us. Now what Man will not lament to fee the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? For as I said before | this matter concerneth not only these Articles which be there enacted, but all other Articles of found Doctrine are likewise overthrowen, if such Traditions of Men shall be reputed as necessary, and to be retained. For why doth Christ say, *For they worship me in vain with the precepts of Men?* or why doth Saint Paul to ofsettle Mens Traditions?

It is no light offence to set up new kinds of worship, piping and ferving of God without his Word, or to defend the same. Such presumption God doth horribly detest, which will be known in his Word only. He will have none other Religions invented by Mans devise; for élse all sorts of Religions of all Nations might be approved and allowed. *Lean not* (saith he) *to thine own wisdom.* - But he sent Christ, and commanded us to hear him, and not the invention of subtle and politick heads;

which apply Religion to their own lucre and commodi-
ty.

Further, the private *Mafis*, *Vows*, the *Engliſh*-*life* of *Prieſts*, numbering up of *Sins* to the *Prieſt*, with other things more, being but mean ordinances of *M.* and offered for Gods true ſervice and w^ol^oſhip. For altho^ugh, the Supper of the Lord was truly inſtituted by *Chriſt*, yet the private *Mafſ* is a wicked prophaneation of the Lords Supper. For in the Canon, what a corruption is contained in this, where it is ſaid, That *Chriſt* is *Chere*, and that the work it ſelf is a Sacrifice which redeemeth the quick and the dead? Theſe things were never ordained of *Chriſt*; yea manifold ways they are repugnant to the Goſpel. *Chriſt* willett not himſelf to be offered up of *Prieſts*, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a Sacrifice. This is manifeſt Idolatry and overthroweth the true Doctrine of *M.* and the true uſe of the Sacraments. By Faith in *Chriſt* we are juſtified, and not by any work of the *Prieſts*. And the Supper is ordained that the *Minifter* ſhould diſtribute to others, to the intent, that they repenting for their *Sins* ſhould be admoniſhed firmly to believe the promiſes of the Goſpel to pertain unto them. Here is ſet a plain testimony before us, that we are made the members of *Chriſt*, and waſhed by his Blood.

And this is the true use of that Supper, which is ordained in the Gospel, and was observed in the Primitive Church three hundred years and more, from the which we ought not to be removed. For it is plain inability to transfer the Lords Institution to any other use, as we are taught by the second Commandment. Wherefore these private Masses, forsooth as they derive from the right Institution of Christ manifold ways, as by Oblation, Sacrifice, Application, and many other ways besides, they are not to be retained, but to be abolished. *Flide (saith Saint Paul) From all Idolatry.* In these private Masses much Idolatry is committed, which we see our Bishops now so fluently to defend; and no marvel. For in the later times the Scripture plainly sheweth that great Idolatry hath reigned in the Church of God. As Christ himself also signifieth, saying, When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the Prophet *Daniel*, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him understand. And *Daniel* in the eleventh Chapter, and he shall worship the God *Maozin* in his place, and shall adore the God whom his Fathers knew not, with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. Both these places do speak of the Mass.

This kind of worship and horrible prophanation of the Sacrament God abhorreth. For how many and sundry kinds of manifest impiety are here committed in this one action of the Mass? First it is fet forth to sale. Secondly, they that are unworthy are compelled to receive whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied for meritorious and satisfactory for the quick and the dead. Fourthly, many things are promised thereby, as prosperous navigation, remedies against diseases both for Man and Beast, with other infinite more. These be manifest and notorious abominations. But besides this, there be other also no less to be reprehended, which the simple people do not so plainly see. Such worshipping, and serving of God is not to be set up after the phantasie of Men.

Wherefore they do wickedly when they offer Sacrifices to God without his commandment. For when of this work they make a Sacrifice, they imagine that private Masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sort. And we see that Masses are bought with Gold and Silver, great riches and sumptuous charges; also that the Sacrament is carried about in Gold and Silver to be worshipped, whereas the Sacrament was never ordained for any such purpose. Wherefore seeing the commandment of God biddeth, flee from Idolatry, private Masses are not to be maintained. And I marvel that they say that such private Masses are necessary to be retained; when it is evident that in the old time there was none such. Shall we think that things, pertaining to the necessary worship of God, could so long be lacking in the Primitive Church, three hundred years after the Apostles and more? What can be more absurd and against all reason?

Against the
v. the M^{rs}les
of the Canon
of the M^{rs}les
Christ our
one, offered

The true life
of the Lords
Sinner.

Sacraments ought not to be removed out of their signification.

1 Cyr. 10.

Matth. 24,

Dan. 11:1

What impiety is in the Mass.

No private
Masses used
in the old
time.

We

We see these private Masses to be defended with great labour and much ado: of some, for fear lest their gain should decay; of some, because they would serve the affection of the vulgar people (which thinketh to have great succour thereby), and therefore are loath to leave it rather than for any just Cause or Reason to leave them. But howsoever they do, a most manifest and evident cause there is why these private Masses ought to be abolished. For first, their application undoubtedly is wicked; neither doth the work of the Priest merit any Grace to any Person, but every one is justified by his own Faith. Neither again would God have any Man to trust upon any Ceremony, but only to the benefit of Christ; and most certain it is, that the application of these Masses for the dead is full of great error and impiety.

Appellation
to the Mass
idolatrious.

But here come in blind glosses (albeit to no purpose) to excuse this application. For universally among all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwise, but that this work is available for the whole Church? Yea the Canon of the Mass itself declareth no less. And why then do some of these crafty Sophisters dally out the matter with their glossing words, denying that they make any application of their Masses, when they know full well that the error of the people is confirmed by this their doing; although they themselves do think otherwise? Albeit how few be there in very deed which do otherwise think?

The old in-
struction of
Christ is not
to be altered
by new in-
ventions.

We ought not to dissemble in Gods matters. Let us use them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the ancient custom of the Primitive Church doth lead us. Why should any Man be so presumptuous to swerve from ancient custom? Why now do they defend the error of other which have perverted the institution of Christ.

Now, although some perhaps will pretend and say, that he maketh no application of his Masses, yet notwithstanding he so dealeth in handling the Ceremony privately by himself, that he thinketh that his obligation to be high service done to God, and such as God requirerh: Which is also erroneous and to be reproved. For why? No service or worship pertaining unto God ought to be set up by mans device, without the commandment of God.

Wherefore I beseech you, for the Glory of Christ, that you will not defend the Article of this Act concerning these private Masses, but that you will suffer the matter to be well examined by virtuous and learned Men. All things that we here with us do, we do them by evident and substantial testimony of the Primitive Church; which testimony I dare be bold to set against the judgments of all that have since followed, such as have corrupted the ancient Doctrine and told Rites with manifold errors.

Against
Vows of
Priests in-
gle the
the com-
mon error
concerning
Vows.

As touching the other Articles, they have no need of any long disputation. Vows that be wicked, fained, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common persuasion of all Men touching Vows, that all these will-works devised by Man are the true service and worship of God, and so think they also which speak most indifferently of them. Other add thereto more gross errors, saying, that these works bring with them perfection, and merit everlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Christ saith, They worship me in vain with the precepts of Men. And Paul saith, that these observations be the Doctrine of Devils, for they ascribe to the power and strength of Man false honour, because they are taken for the service of God: they obscure faith and the true worship of God. Item, the said Paul to the Colossians saith, Let no Man deceive you by fained humility, &c. Why make you Decrees, &c.? Wherefore these corrupt traditions of Men are indeed a wicked and detestable service of God.

Mark. 7.

1 Tim. 4.

Coloss. 3.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

then afterward they pretended the holiness of the Vow and Profession.

Furthermore this Vow of single life is not to all Men possible to be kept, as Christ himself saith, *All Men do not receive this*. Such Vows therefore which without Sin cannot be performed are to be undone; but these things I have discussed sufficiently in other of my works.

Math. 19.

But this causeth me much to marvel, that this Vow of Priests in your English Decree is more strict and hard, than is the Vow of Monks, whereas the Canons themselves do bind a Priest no farther to single life, but only for the time that he remaineth in the Ministry. And certainly it made my heart to tremble when I read this Article who so forbiddeth Matrimony, and dissolveth the same being contracted, and appointeth moreover the punishment of death for the same. Although there have been divers godly Priests which in certain places have been put to death for their marriage, yet hath never man hitherto been so bold to stablish any such law. For every Man in a manner well perceived that all well disposed and reasonable persons would abhor that cruelty; and also they feared lest the posterity would think evil thereof. Who would ever think that in the Church of Christ, wherein all lenity toward the Godly ought most principally to be shewn, such cruelties and tyranny could take place, to set forth bloody Laws to be executed upon the Godly for lawful Matrimony?

The six Ar-
ticles make
the Vow of
Priests as
strait as
the Vow of
Monks,
which is
censurable
to their own
Law.

No Law of
death ever
established
for Priests
marriage,
before the
six Articles.

But they brake their Vows, will the Bishop say. For (as I said) that Vow ought not to stand, seeing it is turned to a false worship of God, and is impossible to be kept. Again, although it stood in force, yet it should not extend to them which forsake the Ministry. Finally, if the Bishops here would have a care and regard to Mens Consciences, they should then ordain Priests without any such profession or Vow-making, as appeareth by the old Canons, how that many were admitted to the Ministry without professing of any Vow; and the same afterward, when they had married their Wives, remained in the Ministry, as is testified, *Cap. Diaconi. Distinct. 28.*

Why Priests
Vows ought
not to stand.

Dist. 28. cap.
Diaconi.

Certainly what here I may complain I cannot tell. First, in this Article I cannot impute it to ignorance that they do. For no Man is ignorant of the Commandment of God, which saith, *Let every Man have his Wife for avoiding of fornication*. Again, who is so blind but he seeth what a life these unmarried Priests do live? The complaints of good Men are well known. The filthiness of the wicked is too too manifest. But peradventure your Bishops, holding with the Sect of Epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy lusts. Which if they so think, then do we sustain doubtless an hard cause where such must be judges.

Bishops re-
strain Priests
marriage ar-
gainst all
reason and
excuse.

I am not ignorant that this single life is very fit to set out the glory and bravery of Bishops and Colledges of Priests, and to maintain their wealth and portly state, and this I suppose to be the cause why some do abhor so much that Priests should be married. But O lamentable state of the Church, if Laws should be so forced to serve, not the verity and the Will of God, but the private gain and commodity of Men! They err which think it lawful for them to make Laws repugnant to the Commandment of God, and to the Law of nature, so that they be profitable to attain Wealth and Riches and of truth from my very heart I do mourn and lament, Right Noble Prince, both for your sake, and also for the cause of Christs Church. You pretend to impugn and gainstand the tyranny of the Romish Bishop, and truly do call him Antichrist, as indeed he is; and in the mean time you defend and maintain those Laws of that Romish Antichrist, which be the strength and sinews of all his power, as private Mass, single life of Priests, and other superstitions. You threaten horrible punishments to good Men, and to the members of Christ, you violently oppress and bear down the verity of the Gospel beginning to shine in your Churches. This is not to abolish Antichrist, but to establish him.

Complaint
of unjust
Laws ser-
ving to the
vice of Men
against the
Glory of
God.

I beseech you therefore for our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye file not your Conscience in defending those Articles which your Bishops have devised and set forth touching private Masses, Auricular Confession, Vows, single life of Priests, and prohibition of the one half of the Sacrament. It is no light offence to establish Idolatry, errors, cruelty,

cruelty, the filthy lusts of Antichrist. If the Roman Bishops should call a Councel, what other Articles chiefly would he devise and publish unto the World, but the very same which your Bishops have here enacted?

The subtilty
of Sathan in
abusing the
power of
Princes to
maintain his
Kingdom.

Understand and consider, I pray you, the subtil trains and deceits of the Devil, which is wont first to tempt and assaile the chief Governours. And as he is the enemy of Christ from the beginning of the World, so his chief purpose is by all crafty and subtil means to work continually against Christ; by spurring abroad wicked opinions, and setting up Idolatry, and also in polluting mankind with bloody Murthers and filthy lusts: in the working whereof heauleth the policies and wits of Hypocrites, also the power and strength of mighty Princes; as Stories of all times bear witness, what great Kingdomes and Empires have set themselves with all might and main against the poor Churches of Christ.

Example of
goodPrime
cost.

And yet notwithstanding God hath relieved some good Princes at all times out of the great multitude of such Giants, and hath brought them to his Church, to embrace true Doctrine, and to defend his true worship; as *Abraham* taught *Abimelech*; *Joseph* the Egyptian Kings; and after them came *David*, *Jehoiachaz*, *Ezechias*, *Jehoiachin* excelling in true Godliness; *Daniel* converted to the knowledge of God; the Kings of *Chaldea* and *Persia*. Also *Byzantius* brought forth unto the World the Godly Prince *Constantine*. In this number I with you rather to be than amongst the Enemies of Christ, defiled with Idolatry, and spotted with the Blood of the Godly; of whom God will take punishment, as he doth many times forewarn, and many examples do teach.

Yet again therefore I pray and beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will correct and mitigate this Decree of the Bishops; in which doing you shall advance the Glory of Christ, and provide as well for the wealth of your own Soul, as the safeguard of your Churches.

He meaneth
Shaxton,
Latimer,
Cromer, and
others.

Let the hearty desires of so many Godly Men through the whole World move you, so earnestly willing that some good Kings would extend their Authority to the true reformation of the Church of God, to the abolishing of all Idolatrous Worship, and the furthering of the course of the Gospel. Regard also and consider, I beseech you, those Godly persons which are with you in bands for the Gospels sake, being the true members of Christ.

The Devils
Instruments
by whom he
worketh.

And if that cruel Decree be not altered, the Bishops will never cease to rage against the Church of Christ, without mercy or pity: for them the Devil uses as Instruments and Ministers of his fury and malice against Christ: They be firebrands to flay and kill the members of Christ. Whose wicked and cruel proceedings and subtil falsifications and that you will not prefer before our true and most righteous request, all the Godly most humbly and heartily do pray and beseech you. Which if they shall obtain, no doubt but God shall recompence to you great rewards for your piety, and your excellent virtue. shall be renowned both by pen and voice of all the Godly, whilst the World standeth. For Christ shall judgeall them that shall deserve either well or evil of his Church. And whilst Letters shall remain, the memorial worthy of such base deserters shall never dye or be forgotten with the posterity to come. And seeing we seek the glory of Christ, and that our Churches are the Churches of Christ, there shall never be wanting such as both shall defend the righteous cause, and magnifie with due commendation such as have well deserved, and likewise shall condemn the unjust cruelty of the enemies.

Christ goeth about hungry, thirsty, naked, imprisoned, complaining of the raging fury of the Bishops, and of the wrongful oppression and cruelty of divers Kings and Princes, intreating that the members of his Body be not rent in pieces, but that true Churches may be defended, and his Gospel advanced. This request of Christ to hear, to receive, and to embrace, is the Office of a Godly King, and service most acceptable unto God.

Livingst.,
Priest, and
his Wife.

Intreating a little before, of certain old instruments for proof of Priests lawful marriage in times past, I gave a little touch of a certain Record taken out of an old Martyrologue of the Church of Canterbury touching Livingus a Priest and his Wife, in the time of Lanfranke. Wherein I touched also of certain Lands and Houses re-

restored again by the said Lanfrank to the Church of S. Andrew. Now forasmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands, and partly completing the restoring of the said Lands to be to Certain Church in Canterbury, and not S. Andrew in Rochester, and also for that I have found some other Persons approving the lawful Marriage of Priests, and legitimization of their Children, I thought good for the more full satisfying of the Reader, to enter the same, as follows.

A Note out of an old Martyrologue of *Canterbury*.

O Biji Guileimus Rex Anglorum, &c. Hic reddidit
Ecclesie Christi omnes fere terras, &c. That is, *After the death of William King of England, the said Lanfrank reformed again to Christe Church in Canterbury all the Lands whicsh from ancient memory unto these later days have been taken away from the right of the said Church. The names of whiche Lands be these: in Kent, Raulf, Sandwich, Rarburch, Wodeten, the Abbey of Limmingwhith the Lands and Customs unto the same Monastery belonging, Saltwode, &c. (Stoke and Denenham, because they belonged of old time to the Church of S. Andrew, them be reformed to the same Church) in Suthery, Murelas, the Abbey of S. Mary in London, with the Lands and Houss whiche Livingus Priest, and his Wife had in London. All these Lanfrank reformed again for the health of his own Soule, freely and without Moneys.*

Ex Archivio
Scal Canz.

Church in
Rehoboth.

priest and a
married
man.

A Note for the Legitimation of Priests Children, *Ex Termino Michael. Anno 21, Hen. 7. fol. 39. pag. 2.*

N Ores, being in nine and twentieth year of his King, M. 1. R. 7.
in an Assize at Warwick, before Sir Guy Fairfax,
and Sir John Vailour, it was found by Verdict, that the Father of the Tenant had taken the Order of Deacon,
and after married a Wife, and had issue, the tenant dyed,
and the issue of the tenant did enter. Upon whom the
plaintiff did enter as next heir collateral to the Father of
the tenant. Upon whom he did reenter, &c. and for difficulty
the Justices did adjourn the Assize. And it was de-
cided in the Eschequer Chamber: If the tenant shall be
a Bastard, &c. And here by advice it was adjudged that
he shall not be a Bastard, &c. Frowick chief Justice said
to me in the nine and twentieth year of Henry the seventh,
in the common place, that he was of counsel in this mat-
ter, and that it was adjudged as before, which Vailour
did grant. And Frowick said, that if a Priest marry a
Wife, and hath issue and die, his issue shall inherit, &c.
that the espousal be not void, but voidable. Vailour, if
a Man take a Nun to Wife, this espousal is void.

A Deacon say
eth a Wile,
ach Moe
nd dyeth,
ne Moe ad-
aged not
Bartard.

opinion that
the office of
Priest shall
be

Note that in the latter Impression of *Henry* the seventh his years of the Law, this Word Priest in this case aforesaid in some Books is left out; whether of purpose or by negligence, I leave it to the Reader to judge.

Another Note for Legitimation of Priests Children.

AD Curiam generalem D. Philippi & D. Marie Dis-
gratia, &c. xvi. die Julij. anno Reg. di. Regis
& Regine, primi & tertio irritatum fuit. Præsentium
est per totum homagium quod Simon Heynes * Clericus dia-
conus esse Curiam, vid. per duos annos clapsis, fuit
sejunctus sacrandum consuetudinem hujus manerii in Domini-
co xxv. die feodo, &c. in 2. Acta Terræ, parcellis de
jusso. Acros & amid. Terræ, nuper in temore Johanne
Heynes. Ac de & in tenemento vacato Bernardes, nuper
in temore Johanni Cottan. Ac de & in voii. Acres, i.
Rodis Terræ & pafure, five plus five minus, prout
jacent in Campis de Mylenbach prædicta in diversis
partibus, et patet in Curia hic tenta de Jovis proximo pro-
fectum Sancti Luca Evangelij. An. regnantis Henrici
oct. xxxvij. Et in 3. Acta Terræ nuncupata
jauchelme. Townfeld & Townfeld in diversis
partibus, ac de & in quatuor actis & amid. Terræ jacen-
ti in Mylenbach præd. Ac de & in quinque rodibus terra
in Halwylsch. Quæ propter premiffa idem Simon nuper
habuit ex seipfo redditione Willielmi Heyne, prout pe-
tet in curia hic tenta de Mariis, proximo apud dominicum

Note that
his Simon
Hemel a
Doctour and
Priest is not
called other-
wise he re in
form of Law
then Clergy,
as in the
evidences
before other
Priests are
called.

Note that
the opinion
of *Fremick*
hath alway
been taken
to be Law,
may appe
by this pre
dent that
passed be
fore Sir *Ch*
ment High
ham being
learned in
the Law, an
late chief
Baron of t
Excheque
in the time
of late *Que*
Mary.

idem Albin en. reg. Regis Ed. vi. primo. Et sic fecistis i-
dem Simon de omnibus supradictis. premissi, inde obis
Joſeph fecistis. Et quod Joſeph Hynes est filius et heres eius
propinquior, et modo atatis quinque annorum et amplius
qui quidem Joſeph præfens hic in curia in propria per-
ſona sua petit se admitti ad omnia supradicta. præmis-
ſa tanquam ad jus et hereditatem. ſuam. Et D. Rex. et D. Re-
gina ex gratia ſua ſpeciali. per Clementem Heigheim militem
ſenſebachallum ſuum, conſecrerunt ei inde ſeiſmam tenen-
dum ſibi, heredi et aſſignis. eius. per virgam ad voluntatem
dicti. D. Regis et D. Regine ſecundum conſuetudinem
hujus manerij. per ſervitia et redditus inde debita. &c.
ſine ſua jure. &c. Et dat. Dom. Regis et D. Regine. vi. de
ſine pro ingreſſu ſua habenda. et ſolventia legatum
quoque. &c. Et ſatis conſideratum eſt per Curiam quod
dicti. Joſeph et conſueſſum eſt per conſenſum Curie quod
Joſeph Hynes nuper uxore præd. Simonis. ex matre præd.
Joſeph habebit cuſtodiam ejusdem Joſeph. quoque
idem Joſeph perveniet ad ſuam legatam atati-
nem.

The pe
of the
Article
clared.

Concerning the six Articles passed in this Act afore-
said, in the one and twentieth year of King Henry, suf-
ficiently hitherto hath bin declared, first what the Ar-
ticles were Secondly, by whom, and from whom they chief-
ly proceeded thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant,
and contrarious to true Doctrine, Christian Religion, and the
word of God, to nature also it self, all reason and honesty,
and finally to the ancient Laws, Customs, and Examples of
our fore-fathers, during the days of a thousand years after
Christ were. Fourthly, ye have heard also what un-
reasonable and extreme penalty was set upon the same, that
a man may deem these Laws to be written not with the
ink of Stephen Gardiner, but with the Blood of a Dragon,
or rather the Claws of the Devil. The breach whereof
was made no less than Treason and Felony, and no less
punishment assigned thereto than Death.

Draconis
es sangu
scriptæ.

Besides all this, the words of the A^ct were so curious and subtle, that no Man could speak, yea or cypher against them, without present danger, write farcelly a Man might speak any word of Christ and his Religion, but he was in perill of these six Articles. Over and besides, the Papists began so finely to interpret the A^ct, that they spared not to indite Men for abusing their Countenance and Behaviour in the Church. So great was the power of darknes in those days. And thus much concerning this A^ct.

Potestas
negotiorum

Besides these fix Articles in this forefaid Act concluded, there was also another Confitution annexed withal, without the advice (as may feem) of the Lord *Cromwell*, which was this: That Priests and Ministers of the Church, being now they would needs themselves be bound from all Matrimony, should therefore by Law likewise be bound to such honesty and continency of life, that carnally they should live, and accustom no manner of Woman married or single by way of Adultery or Fornication, the breach whereof for the first time, was to forfeit goods and to suffer Imprisonment at the Kings pleasure: and for the second time, being duly convicted, it was made Felony, as the other were.

In this Constitution, if the Lord Cromwell and other good Men of the Parliament might have had their will there is no doubt, but the first crime of these concubinary Priests, as well as the second, had had the same penalties as the other fix Articles had, and should have bin punished with death. But *Stephen Gardiner* with his fellow Bishops who then ruled all the rots, bestowed this extraordinary Article with their accustomed flattery, that if they were taken and duly convicted for their *casus non causati* at first time it was but forfeit of goods. All for the second conviction or attainer they so provided, that the next year following that punishment and pain of death by Act of Parliament was clean wiped away and repealed. And why so? Because, say the Statute, that punishment by pain of death is very *severe, and much extrem*, therefore it pleases the King with the assent of the Lords, that that clause above written concerning Felony, and pains of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the first and second conviction or attainer of any Priest or Woman for any such offences of *Wickedness, or Adultery*

Stat. An. 2
Reg. Hen.
cap. 12.

aforsaid, shall be from henceforth void and of none effect, &c. So that by this Statute it was provided, for all such Votaries as lived in Whoredom and Adultery, for the first offence to lose his goods, and all his spiritual promotions except one; for the second, to forfeit all that he had to the King; for the third conviction to sustain continual Imprisonment.

In these ungodly proceedings of the Popes Catholick Clergy two things we have to note.

1. First, the horrible impiety of their Doctrine, directly fighting against the exprets Authority of God and his Word, forasmuch as that which God permitteth, they restrain; that which he bids they forbid. *Habeat*, faith he; *Non habeat*; say they, taking exceptions against the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honourable and undefiled, they call Heretic; that which he commandeth and infitteth, they punish with pains of death. Not only the Priests that marry, but also those that fy or cypher that a Priest may marry; at the first they kill as Felons. Neither can any *Miserere* take place for chaste and lawfull wedlock; whereas contrariwise a spiritual Man may thrice defile his neighbours Wife, or thrice deflow his Brothers Daughters, and no Felony at all layed to his charge. What is this in plain words to say, but that it les sin thrice to commit Adultery, than once to marry?

2. The second is to be noted, how these painted Hypocrites do bewray their false dissimled dealings unaware, with whom a Man might thus reason. Tell us you Priests and Votaries, which so precisely flie the Talle of Matrimony intend you to live chaste & are able so to do with our Wives, or do you keep your wives honest & chaste without them, without burning or not? If you be not able why then marry ye not? Why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you those Vows, which you cannot perform? Or why do you not break them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking Gods Commandment, for keeping your own? If you be able and so do intend to continue an honest and a continent conversation with your Wives, then shall I ask of you according as Doctor Turner gravely and truly layeth to your charge, Why do you so carefully provide a remedy by your Laws ahead for such mischief to come, which you may avoid if you list, unless either ye list not to stand though you might, or else fear your own infirmity, that you could not though you would. And therefore, fearing your own weak fragility, to provide wisely for your wives ahead, that where others shall suffer pains of death at the first for well doing, you may fall three in abominable Adultery, and yet by the Law have your lives pardoned.

And here cometh our own Hypocrite by you
 selves bewrayed ; for whereas you all confesse, that you are
 able to live chaste if ye will without Vvives, this moderation
 of the Law provided before against your aduoluerous
 incontinency, plainly declareth that either ye purpose will-
 lingly to fall, at least ye fear and stand in doubt not to be
 able to stand. And why then do you so confidently take
 such Vows upon you, standing in such doubt and fear
 for the performance thereof ?

And be it to you admitted that all do not fall, but that some keep their Vow, though some viciously run to excess: then Mens Wives and Daughters, then herein again I say, you, feeling these Vicious Whorehunters and adventurous persons among you do live viciously, (as you cannot deny) and may do otherwise if they list, as you confess, what punishment then are they worthy to have, which may lay on the continent and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuse it? Which being for the what inquiry is this in you, or rather impity inexcusable against God and Man, to procure a moderation of Laws for such, and to shew such compassion and clemency to these vicious Adulterers, whore-hunters, and beaſtly Fornicators, that if they Adulterate other Mens Wives never so oft, yet there is no death for them; and to shew no compassion at all, nor to find out any moderation for such, but at the very first kill them as Felons and Hereticks, which honestly do marry in the fear of God, or once say that a Priest may marry? How can ye here be excused, O you Children of iniquity? What Reason is in your doing, or what truth in your Doctrines, or what fear of God in your hearts. You that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without Wedlock, nor yet will receive that remedy

The A^d 2-
gainst the
Whoredom
of Priests
qualified, &c
after what
manner,

The mani-
fest impiety
of the Popes
Doctrine
disclosed.

Dilemma against Voters that will not marry.

D. Turner:
hunting the
Romish Fox

3 The Papist
- bewray
their Hypo
cricie.

The impiet
of the Papist
inexorable

that the Lord hath given you, how will you stand in his face, when he shall reveal your operations and cogitations to your perpetual confusion, unless by time ye convert and repent? And thus being ashamed of your execrable doings, I cease to defile my pen any further in this so stinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

Read before: It was declared before, that what time these six Articles were in hand in the Parliament House, *Crommer*, then being Archbishop of *Canterbury*, only withstood the same, disputing three days against them; whose Reasons and Arguments I will were extant and remaining. After these Articles were thus passed and concluded, the King, who always bare especial favour unto *Crommer*, perceiving him to be not a little discomforted therewith, sent all the Lords of the Parliament, and with them the Lord *Cromwel*, to dine with him at *Lambeth* (as is before declared) and within few days also upon the same, requiring that he would give a note of all his doings and reasonings in the said Parliament: Which the said *Crommer* effects accomplished, accordingly, drawing out his Reasons and Allegations; the copy whereof, being fair written out by his Secretary, was sent and delivered unto the King, and there remained.

Now after these things thus discussed, as touching the six wicked Articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our story again, to declare those things which after the setting out of these Articles ensued, coming now to the time and story of the Lord *Cromwel*, a man whose worthy fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory.

The History concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of the famous and worthy Counsellour Lord Thomas Cromwel Earl of Essex.

Thomas Cromwell although born of a simple Parentage, and House obscure, through the singular excellency of Wisdom, and dexterity of Wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industry of mind, and deserts of life, rose to high preferment and authority; inasmuch that by steps and stairs of Office and Honour, he ascended at length to that, that not only he was made Earl of *Essex*, but also most secret and dear Counsellor to King *Henry*, and Vicegerent unto his person, which Office hath not commonly been supplied, at least not so fruitfully discharged within this Realm.

First as touching his Birth, he was born at *Purney* or thereabout, being a Smiths Son, whose Mother married after to a sheerman. In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man, as of divers other before him, we may see and learn, that the excellency of noble virtues and heroical prowesses which advance to fame and honour, stand not only upon Birth and Blood, as priviledges only entailed and appropriate to noble Houses; but are disposed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiseth up the poor Abject many times out of the Dunghil, and matcheth him in Throne with Peers and Princes, *Plal. 113.*

As touching the order and manner of his coming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may be said at large; only by way of story it may suffice to give a touch of certain particulars, and so to proceed. Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many others) a great let and hinderance for virtue to shew her self, yet such was the activity and forward ripeness of nature in him, so pregnant in wit, and so ready he was, in judgment discreet, in tongue eloquent, in service faithful, in stomach courageous, in his pen active, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not be long unhelped, nor yet unprovided of favour and help of friends to set him forward in place and office: neither was any place or Office put unto him, whereunto he was not apt and fit; Nothing was so hard which with wit and industry he could not compass. Neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. Which well appeareth in canning the text of the whole new Testament of *Erasmus* Translation without Book, in his journey

going and coming from *Rome*, whereof you shall hear anon.

Thus in his growing years, as he shot up in age and ripeness, a great delight came in his mind to stray into foreign Countries, to see the World abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned such Tongues and Languages as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus passing over his youth, being at *Antwerp* he was there retained of the English Merchants to be their Clerk or Secretary, or in some such like condition placed pertaining to their affairs.

It happened the same time that the Town of *Boston* the Town of *Boston* thought good to send up to *Rome*, for renewing of their two pardons, one called the great pardon, the other the lesser pardon. Which thing although it should stand them in great expences of money (for the Popes Merchandise is always dear ware) yet notwithstanding such sweetness they had felt thereof, and such gain to come to their town by that Romish Merchandise (as all Superstition is commonly gainful) that they like good Catholick Merchants, and the Popes good customers, thought to spare for no cost, to have their leases again of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paid for the fine. And yet was all this good Religion then, such was the lamentable blindness of that time.

This then being so determined and decreed among my Countrymen of *Boston*, to have their pardons needs repaired and renewed from *Rome*, one *Geffrey Chambers* with another Champion was sent for the messengers, with writings and money, no small quantity, well furnished, and with all other things appointed, necessary for so chargeable and costly exploit. Who coming in his journey to *Antwerp*, and misdoubting to be too weak for the compassing of such a weighty piece of work, conferred and persuaded with *T. Cromwel* to associat him in that legacy, and to assist him in the contriving thereof. *Cromwel* although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficulty to traverse the Popes Court, for the unreasonable expences amongst those greedy Cormorants, yet having some skill of the Italian Tongue, and as yet not grounded in the judgment of Religion in those his youthful days, was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so took his journey towards *Rome*. *Cromwel* loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money; and again perceiving that the Popes greedy humour must needs be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing at *Rome*) began to cast with himself, what thing best to devise wherein he might best serve the Popes devotion.

At length having knowledge how that the Popes holy tooth greatly delighted to new fangled strange delicacies, and dainty dishes, it came in his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of gelly, after the best fashion, to make offer of Country manner here in *England*, which to them of *Rome* was not known nor seen before.

This done, *Cromwel* observing his time accordingly, as the Pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, he with his companions approached with his English presents brought in with a three mans song (as we call it) in the English Tongue, and all after the English fashion. The Pope suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the Song, and understanding that they were English men, and that they came not empty handed, willed them to be called in. *Cromwel* there shewing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, such as Kings and Princes only, said he, in the Realm of *England* use to feed upon, desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor suiters unto his Holiness, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Pope *Julius*, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his Cardinal to take the assay. Who in tasting thereof liked it so well, and so likewise the Pope after him, that knowing of them what their sutes were, and requiring them to make known the making of that neat, he incontinent, without any more ado, stamped both their pardons as well the greater as the lesser.

And thus were the jolly pardons of the Town of *Boston* obtained as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The copy of which pardons (which I have in my hands) briefly comprehended, cometh to this effect;

Crommer's reasons and allegations against the six Articles written to the King.

The story of the L. Thom. Cromwel.

The holiness of the L. Cromwel recomended with noble ornaments.

Commendation of the L. Cromwel.

The Cromwel's letters the new Testament in Latin with out book.

The Popes Merchandise is dear ware. Superstition is commonly gainful. The Popes leases of pardons.

Cromwel goes to Rome.

Cromwel presents to the Pope. Cromwel a lover for Boston's pardons.

effect; That all the Brethren and Sisters of the Guild of our Lady in S. Botolphes Church at *Boiton*, should have free Licence to chuse for their Confessor or ghostly Father whom they would, either secular Priest, or Religious Person, to assioil them penarily from all their sins, except only in cases referred to the Pope.

Also should have licence to carry about with them an Altar-stone, whereby they might have a Priest to say them Mass, or other Divine Service where they would, without prejudice of any other Church or Chappel, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the Clock after midnight in the summer time.

Furthermore, that all such Brethren and Sisters of the said Guild, which should resort to the Chappel of our Lady in Saint Botolphes Church at the feast of *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, *Corpus Christi*, the Nativity or Assumption of our Lady, or in the Octaves of them, the feast of Saint Michael, and first Sunday in *Lent*, should have pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the Stations of Rome.

Provided that every such person, Man or Woman, entering into the same Gilde, at his first entrance should give to the finding of seven Priests, twelve Quirilters, and thirteen Beadsmen, and to the lights of the same Brotherhood and a Grammar School, six Shillings eight pence, and for every year after twelve pence.

And these premises being before granted by Pope Innocentius, and Pope Julius the second, this Pope Clement also confirmed, granting moreover, that whatsoever Brother or Sister of the same Guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other let could not resort personally to the said Chappel, notwithstanding he should be dispensed withal, as well for that, as for all other Vows, irregularities, Censures Canonical whatsoever, only the Vow of going the Stations of Rome, and going to S. James of Compostella excepted, &c.

He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, a *pena* & *culpa*, once in their life, or in the hour of death.

Item, that having their Altar-stone, they might have Mass said in any place, though it were unlawfulled and in the time of interdict, to have Mass or any Sacrament ministrifd; and also being departed, that they might be buried in Christian burial notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending moreover his Grant, to all such Brethren and Sisters, in resorting to the foresaid Chappel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or Assumption of our Lady giving supporation to the foresaid Chappel, at every such Festival day to have full Remission of their Sins. Or if they for any impediment could not be present at the Chappel aforesaid, yet if they came unto their own Parish Church, and there said one *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria*, they should enjoy the same remission above specified; or whosoever came every Friday to the same Chappel, should have as much Remission, as if he went unto the Chappel of our Lady called *Scala Cali*.

Furthermore, that whatsoever Christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either Spiritual or Temporal, would aid and support the Chamberlains or Substitutes of the foresaid Guild, should have five hundred years of pardon.

Item, to all Brothers and Sisters of the same Guild was granted free liberty to eat in the time of *Lent*, or other fasting days, Eggs, Milk, Butter, Cheese, and also Fleish, by the Counsel of their Ghostly Father and Physician, without any scruple of Conscience.

Item, that all partakers of the same Guild, and being supporters thereof, which once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the said Chappel in S. Botolphes Church, or any other Chappel, of their Devotion, shall say a *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*, or shall say or cause to be said Masses for Souls departed in pains of Purgatory, shall not only have the full Remission due to them which visit the Chappel of *Scala Cali*, or of S. John Lateran, but also the Souls in Purgatory shall enjoy full Remission, and be released of all their pains.

Item, that all the Souls departed of the Brothers and Sisters of the said Guild, also the Souls of their Fathers and Mothers shall be partakers of all the Prayers, Suffrages, Almotes, Fastings, Masses, and Matrens, Pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the H. Church militant for ever, &c.

These Indulgences, Pardons, Grants, and Relaxations were given and granted by Pope Nicholas the fifth, Pope Pins the second, Pope Sixtus, and Pope Julius the second, of which Pope Julius it seemeth that Cromwell obtained this Pardon aforesaid about the year of our Lord, 1510. Which Pardon again afterward through the request of King Henry, Anno, 1526. was confirmed by Pope Clement the seventh. And thus much concerning the Pardon of *Boiton*, renewed by the means of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Julius the second.

All this while it appeareth, that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgment of Religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his Word as he himself was wont oftentimes to declare unto Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, shewing what a Ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the Wars of the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome, also what a great doer he was with Geffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the Pardon of *Boiton* every where in Churches as he went, and so continued, till at length by learning the Text of the New Testament without book of Erasmus Translation in his going and coming from Rome (as is aforesaid) he began to be touched and called to better understanding.

In this mean time Thomas Wolsey Cardinal of York began to bear a great part in England, and almost to rule all under the King, or rather with the King; so that the freshest Wits, and of the best towardness, most commonly fought unto him. Among whom was also Thomas Cromwell to his service advanced, where he continued a certain space of years, growing up in Office and Authority till at length he was preferred to be Solicitor to the Cardinal.

There was also about the same time, or not much different, in the Household of the said Cardinal Thomas More, afterward Knight and Chancellor of England, and Steven Gardiner after Bishop of Winchester and of the Kings Council. All these three were brought up in one Household, and all one standing almost together. Whole Ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal; so neither was their fortune and advancements greatly divers, albeit their dispositions and fancies were most contrary. And though peradventure in More and in Gardiner there was more art of the Letters, and skill of learnings, yet notwithstanding there was in this man a more Heavenly light of the mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, eloquence equal, and as may be supposed in this man more Heroical and Princely disposition, born to greater affairs in the Common-Wealth, and to the singular help of many.

It happened that in this mean season, as Cromwell was placed in this Office to be Solicitor to the Cardinal, the said Cardinal had then in hand the building of certain Colledges, namely his Colledge in Oxford, called then *Frideswide*, now Christs Church. By reason whereof, certain small Monasteries and Priors, in divers places of the Realm, were by the said Cardinal suppressed, and the lands seized to the Cardinals hands. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell. In the expedition whereof he shewed himself very forward and industrious, in such sort as in the handling thereof he procured to himself much grudge with divers of the Superstitious sort, and with some also of Noble calling about the King. And thus was Cromwell first set awork by the Cardinal, to suppress Religious Houses. Which was about the year of our Lord, 1525.

As this passed on, it was not long, but the Cardinal which had gotten up so high began to come down as fast, first from the Chancellorship (in which room was placed Sir Thomas More, as is before said) then he fell into a *Præmonstrance*. So that his Household being dissolved, Thomas Cromwell, amongst other, laboured also to be retained into the Kings service.

There was at the same time one Sir Christopher Hales Knight, Master of the Rolls, who notwithstanding was then a mighty Papist; yet bare he such favour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the King, as a Man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the Pope. But here before is to be understood, that Cromwell had greatly been complained of, and defamed by certain of Authority about the King, for his rude man-

Ex Heric
Pope Ge-
mericus 7. ad
Galil. Was-
tamus
Archiep.

Cromwell
was in the
Wars of the
Duke of
Bourbon
besieging
Rome.

Cromwell re-
ceived into
the Cardinals
Service.
Cromwell So-
licitor to the
Cardinal.

Cromwell,
More, and
Gardiner,
companions
in the Car-
dinals House.
A compar-
ison between
Cromwell,
More, and
Gardiner.

Small Mo-
nasteries
suppressed
by the Car-
dinal. Crom-
well first set
awork by the
Cardinal to
suppress
Religious
Houses.

Sir Christo-
pher Hales
helped of
Cromwell in
the King.
Cromwell
commended
him to the King
by Sir Chris-
topher Hales
Master of
the Rolls.
Cromwell
complained
of to the
King.

Pardon for
visiting our
Ladies
Chappel in
Boiton.

The price of
Boiton par-
dons.
Crafty Mer-
chants.

Full remissi-
on a pena &
culpa.
Good stuff
I row.

The Chap-
pel of *Scala
Cali* about
Rome.
The Pope
soliciting,
Butter and
Cheese.

Pardon for
Souls in pur-
gatory.

ner and homely dealing in defacing the Monks Houses, and in handling of their Altars, &c. Wherefore the King, hearing of the name of *Cromwel*, began to detest the mention of him, neither lacked their some Standers-by, who with reviling words ceased not to increase and inflame the Kings hatred against him: what there names were it shall not need here to recite. Among other, there present at the same hearing, was the Lord *Ruffel* Earl of *Bedford*, whose life *Cromwel* before had preferred at *Bonny*, through politick conveyance, at what time the said Earl, coming secretly in the Kings affairs, was there espied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the means and policy of *Cromwel* escaped.

The Lord *Ruffel* Earl of *Bedford*, through the policy of *Cromwel* escaped at *Bonny*. The Lord *Ruffel* commended *Cromwel* to the King.

This Lord *Ruffel* therefore not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratuity willing again to requite that he had received, in a vehement boldness stood forth, to take upon him the defence of *Thomas Cromwel*, uttering before the King many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring whiloh how by his singular device and policy he had done for him at *Bonny*, being there in the Kings affairs in extremum peril. And forasmuch as now his Majesty had to do with the Pope, his great Enemy, there was (he thought) in all *England* none so apt for the Kings purpose, which could lay or do more in that matter, than could *Thomas Cromwel*, and partly gave the King to understand wherein. The King hearing this, and specially marking the latter end of his talk, was contented and willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

This was not so privily done, but *Cromwel* had knowledge incontinent that the King would talk with him, and whereupon; and therefore providing before hand for matter, had in a readines the Copy of the Bishops Oath, which they use commonly to make to the Pope at their consecration; and so being called for, was brought to the King in his Garden at *Westminster*, which was about the year of our Lord 1530.

Cromwel brought to talk with the King.

Cromwel after most loyal obedience, doing his duty to the King, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; this especially making manifest unto his Highness, how his Princely Authority was abused within his own Realm by the Pope and his Clergy, who being sworn unto him, were afterward dispensed from the same, and sworn anew unto the Pope; so that he was but as half King, and they but half his Subjects in his own Land: which (said he) was derogatory to his Crown, and utterly prejudicial to the Common Laws of his Realm. Declaring thereupon how his Majesty might accumulate to himself great Riches, so much as all the Clergy in his Realm was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The King giving good ear to this, and liking right well his advice, required if he could avouch that which he spake. All this he could (he said) avouch to be certain, so well, as that he had the Copy of their own Oath to the Pope there present to shew, and that no less able he could manifestly prove, if his Highness would give leave; and therewith shewed the Bishops Oath unto the King.

Cromwel words to the King concerning the transgression of the Clergy.

Cromwel sent by the King to the Convocation-House.

The King, following the vein of his Counsel, took his Ring off his Finger, and first admitting him into his Service, sent him therewith to the Convocation-House among the Bishops. *Cromwel* coming with the Kings Signet boldly into the Clergy-House, and there placing himself among the Bishops (*William Warham* being then Archbishop) began to make his Oration, declaring unto them the Authority of a King, and the Office of Subjects, and especially the Obedience of Bishops and Churchmen under Publick Laws, necessarily provided for the profit and quiet of the Commonwealth. Which Laws notwithstanding they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the Kings Royal Estate, falling in the Law of *Premunire*, in that not only they had consented to the Power Legative of the Cardinal, but also in that they had all sworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their Sovereign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their Goods, Chatels, Lands, Possessions, and whatsoever Livings they had. The Bishops hearing this were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the Fact. But after that *Cromwel* had shewed them the very Copy of their Oath made to the Pope at their Consecration, and the matter

For the Copy of the Bishops Oath to the Pope, read before.

was so plain that they could not deny it, they began to shrink and to fall to entreaty, desiring respite to put up on the matter. Notwithstanding, the end thereof fell out, that to be quit out of that *Premunire* by Act of Parliament, it cost them to the King for both the Provinces, *Canterbury* and *York*, no less than one hundred eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty Pounds, which was about the year of our Lord 1520, whereof before you may read more at large.

The Clergy condemned to the *Premunire*.

After this, Anno 1522. Sir *Thomas Cromwel* growing in great favour with the King, was made Knight and Master of the Kings Jewel-House, and shortly after was admitted also into the Kings Council, which was about the coming in of Queen *Anne Boleyn*. Furthermore, within two years after the same, Anno 1524. he was made Master of the Rolls; Dr. *Taylor* being discharged.

Sir *Thomas Cromwel* made Knight and Master of the Kings Jewel-house.

This *Cromwel* springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the year 1527, a little before the birth of King *Edward*, was made Knight of the Garter, and not long after was advanced to the Earldom of *Essex*, and made Great Chamberlain of *England*. Over and besides all which Honours, he was constituted also Vicegerent to the King, representing his Person. Which Office although it standeth well by the Law, yet seldom hath there been any besides this *Cromwel* alone, either to have signified it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsel and wisdom, as *Cromwel* did. And thus much hitherto concerning the steps and degrees of the Lord *Cromwels* rising up to dignity and high estate.

Cromwel made Knight of the Garter.

Cromwel made Knight of the Garter, made Earl of *Essex*, great Chamberlain of *England*, and Vicegerent to the King.

Now somewhat would be said likewise of the noble Acts, the memorable Examples and worthy Vertues, not drowned by ease of Honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advancement of Authority and Place, to work more abundantly in the Commonwealth. Among the which his worthy Acts and other manifold Vertues, in this one chiefly above all other fifth his commendation, for his singular Zeal and laborious Travel bestowed in restoring the true Church of Christ, and subverting the Synagogue of Antichrist, the Abbeys, I mean, and Religious Houses of Friars and Monks. For so it pleased Almighty God, by the means of the said Lord *Cromwel*, to induce the King to suppress first the Chauntries, then the Friars Houses and small Monasteries, till at length all the Abbeys in *England*, both great and less, were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots.

The Acts and doings of the Lord *Cromwel* described.

The which Act and enterprise of him, as it may give a president of singular Zeal to all Realms Christened, which no Prince yet to this day scarce dare follow; so to this Realm of *England*, it wrought such benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remain still in the Realm of *England*, though we seem little to feel it. Rudely and simply I speak what I suppose, without prejudice of other which can inter any better reason. In the mean time my reason is this, That if God had not raised up this *Cromwel* as he did, to be the Instrument of rooting out of the Abbeys and Cells of strange Religion, what other men see I know not; for my part I never saw yet in this Realm any such *Cromwel* since *Cromwels* time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have been subverted with the Mony and Bribes of Abbats; than he to have subverted any Abbey in all *England*.

The Lord *Cromwel* a profitable Instrument in suppressing Abbeys.

But here I must of necessity answer the complaint of certain of our Country-men. For so I hear of many of the subversion of these Monasteries to be reprehended, as evil and wicked. The Buildings, say they, might have been converted unto Schools and Houses of Learning, the Goods and Possessions might have been bestowed to much better and more godly use of the Poor; and maintaining of Hospitality. Neither do I deny, but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their Opinion with my whole heart, if I did not consider herein a more secret and deeper meaning of Gods holy Providence, than at the first blush peradventure to all men doth appear.

The defence of the Lord *Cromwel* for overthrowing the Abbeys.

And first to omit the wicked and execrable Life of these Religious Orders, full of all fecity, and found out by the Kings Visitators, and in their Registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so sinking before

The abominable life of the Monasteries, bewrayed by their own confession.

the face of God and Man, that no marvel it is if Gods vengeance from Heaven provoked would not suffer any stone or monument of these abominable Houses to be unplucked up. But, as I said, letting these things pass under chaff silence, which for very shame will abhor any story to disclose, let us now come to the first Institution of these Orders and Houses of Monastery, and consider how and to what end they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons at the first foundation of them, about the time 666.

Said also:

In the former part of this History, declaration was made before, first by whom, and at what time these Monkish Houses here in England among the Saxons (showing no doubt out of the Order of St. Bennet, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded, as by Augustine the Monk, Fursey, Medulphus, Aldanus, Ceadda, King Ulferus, Oswine, Elfrida, King Ofusa Daughter Kineburga, Hilda, Botolphus, Edelreda, King Oswald, Edgar, Erkenwaldus Bilhop, Ethelwaldus Bilshop of Winchester, Oskellus Archbilhop of York, Oswaldus Bilhop of Worcester, Lejwinus Bilhop of Dorchester, Dunstan, and divers others.

The first beginning of Religious Houses in the time of the Saxons.

The end and cause of building Religious Houses. The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in Stories to be, *Pro remissione & redemptione peccatorum: pro remedio & liberatione anime; pro amore celestis patrie; in elemosynam anime; in remissionem criminum; pro salute regnorum, pro salute & requie animarum patrum & matrum, fratrum, & sororum nostrorum, parentum, & omnium benefactorum; in honorem gloriose Virginis, &c.* As may appear in ancient Histories, in old Charters and Donations unto Religious Houses, and in the Chronicle of Ingulphus, as also all other Stories be full of the fame.

The damnable Doctrine and Institution of Religious Orders.

So King Ethelstane, for killing his Brother Edwine, builded two Monasteries, *Mildeton* and *Michelney*, for his Soul. Which Doctrine and Institution, so far as it tendeth and foundeth directly against the foundation of Christian Religion, against the Testament of God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the freedom of our redemption and free justification by Faith, it is therefore to be condemned as execrable or horrible, as evil or worse than the life of the persons, and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to marvelled rather, that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit Gods mighty Vengeance and Scourge hath not ceased from time to time to work against such impious Foundations from the time of their first setting up. For besides the Invasions of the Danes (which may seem to be stirred up of God, especially for the subversion of Abbeyes) let old Histories be searched, what Monastery almost in all this Realm was either left by the Danes, or redified again after the Danes, but by some notorious casualty of fire sent by Gods hand it hath been burned up?

Gods continual plague against Monasteries.

First, the Monastery of *Canterbury*, called the House of St. Gregory, was burnt Anno 1145, and afterward again burnt Anno 1174, *ex Hister. Gervasil.*

Ex Chron. Gervasil.

The Abbey of *Croyland* was also twice burnt. *Ex hist. Ingulph.*

Ingulph.

The Abbey of *Peterborough* twice set on fire Anno 1070. *Ex Chron. Peterb.*

Peterborough.

The Abbey of *St. Maries* in *York* burnt, with the Hospital also.

Wester.

The Abbey of *Norwich* burnt.

Wester.

The Abbey of *St. Edmunds-Bury* burnt and destroyed, *Ex Chron. S. Edmund.*

Wester.

The Abbey of *Worcester*.

Wester.

The Abbey of *Gloucester* was also burnt.

Wester.

The Abbey of *Chichester* burnt.

Wester.

The Abbey of *Glastenbury* burnt.

Wester.

The Abbey of *St. Mary* in *Southwark* burnt.

Wester.

The Church of the Abbey of *Beverly* burnt.

Wester.

The Steeple of the Abbey of *Evesham* burnt.

Wester.

These, with many other Monasteries more, God brought down to the ground, so that few or none of all the Monastical Foundations in England, either before the Conquest, escaped the hands of the Danes and Scots, or else after the Conquest escaped destruction of fire, and that not without just cause deserved; for as the trade of their Lives was too too wretched and bestial, so the profession of their Doctrine was intolerable, fraught with all Superstition, full of much Idolatry, and utterly con-

Abbeys burnt and plagued with fire.

The Doctrine of the Monks worse than their lives.

trary to the Grace of the Gospel and Doctrine of Christ.

Furthermore, the more these Abbeyes multiplied and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit we read the name of Monks to have continued from the old ancient time, yet notwithstanding the Monks of those days were not like the Monks of our time, nor their Houses then like to our Abbeyes now. So we read of the Monks of *Bangor* before the coming of *Augustine*; but those Monks got their living with toyl and labour of their hands, and had no other Lands nor Lordships to live upon. Again, neither were they as Ministers then, but as Lay-men, according as *Hierome* describeth the Monks of his time, saying, *Monachus non docens, sed plangens habet officium.* And again he saith, *Alia causa est Monachi, alia Clerici; Clerici oves pastores; Ego pastor, &c.* That is, A Monks Office is not to preach, but to mourn. The state of a Monk is one thing, and the state of a Priest is another. Priests feed the Flock of Christ; I am fed, &c.

Also in the Story of *Ingulphus* Abbot of *Croyland* thus I find: Anno 1075. In *Croylandiam primum installatus inveni tunc in isto Monasterio Croylandensi Monachos numero 62. Quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, preter aliorum Monasteriorum Monachos nostri capituli comprefectos, &c.* That is, Being instilled in the Abbey of *Croyland* I found there to the number of sixty two Monks. Of which Monks, four of them were Lay-Brethren, besides the Monks of other Monasteries which were also professed to our Chapter, &c.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where it is provided: *Ne Monachi se Ecclesiasticis negotiis immiscuant, &c.* *Ex Leo Epist. 62. Verat Monachos & Laicos, est scientia nomine gloriantur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.* Whereof read more before.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of *Hierome*, that Monks in the first Persecutions of the Primitive Church were Lay-men, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for fear of persecution, or for eschewing the company of Heathen Gentiles: afterward in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianity, the Monks yet keeping their name, and growing in Superstition, would not joyn with other Christians, but kept still their Brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other Christians, and professing a kind of life strange and diverse from the common trade. Upon this diversity of Life and Profession, followed also like diversity of garments and attire differing from their other Brethren. After this more-over came in the Rule of *St. Benedict*, enjoining to them a prescribed form of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying, of silence, sole life and diet, and all things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common Christians.

Whereby men, seeing their austerity, began to have them in great admiration. And thus growing up in Opinion of Holiness, of Lay-men and Labourers they came at length to be Clergy-men, and greatest doers of all other in Christs Religion; inasmuch that at last there was none reputed almost for a Religious man or perfect Christian, unless he were a Monk: neither almost was any advanced to any dignity of the Church, but either he was a Monk, or afterward he put on a Monks weed. According as in the Stories of this Realm it is to be seen, how in the time of *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of *Ethelwald* Bilhop of *Worcester*, and of *Oswald* Bilhop of *Winchester*, Pope *John* the thirteenth, writing to King *Edgar*, willed him in his Letters, to see in his Cathedral Churches none to be promoted to be Bishops, but such as were of the Monastical Religion, and willed him moreover to exclude the Secular Prelendaries at *Winchester*, and to place in Monks, and that none of the Secular Clerks there should be chosen Bishop, but either taken out of the same Convent of that Church, or of some other Abbey.

So was also King *Henry* the Second commanded to do in the house of *Walram*, where the Secular Canons were removed out, and Regular Canons intruded. The same did *Oswald* Bilhop with the Church of *Worcester*.

16 q. Monach. ch. 1.

16 q. 2. Alia causa Clotio.

Ex Chron. Ingulph. Abbat. Croyland. Lay-men received for Monks into Monasteries.

Monks forbidden to intermeddle in Ecclesiastical matters.

Monks diverse from other men in trade of life. Monks diverse from other in Apparel.

Monks of Lay-men made Clergy-men.

Pope John 13. wrote to King Edgar, that none should be made Bishops but Monks.

Secular Priests put out, and Monks intruded into Churches.

De Galliel
Malmsh.
in via Odon
is. Ex Ne-
bergent. li-
4. cap. 23. b.

Monks first
lay men,
then made
Regulars
and votaries:
at length
made
Church-men
by Pope
Boniface.

Difference
between
Monks and
Friars.

The coming
in of the
Friars.

The life of
Monks and
Friars con-
sidered.

cester, likewise in their Sees did Dunstane Archbishop of Canterbury, Osketellus Archbishop of York, Eshelwold Bishop of Worcester (who in stories is reported to be Multorum fundator Monasteriorum.) Lefwinus also Bp. of Dorchester, with other Bishops more about the time and Reign of King Edgar. Odo Archbishop of Canterbury before Dunstane, Anno 934. after his election refused to take that dignity upon him, before he had received the Habit of a Monk in the Abbey of Florence in France, because as the story telleth (if it be true) Nullus ad id tempus, nisi Monachali schemate indutus, Archiepiscopus fuisset, &c. That is, Because all the Archbishops of Canterbury before him had been Monks, &c. In like manner Baldwinus also, Anno 1114. after he was elected Archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the Habit and Profession of Merton Abbey. And so did Reginaldus his next Successor after him, &c.

As concerning therefore the Origine of Monks, ye have heard how first they began of Lay men only: leading a freater life from the society of other persons, who then following the Rule of Saint Benet, where called Regulars, and Votaries, and yet all this while had nothing to do with any Ecclesiastical ministry, till the time of Pope Bonifacius the fourth, Anno 606. who then made a Decree, that Monks might use the office of Praching, of Christening, of hearing Confessions and absolving them of their sins, differing from Priests only in this, that they were called Regulars, and Priests were called, Seculares, the Monks were Votaries, the Priests had free liberty to have Wives, till the time of Lawfranke and Anselme, as is afore said. Albeit Arbanasius, in his Epistle ad Dracontium, winceseth also, that he knew Monks in the old time, and Bishops, which were married and had Children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarm of Monks still more and more multiplied in such sort as not only they thrust out Secular Priests from their Houses, but also out of them were made Popes, Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, to govern Churches. Of which number began Augustine the first Archbishop of the See of Canterbury, and the most part of all other Archbishops after him, until the time of the conquest, and after.

All this while the Friars were not yet come, neither the Discipline of St. Dominick, nor the Testament of St. Francis, nor the Order of the Austin Brothers, nor of the Carmelites was yet heard of: which last of all came in with their pageants, and plaid their art likewise, an. 1220. being much more full of Hypocrisie, Blindness, Idolatry, and Superstition, than were the Monks: So that what with Monks on the one side, and with the Friars on the other side, while all things were ruled by the Rules of St. Benet, by the Canons of the Pope, by the Doctrine of S. Dominick, and by the Testament of S. Francis, Christs Testament was trodden under Foot, the Rule of Gods Word neglected, true Christian Religion defaced, Faith forgotten, the right way of Salvation abolished, sound Doctrine oppressed Christs Servants persecuted, and the Peoples Souls uncomfortable; yea, and the true Church of Christ almost clean extirpated, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promise) provided remedy in time, in raising up this Cromwel his Servant, and other like Champions, to cut up from the Root the Houses of them, which otherwise would utterly have rooted up the House of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself aggrieved with Cromwels doings in suppressing these Monasteries of Monks and Friars, let him wisely consider with himself, First the Doctrine, Laws and Traditions of these Men, which he shall find rebelling to the Religion of Christ, pernicious to our Salvation, Derogatory to Christs Glory, full of much Blasphemy and damnable Idolatry. Secondly let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable lives of the Cloisters, or at the least search out the Rolls and Registers of matters found out by inquisition in King Henry the eighth his days, against them; which here is not to be spoken of, unless we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the Court of Rome, Cuius factor usque ad nubes fumum terrerimum exhalabat, That is, Whose filthy stinck, saith he, did breathe up a most

pestiferous fume, even unto the Clouds of Heaven, &c.

All which things well considered, what marvel is it then, if God of his iust judgment did set up the foresaid Lord Cromwel to destroy these sinful Houses, whom their own Corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their Lands and Possessions to the Hands of such as they were bestowed upon; if it so pleased the King, in bestowing those Abbey-Lands upon his Nobles and Gentlemen, either to restore them again unto them from whence they came, or else to gratifie his Nobility by that means of policy, not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwel? But they might, say you, have been much better employed to other more fruitful uses. Briefly to answer thereunto, what may be done presently in a Common-wealth, is not enough to say, but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing down of Abbeyes had happened in such free and reformed Cities and Countries, as are amongst the Germans, where the State governed and directed by Laws, rather than by Rulers, remaineth always alike and unmutable; who doubteth, but such Houses there standing still, the Possessions might well be transported to such uses above said, without any fear or peril? But in such Realms and Kingdoms as this, where Laws, and Parliaments be not always one, but are subject to the disposition of the Prince, neither is it certain always what Princes may come; the surest way therefore to send Montery and Popery packing out of the Realm, is to do with their Houses and Possessions as King Henry here did, through the motion of the Council of Cromwel. For else who seeth not in Queen Marius time, if either the Houses of Monks had stood, or their Lands had been otherwise disposed than into the Hands of such as they were, how many of them had been restored and replenished again with Monks and Friars, in as ample wise as ever they were? And if Dukes, Barons, and the Nobilitie scarce were able to retain the Lands and Possessions of Abbies distributed to them by King Henry, from the devotion of Queen Mary seeking to build again the Walls of Jericho, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlike, but that Gods heavenly Providence did well foresee and dispose these things before by this man, in working the destruction of these Abbies; Whereupon as often as he sent out any man to suppress any Monastery, he used most commonly to send with this charge, that they should throw down those Houses to the foundation.

Which words although it may seem percase to some to be cruelly spoken of him; yet contrariwise do I suppose the doing thereof not to be without Gods special Providence and secret guiding. Or else we might peradventure have had such swarms of Friars and Monks possessed in their nests again before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwels afterward uneth should have been suffered to have unhouseed them.

Wherefore if the Plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the Roots, let God alone with his working, and let the Monasteries go.

Now that you have seen, what this Malleus Monachorum had done in defacing the Synagogue of the Pope, let us see how the same Cromwel again did travel in setting up Christs Church and Congregation.

After that the Bishop of Romes Power and Authority was banished out of England, the Bishops of his Sect never crafed to seek all occasion how either to restore his Head again, being broken and wounded, or at the least to keep upright those things which remained, wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrate, yet had they brought much more to pass, if Cromwel (as fore and defence of the Church) had not refitted continually their Enterprises.

It happened, that after the abolishing of the Pope certain tumults began to rise about Religion. Whereupon it seemed good unto King Henry to appoint an ed by the Assembly of learned Men and Bishops, which should soberly and modestly intreat and determine those things which pertained to Religion. Briefly, at the Kings pleasure all the learned Men, but especially the Bishops assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwel

That Cromwel desired in suppressing Abbies.

Dissipation of Abbey lands in England expedient.

The utter ruine of Monasteries was Gods work.

Matt. 13

Malleus monachorum Cromwel.

Cromwel had fore and defence of the Church.

An assembly of learned men appointed by the King.

Cromwell
with Alexan-
der Alefius
return to the
Assembly.

thought also to be present himself with the Bishops, who by chance meeting with Alexander Alefius by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the Convocation House, where all the Bishops were assembled together. Which was in the year 1537. The Bishops and Prelates attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as to their Vicar General, and he again saluted every one in their degree and fate down in the highest place at the Table, according to his degree and Office, and after him every Bishop in his order, and Doctors. First over against him sat the Archbishop of Canterbury, then the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester, &c. There Cromwell in the name of the King (whose most dear and secret Counsellor at that present he was, and Lord privy Seal, and Vicar General of the Realm) spake these words in manner following.

Cromwell's
Oration to
the Bishops.

Right reverend Fathers in Christ: The Kings Majesty groweth you high thanks that ye have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandment. And ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time become concerning the Christian Religion and Faith, not only in this Realm, but also in all Nations throughout the world. For the King studieth day and night to let a quietness in the Church, and he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and of his whole Parliament. For although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned People, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe; and he himself by his excellent learning knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration but by the consent of you and his whole Parliament. By the which thing ye may perceive both his high Wisdom, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you for Christs sake, that all malice, obduracy, and carnal respect set apart, ye will friendly and lovingly dispute among your selves of the controversies moved in the Church, and that you will conclude all things by the Word of God, without all brawling or folding; neither will his Majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested and defaced by any Glosses, any Papistical Laws, or by any Authority of Doctors or Councils, and much less will he admit any Articles or Doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved only by Continuance of time and old custome, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know well enough that ye be bound to shew this service to Christ and to his Church, and yet notwithstanding his Majesty will give you high thanks, if ye will set and conclude a goodly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy, which thing his Majesty exhorteth and desireth you to do.

The Kings
request to
the Bishops.

When Cromwell had ended this his Oration, the Bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks unto the Kings Majesty, not only for his great Zeal toward the Church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy to Christian a Prince.

Stokesley de-
fends the
Seven Sacra-
ments.

Immediately they rose up to dispute, where Stokesley Bishop of London, the first of all, being the most earnest Champion and maintainer of the Romish Decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten Verities) indeavoured himself with all his labour and industry, out of the old School Glosses, to maintain the seven Sacraments of the Church; the Archbishop of York, Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich also favoured his part and Sect. On the contrary part was the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, with many other.

After much communication had on either part, and that they had long contended about the Testimony of the Doctors, which as it seemed unto them differed and disagreed among themselves, the Archbishop of Canterbury at the last spake and said thus unto them.

I beseecheth not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, for that we agree in the very Substance and effect of the matter. For to brawle about words is the property of Sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and disension of the world, and in the miserable State of the Church; and not of them which should seek the glory of Christ; and should study for the unity and quietness of the Church; there be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of Ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the Law and of the Gospel; of the manner and way how sins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God; seeing they feel the strength of the Law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the Sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by Faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true Service and Honour which pleasest God; and whether the choice of means, the difference of Ceremonies, the vows of Monks and Priests and other Traditions which have no Word of God to confirm them; whether these (I say) be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man or no? Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and mans Traditions, do bind mens consciences or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of Confirmation, of Orders, and of anealing, and such other (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, or no? These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian Religion. Wherefore we contend not about words and Titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, Blessed be the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the Sons of God. And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded Bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing but unto the subversion and destruction of the bearers: and moneth him specially, that he should resist with the Scriptures, when any man disputeth with him of the Faith; and he addeth a cause whereas he saith, Doing this thou shalt preserve both thy self, and also them which hear thee. Now if ye will follow these Counsellors Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must stablish a goodly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore in this disputeation we must first agree of the number of the Sacraments, and what a Sacrament doth signifie in the holy Scripture, and when we call Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, Sacraments of the Gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well that Saint Ambrose and other Authors call the washing of the Disciples feet and other things, Sacraments; which I assure you your selves would not suffer to be numbred among the other Sacraments.

The Arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury Oration
to the Bi-
shops.
Sophistical
on or words
to be avoid-
ed in mat-
ters of weight.

Question-
aries of Con-
fession, and con-
fession of the
Religion
necessity of
be difficult.

False wor-
shipping.

Ceremonies

Mans;

a Tim. 1:

All be not
Sacraments
of the New
Testament
which may
have the
name of
Sacraments

When he had ended his Oration, Cromwell commanded Alefius which stood by (whom he perceived to give attentive ear to that which was spoken) to shew his mind and Opinion; declaring to the Bishops before, that he was the Kings Scholar, and therefore desired them to be contented to hear him indifferently.

Alefius, after he had first done his duty unto the Lord Cromwell and to the other Prelates of the Church, said thus with the Bishops.

Alex Alefius
said thus
with the
Bishops.

Right honorable and Noble Lord, and you most reverend Fathers and Prelates of the Church, although I come unprepared unto this disputeation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, which promitteth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when we be required of our Faith, I will utter my Sentence and judgment of this Disputation. And I think that my Lord Archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a Sacrament, whether ye will call a Sacrament a Ceremony institute of Christ in the Gospel, to signifie a special or a singular virtue of the Gospel, and of the godliness (as Paul nameth remission of sins to be) or not, how whether ye mean every Ceremony generally, which may be a token or a signification of an holy thing to be a Sacrament? For after this later signification I will

Rom. 4.

What is a Sacrament properly. Ephes. 5.

Gods Word and promise going with an outward ceremony maketh a Sacrament. A definition of a Sacrament. No man hath power to make any Sacrament.

Aug. ad Iohannem Ep. 118.

Christs Church begun by few and few Sacraments.

Aug. de doctr. Chriſti lib. 3.

Saints re- plaind Alefius.

Paul Bishop of Hereford speaketh. Doctors not to be blith for that they vary in themselves.

not stick to grant you that there be seven Sacraments and more too, if ye will. But yet Paul seemeth to describe a Sacrament after the just signification, whereas he saith, *That Circumcision is a token and seal of the righteousness of Faith.* This definition of one particular Sacrament must be understood to appertain unto all Sacraments generally, for the Jews had but one Sacrament only, as all the Sophistical Writers do grant. And he describeth Baptism after the same manner, in the fifth to the Ephesians, whereas he saith, *That Christ doth sanctifie the Church, that is to say, all that be baptized through the Bath of Water in the Word of Life.* For here also he addeth the Word and Promise of God unto the Ceremony. And Christ also requirerh Faith where he saith, *Whoſoever believeth and is baptized shall be ſaved.*

And S. Augustine describeth a Sacrament thus; *The Word of God coming unto the Element maketh the Sacrament.* And in another place he saith, *A Sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the form of visible things, doth work secretly ſalvation.* And the Maſter of the Sentences doth describe a Sacrament no otherwiſe: *A Sacrament (saith he) is an inviſible grace, and hath a viſible form: and by this inviſible grace I mean (saith he) remiſſion of ſins.* Finally, St. Thomas denieth that any man hath authority to inſtitute a Sacrament. Now if ye agree unto this definition of a Sacrament, it is an eaſie thing to judge of the number of thoſe Sacraments which have the maniſeſt Word of God, and be inſtitute by Chriſt, to ſignifie unto us the remiſſion of our ſins.

St. Augustine ſaith that there be two ſuch Sacraments, in the hundred and eighteenth Epistle to *Januarinus*. His words be theſe, *Fiſt, I would have thee to underſtand the ſum and effect of this Diſputation, which is this: That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (as he himſelf ſaith in the Goſpel) hath laden us but with a light and eaſie Yoke or Burthen. Wherefore he hath knitt together the fellowſhip of his new people with Sacraments, very few in number, very eaſie to be kept, and very excellent in ſignification, which be Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord, and ſuch other, ſo there be any more commanded in the holy Scripture, thoſe except which were Burthen for the ſervitude of the people in the old Law, for the hardneſs of their hearts, &c.* And again in the third Book of the learning of the Chriſtian Man, he ſaith, *The Scripture hath taught us but few ſigns, as be the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and the ſolemn celebration and remembrance of the Body and Blood of the Lord, &c.*

Then the Biſhop of London, which could ſcarcely refrain himſelf all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this manner: *Fiſt of all, ſaith he, where you alledge that all the Sacraments which are in the Church inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, have either ſome maniſeſt ground in the Scriptures, or ought to ſhew forth ſome ſignification of remiſſion of ſins, it is falſe, and not to be allowed.*

Then ſaid Aleſius, that he would prove it, not onely by maniſeſt Authorities of Scripture, but alſo by evident Teſtimonies of ancient Doctors and School-writers.

But the Biſhop of Hereford (which was then lately returned out of Germany, where he had been Embaſſador for the King to the Proteſtants) being moved with the Biſhop of London ſowardneſs, turning himſelf fiſt to Alexander Aleſius, willed him not to contend with the Biſhop in ſuch manner, by the Teſtimonies of Doctors and Schoolmen, forſomuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they itedfaſt among themſelves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. Wherefore if this Diſputation ſhall be decided by their minds and verdicts, there ſhall be nothing eſtabliſhed, neither ſhall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the King, that theſe Controverſies ſhould be determined onely by the rule and judgment of the Scripture. This he ſpake unto Aleſius. Then he turning himſelf unto the Biſhops, likewiſe admoniſhed them with a grave and ſharp Oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

Think ye not (ſaid he) that we can by any ſophiſtical ſubtilties ſteal out of the the world again the light which every Man doth ſee. Chriſt hath ſo lightened the world at this time, that the light of the Goſpel hath put to flight all myſty darkneſs, and it will ſhortly have the higher Hand of all clouds, though we reſiſt in vain never ſo much. The Lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us. And the Germans have made the Text of the Bible ſo plain and eaſie by the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, that now many things may be better underſtood without any Glaſſes, as all, than by all the Commentaries of the Doctors. And moreover, they have ſo opened theſe Controverſies by their writings, that Women and Children may wonder at the blindneſs and Falſehood that hath been hitherto. Wherefore ye muſt conſider earneſtly what ye will determine of theſe Controverſies, that ye make not your ſelves to be mocked and laughed to ſcorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have the opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one ſpark of learning, nor yet of godlineſs in you. And thus ſhall ye loſe all your Eſtimation and Authority with them, which before took you for learned Men and profitable members unto the Common-wealth of Chriſtendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never Hereſie in the Church ſo great, but that proceſs of time, with the power and upon the Authority of the Pope, hath quenched it, is nothing to the purpose. But ye muſt turn your opinion, and think this ſurely, that there is nothing ſo feeble and weak, ſo that it be true, but it ſhall find place, and be able to ſtand againſt all Falſehood.

Truth is the Daughter of time, and time is the Mother of Truth. And whoſoever is Beſieged of Truth cannot long continue, and upon whoſe ſide Truth doth ſtand, that ought not to be thought Tranſitory, or that it will ever fall. All things conſiſt not in painted eloquence and ſtrength or Authority. For the Truth is of ſo great power, ſtrength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any ſtrength, but after ſhe hath hidden herſelf long at length ſhe purſeth up her head and appeareth, as it is written in Eccleſ. 4. A King is ſtrong, Wine is ſtrong, yet Women be more ſtrong; but Truth excelleth all.

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, did he ſpeak and utter in that Convocation, both copiouſly and diſcreetly. Through whoſe Oration Aleſius being encouraged, proceeded further, to urge the Biſhop with this Argument.

The Argument in form.

- Be- Sacraments be ſeals aſcertaining us of Gods good will.
- re- Without the Word there is no certainty of Gods good will.
- co. Ergo, Without the Word there be no Sacraments.

The fiſt part of this reaſon is Saint Pauls own ſaying, the fourth to the Romans, where he ſaith, *That Circumciſion is a token and a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of Faith.* Ergo, it requirerh Faith to certifie mans heart of the will of God. But the Word of God is the Foundation of Faith, as Saint Paul witneſſeth. Rom. 10. *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh the Word of God.* For the mind muſt be taught and inſtructed to the will of God by the Word, like as the eye is taught and inſtructed by the outward ceremony. And ſo Paul by that ſaying conſuteh this opinion, that the Sacraments ſhould make Men righteous and juſt before God, for the very outward work, without Faith of them that receive them.

And after this manner doth Paul ſpeak unto the Ephesians, that Chriſt doth ſanctifie his Church though the Bath of Water in the Word of life. And for as much as he joyneth the Word unto the ceremony, and declarerh the vertue and power of the Word of God, that it bringeth with it ſelf, he doth maniſeſtly teach that Word of

The Oration of Foxe Bp. of Hereford, unto the Biſhops.

The Goſpel ſhining in all places. The faithful diligence of the Germans in tranſlating the Bible. The world not able to judge upon errors.

It is a vain hope to truſt upon the Popes authority. Truth will come out at laſt. Truth daughter of time.

The nature of truth.

Eccl. 4.

Rom. 4.

The Word is the ground of faith. Rom. 10.

Ex opere operato.

Ephes. 4.

Sacraments only to be gathered out of the Word of God.

The Institution of Christ ought not to be altered. 2 Cor. 11.

The answer of the Bishop of London against Alefius.

John 21.

2 Thess. 2. Unwritten Verities and Traditions of Fathers in equal force with Gods written Word. Acts 15. The unwritten Word of God. diversely laughed to scorn.

The publick care of Cromwel for the Commonwealth.

God is a principal thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the Sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be in very deed nothing else but a token of that lively inflammation which we receive through faith in the Word and Promise. St. Paul also in ministring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, doth manifestly add the words of Christ. *He took Bread, faith he, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and said, Take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my Body.* Item, *Do ye this in my remembrance.* Beside this he teacheth evidently that only Christ, and none but he had power to institute a Sacrament; and that neither the Apostles nor the Church hath any Authority to alter or to add any thing unto his Ordinance, whereas he faith, *For I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you, &c.* To what purpose should he go about to move the People to believe him, and to win their hearts with this Protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have made any Sacraments, or to have altered the form and manner of ministring the Sacrament, as some men both wickedly and shamefully do affirm, that the Apostles did alter the form of Baptism.

When he had spoken thus much, the Bishop of London did interrupt him and said; Let us grant that the Sacraments may be gathered out of the Word of God, yet are you far deceived, if ye think that there is none other Word of God, but that which every Sowter and Cobler do read in their Mother Tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the Christian Faith, but that only that is written in the Bible, then erre ye plainly with the Lutherans. For John faith, *that Jesus did many things, which be not written.* And Paul commandeth the Thessalonians to observe and keep certain unwritten Traditions and Ceremonies, 2 Thess. 2. Moreover he himself did preach not the Scripture only, but even also the Traditions of the Elders, Acts 16. Finally, we have received many things of the Doctors and Councils by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet forso much as the old Doctors of the Church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the Apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture, and finally that they may worthily be called the Word of God unwritten.

Now when the right Noble Lord Cromwel, the Archbishop, with the other Bishops, which did defend the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forso much as they saw him flee even in the very beginning of the Disputation, unto his old rusty Sophistry and unwritten Verities. Then Alefius would have proceeded further with the Bishop to have confuted this blasphemous Lie; but the Lord Cromwel had him be content, for the time began to go away and it was twelve of the Clock; and thus he made an end with his Protestation. Right Reverend Mr. Bishop, you deny that our Christian Faith and Religion doth lean only upon the Word of God, which is written in the Bible: which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me that there be no Sacraments but those that have the manifest Word of God to confirm them. Unto this he did consent, and then immediately that Assembly was dissolved for that day.

The next day when the Bishops were set again, the Archbishop of Canterbury sending his Archdeacon, commanded Alefius to abstain from disputation. Whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to Cromwel, who afterward shewed the same unto the Bishops. Thus through the industry of Cromwel, the Colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit Religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some Reformation had throughout all England.

How desirous and studious this Cromwel was in the cause of Christs Religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continual care and travel how to advance and further the right knowledge of the Gospel, and reform the House of God: as by so many Proclamations above-specified, by his means set forth, may well appear, wherein first he caused the People to be instructed in the Lords Prayer and Creed in English. Then procured the Scripture also to be read and set forth in the same Language for every Englishman to understand: after that, to rescue the Vul-

gar People from damnable Idolatry, caused certain of the most grosslest Pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poor sort, which get their living with their daily labour and work of their hands, he provided that divers idle Holy-days were diminished. Item, He procured for them liberty to eat Eggs and White-meat in Lent. Furthermore it was by him also provided, for the better instruction of the People, that Beneficed men should be resident in their Cures and Parishes, there to teach and to keep Hospitality, with many other things else most fruitfully redressed for the Reformation of Religion and behoof of Christs Church: as by the Proclamations, Injunctions, and necessary Articles of Christian Doctrine above-specified, set forth in the Kings Name, by his means, may more abundantly appear.

Now to adjoyn withal his private benefits in helping divers good Men and Women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses. It would require a long discourse. Briefly, his whole life was full of such Examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deeds well proved) to do many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for Religions sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings.

How Cromwel help a poor Woman with Child out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent.

Persecutors.

Persecuted.

Thomas Frebarne and his Wife.

Fishers Wife of Harnesley.

The Causes.

Dr. Cocks.

B. Stokelsey.

Holland his Summer.

Mr. Garret King of Arms.

IN the year of our Lord 1538. Sir A Story of
William Forman being Mayor of
the City of London, three weeks before
Easter, the Wife of one Thomas Fre-
barne dwelling in Paternoster-Row, be-
ing with Child, longed after a morsel
of a Pig, and told her mind unto a
Maid dwelling in Abchurch-Lane, de-
siring her if it were possible to help her
unto a piece. The Maid perceiving her
earnest desire, shewed unto her Hus-
band what his Wife had said unto her,
telling him that it might chance to cost
her her life, and the Childs too which
the went with, if she had it not. Upon
this, Thomas Frebarne her Husband spake
to a Buter-Wife which he knew, that
dwelled at Harnesley, named good-Wife
Fisher, to help him to a Pig for his
Wife, for the was with Child, and
longed fore to eat of a Pig: unto
whom the said good-Wife Fisher pro-
mited that he would bring him one the

Friday following, and so he did, being ready dressed and
scalded before. But when she had delivered him the Pig,
the craftily conveyed one of the Pigs feet, and carried it
unto Dr. Cocks, at that time being Dean of Canterbury,
dwelling in Ivy-Lane, who at that time of his Dinner,
before certain Guests which he had hidden, shewed the
Pigs foot, declaring who had the body thereof. And
after that they had talked their pleasure, and Dinner was
done, one of his Guests being Landlord unto Frebarne
afore said, called Mr. Garret, and by his Office, King of
Arms, sent his Man unto the said Frebarne, demanding if
there were no body sick in his house. Unto whom he
answered, that they were all in good health, he gave
God thanks. Then said he again, it was told his Master
that some body was sick, or else they would not eat flesh
in Lent. Unto whom Frebarne made answer, that his
Wife was with Child, and longed for a piece of a Pig,
and if he could get some for her he would. Then de-
parted his Landlords man home again.

And shortly after his Landlord let for him. But be-
fore that he had sent for him, he had sent for the Bishop
of Londons Summer, whose name was Holland, and when
this

A crafty
part of a
falle jade.

Let no man
judge you
in meet
drink, or in
respect of
an holy day,
&c.
Colos 2.

this *Frebarn* was come, he demanded of him, if he had not a Pig in his house, which he denied not. Then commanded Mr. *Garter* the said Sumner called *Holland*, to take him and go home to his House, and to take the Pig, and carry both him and the Pig unto Dr. *Stokesley* his Master, being then Bishop of *London*, and so he did. Then the Bishop being in his Chamber with divers other of the Clergy, called this *Frebarn* before him, and had him in examination for this Pig, laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his House that *Lent* powdered Beef and Calves-heads. My Lord, if the Heads were eaten in my House, in whose House were the Bodies eaten; Also, if there be either Man or Woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my House hath done as your Lordship saith, let me suffer death therefore. You spake (said he) against Pilgrimages, and will not take holy Bread nor holy Water, nor yet go on Procession on *Palm-Sunday*; Thou art no Christian man. My Lord, said *Frebarn*, I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing either against Gods Law or my Princes.

In the time of this his Examination, which was during the space of two hours, divers came unto the Bishop; some to have their Children confirmed, and some for other causes. Unto whom as they came, having the Pig before him covered, he would lift up the Cloth and shew it them, saying, How think you of such a Fellow as this is? Is not this good meat, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of *Lent*, yea, and also powdered Beef and Calves-Heads too besides this.

After this, the Bishop called his Sumner unto him, and commanded him to go and carry this *Thomas Frebarn* and his Pig openly throw the Streets into the *Old-Bailly*, unto Sir *Roger Chomeley*; for the Bishop said, he had nothing to do to punish him, for that belonged unto the Civi. Magistrates; and so was *Frebarn* carried with the Pig before him to Sir *Roger Chomeleys* House in the *Old-Bailly*, and he being not at home at that time, *Frebarn* was brought likewise back again unto the Bishops place with the Pig, and there lay in the *Porters-Lodge* till it was Nine of the Clock at Night. Then the Bishop sent him unto the *Counter* in the *Poultry* by the Sumner and other of his Servants.

The next day being *Saturday*, he was brought before the Mayor of *London* and his Brethren unto the *Guild-Hall*; but before his coming they had the Pig delivered unto them by the Bishops Officer. Then the Mayor and the Bench laid unto his charge (as they were informed from the Bishop) that he had eaten powdered Beef and Calves-heads in his House the same *Lent*; but no man was able to come in that would justify it, neither could any thing be found, save only the Pig, which (as is before said) was for the preservation of his Wifes life, and that she went withal. Notwithstanding the Mayor of *London* said, that the *Monday* next following he should stand on the Pillory in *Cheapside*, with the one half of the Pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other.

Then spake the Wife of the said *Frebarn* unto the Mayor and the Bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not be, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they took a Satten-Lift, and tied it fast about the Pigs neck, and made *Frebarn* to carry it hanging on his shoulder until he came unto the *Counter* of the *Poultry*, from whence he came.

After this was done, the Wife of this Prisoner took with her an honest Woman, the Wife of one *Michael Lobley*; which was well acquainted with divers in the Lord *Cromwells* House, unto whom the said Woman reported for some help for this Prisoner, desiring them to speak unto their Lord and Master for his deliverance out of trouble.

It hapned that the same time came in Dr. *Barns* and Mr. *Barlow*, who understanding the matter by *Lobleys* Wife, went up to the Lord *Cromwel* and certified him thereof; who upon their request sent for the Mayor of the City of *London*; but what was said to him is unknown, saving that in the Afternoon of the same day the Wife of the person aforesaid reforted again unto the Lord Mayor, suing to get her Husband delivered out of Prison, declaring how that he had two small Children,

and had nothing to help her nor them, but only her Husband, who laboured for their living. Unto whom the Mayor answered, What come ye to me? You are taken up with the Kings Council. I supposed you had come to desire me that your Husband should not stand upon the Pillory in *Cheapside* on *Monday* next, with the one half of the Pig on his one shoulder, and the other half on the other. Also the Mayor said unto her, That he could not deliver him without the content of the rest of his Brethren the Aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day following, which was the *Sabbath-day*, to resort unto *Pauls*, to *St. Dunstons* Chapel, and when he had spoken with his Brethren, he would then tell her more. Other answer could he get none at that time. Wherefore she went unto Mr. *Wilkinson*, then being Sheriff of *London*, desiring him to be good unto her, and that the might have her poor Husband out of Prison. Unto whom Mr. *Wilkinson* answered: O Woman, Christ hath laid a piece of his Cross upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no, saying moreover unto her, that if the Lord Mayor had sent him to his Counter, as he sent him to his Brothers, he should not have tarried there an hour, and he commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would do the best for her he could. So the next day came, and this Woman reforted again to Mr. *Wilkinson*, according as he bade her, who also had hidden divers Guests, unto whom he spake in her behalf. But as they were set at dinner, and the also sitting at the Table, when the saw the hot Filth come in, the fell down in a swoon, so that for the space of two hours they could keep no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in *Paternoster-Rew*, and then they sent for the Midwife, supposing that she would have been delivered incontinent of her Child that the went with (but after that she came somewhat again to her self) where the lay sick and kept her Bed the space of fifteen weeks after, being not able to help her self, but as she was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

Now to shew further what became of this Pig where- of we have spoken so much, it was carried into *Finsbury Field* by the Bishop of *London* Sumner, at his Masters commandment, and there buried. The *Monday* following, being the fourth day after that this Prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the Mayor of *London*, with the residue of his Brethren being at *Guild-Hall*, sent for the Prisoner aforesaid, and demanded Sureties of him for his forth-coming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge; but for lack of such Sureties as they required, upon his own Bond, which was a Recognizance of twenty pound, he was delivered out of their hands. But shortly after that he was delivered out of this his trouble, Mr. *Garter*, of whom we have spoken before, being his Landlord, warned him out of his House, so that in four years after he could not get another, but was constrained to be within other good Folks, to his greathindrance and undoing.

Hard it were, and almost out of number to rehearse the names and stories of all them, which felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. Where *Gray* a might be remembered the notable deliverance of one *Gray* a Smith of *Bishops-Stafford*, who being accused for denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be our Saviour, was sent up for the same to *London*, and there should have been condemned to be burnt, but that by the means of the Lord *Cromwel* he was sent home again and delivered. * One other Example, though it be somewhat long with the circumstances and all, I will declare, how he helped the Secretary that then was to Dr. *Crammer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which Secretary is yet alive, and can bear present Record of the same.

How the Lord Cromwel helped Crammers Secretary.

Mention was made before how King *Henry*, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, caused the six Articles to pass, much against the mind and contrary to the content of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Crammer*, who had disputed three days against the same in the *Parliament-House*, with great Reasons and Authorities. Which Articles after they were granted and past by

the Lord
Mayors
answer
the good
Woman.

the gentle
words of
Mr. *Wilkinson*
the Sheriff of
London to
the poor
Woman.

That God
ordained
to be seen,
Superstition
buried.

The *Frebarn*
delivered
out of Pri-
son.
The *Frebarn*
discharged
out of his
House by
Mr. *Garter*
his Land-
lord.

Smith, ac-
cused of
Heresie,
and deliv-
ered by
the Lord
Cromwel.

The Archb.
Crammer dis-
puted three
days in the
Parliament
against the
6. Articles.

Dr. *Barnes*
and Mr. *Barlow*
sent to the
Lord *Cromwel*
for *Thomas*
Frebarn.

by the Parliament, the King for the singular favour which he ever bare to *Crommer*, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to know what he had said, and objected in the Parliament against these Articles, or what could be alledged by learning against the same, required a Note of the Archbishop of his doings, what he had said and opposed in the Parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the King by *Cromwel*, and other Lords of the Parliament, whom the King then sent to dine with him at *Lambeth*, somewhat to comfort again his grieved mind and troubled spirits, as hath been above recited.

Whereupon when his Dinner was finished, the next day after the Archbishop collecting both his Arguments, Authorities of Scriptures, and Doctors together, caused his Secretary to write a fair Book thereof for the King, after this order. First, the Scriptures were alledged, then the Doctors, thirdly followed the Arguments deduced from those Authorities. This Book was written in his Secretaries Chamber. Where, in a by-Chamber, lay the Archbishops Almshouse. When this Book was fair written, and whilst the Secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the Archbishop his Master, who was (as it then chanced) rid to *Croydon*, returning back to his Chamber, he found the door shut, and the Key carried away to *London* by the Almshouse.

At this season also chanced the Father of the said Secretary to come to the City, by whose occasion so it fell out that he must needs go to *London*. The Book he could not lay into his Chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keep, being strictly charged, in any condition, of the Archbishop his Master, to be circumspect thereof; so that he determined to go to his Father, and to keep the Book about him. And so thrusting the Book under his Girdle, he went over unto *Westminster* Bridge with a Sculler, where he entered into a Wherry that went to *London*, wherein were four of the Guard who meant to land at *Pauls-Wharf*, and to pass by the Kings Highness, who then was in his Barge, with a great number of Barges and Boats about him, then baling of Bears in the Water over against the Bank.

These foresaid Yeomen of the Guard, when they came against the Kings Barge they durst not pass by towards *Pauls-Wharf*, lest they should be espied, and therefore intreated the Secretary to go with them to the Bear-baying, and they would find the means being of the Guard to make room, and to see all the pastime; the Secretary, perceiving no other remedy, assented thereto. When the Wherry came nigh the multitude of the Boats, they with Pollaxes got the Wherry so far, that being compassed with many other Wherries, and Boats, there was no refuge if the Bear should break loose and come upon them, as in very deed, within one *Paternoster* while, the Bear brake loose and came into the Boat where the Yeomen of the Guard were, and the said Secretary. The Guard forsook the Wherry, and went into another Barge, one or two of them leaping forth, and so fell into the Water. The Bear and the Dogs so flaked the Wherry, wherein the Secretary was, that the Boat being full of Water sunk to the ground, and being also as it chanced an ebbing Tide, he there fate in the end of the Wherry up to the middle in Water. To whom came the Bear and all the Dogs. The Bear, seeking as it were aid and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and rushing upon him, the Book was looked from his Girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

The flying of the People, after that the Bear was loosed, from one Boat to another, was so combrous, that divers Persons were thrown into the Thames, the King commanding certain men that could swim to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This pastime so displeased the King, that he bad away with the Bear, and let us go all hence.

The Secretary perceiving his Book to flee away in the Thames, called to the Bearward to take up the Book. When the Bearward had the Book in his custody, being an arrant Papist, far from the Religion of his Mistress (for he was the Lady *Elizabeths* Bearward, now the Queens Majesty) ere the Secretary could come to land, he had delivered the Book to a Priest of his own

affinity in Religion standing on the bank, who reading in the Book, and perceiving that it was a manifest Reutation of the six Articles, made much ado, and told the Bearward that whosoever claimed the Book should surely be hanged. Anon the Secretary came to the Bearward for his Book. What quoth the Bearward, dare you challenge this Book? Whose Servant are you? I am Servant to one of the Council, said the Secretary, and my Lord of *Canterbury* is my Master. Yea marry, quoth the Bearward, I thought so much: you be like, I trust, quoth the Bearward, to be both hanged for this Book. Well, said he, it is not so evil as you take it, and I warrant you my Lord will avouch the Book to the Kings Majesty. But I pray you let me have my Book, and I will give you a Crown to drink. If you will give me five hundred Crowns you shall not have it, quoth the Bearward. With that the Secretary departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardness of the Bearward, he learned that *Blage* the Grocer in *Cheapside* might do much with the Bearward, to whom the Secretary brake this matter, requiring him to lend for the Bearward to Supper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof, and besides that, rather than he would forego his Book after this sort, the Bearward should have twenty shillings to drink. The Supper was prepared;

The Bearward was sent for and came. After Supper the matter was intreated of, and twenty shillings offered for the Book. But do what could be done, neither Friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money could obtain the Book out of his hands, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the Council that would not slightly look on so weighty a matter, as to have it redeemed for a Supper, or a piece of money. The honest man Master *Blage* with many good reasons would have persuaded him not to be stiff in his own conceit, declaring that in the end he should nothing at all prevail of his purpose, but be laughed to scorn, getting neither penny nor praise for his Travel. He hearing that rushed suddenly out of the doors from his Friend Mr. *Blage*, without any manner of thanksgiving for his Supper, more like a Bearward, than like an honest man. When the Secretary saw the matter so extremely to be used against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any further practising of intreaty with the Bearward, as with him that seemed rather to be a Bear himself, than the Master of the Beasts, determining the next morning to take the Lord *Cromwel* privy of the chance that happened.

So on the next day, as the Lord *Cromwel* went to the Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. Where is the fellow, quoth the Lord *Cromwel*? Suppose, said the Secretary, that he is now in the Court attending to deliver the Book unto some of the Council. Well, said the Lord *Cromwel*, it maketh no matter; go with me thither and I shall get you your Book again. When the Lord *Cromwel* came into the Hall of the Court, there stood the Bearward with the Book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto Sir *Anthony Brown*, or unto the Bishop of *Winchester*, as it was reported. To whom the Lord *Cromwel* said, Come hither fellow, what Book hast thou there in thy hand? and with that snatched the Book out of his hand, and looking in the Book, he said, I know this hand well enough. This is your hand, said he to the Secretary.

But where hadst thou this Book, quoth the Lord *Cromwel* to the Bearward? This Gentleman loff it two days ago in the Thames, said the Bearward. Dost thou know whose Servant he is, said the Lord *Cromwel*? He saith quoth the Bearward, that he is my Lords of *Canterburys* Servant. Why then didst thou not deliver to him the Book, when he required it, said the Lord *Cromwel*? who made thee so bold as to detain and withhold any Book or writing from a Counsellors Servant, specially being his Secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy Bears, than with such writing, and were it not for thy Mistress sake, I would fether thee fast by the feet, to teach such malapert Knaves to meddle with Counsellors matters. Had not many been well bestowed upon such a good fellow as this is, that knoweth not a Counsellors man from a Coblers man? And with those words the Lord *Cromwel* went into the Kings Chamber of presence, and the Archbishops

Secretary

The name of this Secretary was Mr. *John*, being yet alive.

A Bear-baiting upon Thames before the King.

Tall Yeomen but ill keepers.

The Book of D. *Crommer* against the six Articles loff in the Thames.

This Bearward was Princess *Elizabeths* Secretary.

D. *Crommer* Book against the six Articles delivered to a Papist Priest.

The Bearward waiting to give *Crommers* Book to some Council.

The Lord *Cromwel* getting the Book from the Bearward.

The words of the L. Cromwel to the Archbishop Crasmer.

Secretary with him, where he found in the Chamber the *Loſt Cant.* To whom he ſaid, My Lord, I have found here good ſtuff for you (ſhewing to him the paper Book that he had in his Hand) ready to bring both you and this good fellow your Man to the halter, namely if the Knave Bearward now in the Hall might have well compaſſed it. At theſe words the Archbiſhop ſmiled and ſaid, he that loſt the Book is like to have the worſt Bargain, for beſides that he was well waſhed in the Thames, he muſt write the Book fair again: and at theſe words, the Lord Cromwel caſt the Book unto the Secretary, ſaying, I pray thee, *Moriee*, go in hand therewith, by and by with all expedition, for it muſt ſerve a turn. Surely, my Lord, it ſomewhat rejoiceth me, quoth the Lord Cromwel, that the Varlet might have had of your Man twenty ſhillings for the Book, and now I have diſcharged the matter with never a penny, and ſhaked him well up for his over much malapertneſs. I know the fellow well enough, quoth he, there is not a ranker Papift within this Realm than he is, moſt unworthy to be a ſervant unto ſo Noble a Princeſs. And ſo after humble thanks given to the Lord Cromwel, the ſaid *Moriee* departed with his Book, which when he again had fair written, was delivered to the Kings Majeſty by the ſaid Lord Cromwel, within four days after.

The Lord Cromwel not forgetting his old Friends and Benefactors.

IT is commonly ſeen, that men advanced once from baſe degree to ample dignities, do riſe alſo with fortune into ſuch infoleny and exaltation of mind, that not only they forget themſelves what they were, and from whence they came, but alſo caſt out of Remembrance all their old Friends and former Acquaintance, which have been to them before beneficial. From which ſort of men how far the courteous condition of this Chriſtian Earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear. As by a certain poor Woman keeping ſometimes a victualling Houſe about *Hounſloe*, to whom the ſaid Lord Cromwel remained in debt for certain old reckonings, to the ſum of forty ſhillings. It happened that the Lord Cromwel with *Crammer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, riding through *Cheſpide* towards the Court, in turning his eye over the way and then eſpying this poor Woman brought now in need and miſery, eſtious cauſed her to be called unto him, Who being come, after certain queſtions asked her if he were not ſuch a Woman, and dwelling in ſuch a place. At laſt he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of money between him and her. To whom ſhe with reverent obeſſance confeſſed that he owed her money for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpaid, whereof the ſtood now in great neceſſity, but never durſt call upon him, nor could come at him to require her right. Then the Lord Cromwel ſending the poor Women home to his houſe, and one of his ſervants withal, that the Porter ſhould let her in, after his return from the Court not only diſcharged the debt which he owed, but alſo gave her yearly penſion of four pounds, and a livery every year while he lived.

The like courteſie the ſaid Lord Cromwel ſhewed alſo to a certain *Italian*, who in the City of *Florence* had ſhewed him much kindeſs in ſuccouring and relieving his neceſſity, as in this ſtory following may appear. Which ſtory ſet forth and compiled in the *Italian Tongue* by *Bandello*, and imprinted at *Luke* by *Buſdrago*, Anno, 1554. I thought here to inſert, with the whole order and circumſtance thereof, as it is reported.

Not many years paſt, ſaith the Author; there was in *Florence* a Merchant, whoſe name was *Francis*, deſcended from the Noble and ancient Family of the *Frefcobalds*. This Gentleman was naturally indued with a Noble and liberal mind, unto whom alſo, through proſperous ſucceſſes and fortunate luck in his affairs and doings, much abundance of riches increaſed, ſo that he grew in great wealth, having his coſſers replenished with many heaps of much treaſure. He according to the cuſtom of Merchants, uſed his Trade into many Countries, but chiefly into *England*, where long time he lived, ſojourning in *London*, keeping Houſe to his great commendation and praiſe.

It happened, that *Francis Frefcobald* being in *Florence*, there appeared before him a poor Young Man, asking his Alms for God ſake, *Frefcobald*, as he earnestly beheld this ragged ſtrippling, who was not ſo diſguiſed in his tottered attire, but that his Countenance gave ſignification of much towardneſs and vertue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the ſame, being moved with pity demanded of what Country he was, and where he was born. I am Sir, quoth he, of *England*, and my name is *Thomas Cromwel*. My Father is a poor Man, and by his occupation a cloth-ſheaver. I am ſtrayed from my Country, and am now come into *Italy* with the Camp of Frenchmen that were overthrowen at *Gaſtilyon*, were I was the Page to a Footman, carrying after him his Pike and Burgonet. *Frefcobald* partly conſidering the preſent State of this Young Man, and partly for the love he bare to the *Engliſh* Nation, of whom he had received in times paſt ſundry pleaſures, received him into his Houſe, and with ſuch courteſie entertained his gueſt, as at his departure, when he was in mind to return to his Country, he provided ſuch neceſſaries as he any way needed. He gave him both Horſe and new apparel, and ſixteen Duckets of gold in his purſe, to bring him into his Country. *Cromwel*, rendring his hearty thanks, took leave of his Hoſt and returned into *England*. This *Cromwel* was a Man of Noble Courage, and Heroical Spirit, given to enterpriſe great matters, very liberal, and a grave Counſellor, &c. But to our purpoſe.

At what time *Cromwel* was ſo highly favoured of his Prince, and advanced to ſuch dignity as is aforeſaid, *Francis Frefcobald* (as it many times happeneth to Merchants) was by many miſfortunes and great loſſes caſt back and become very poor. For, according to Conſcience and equity, he paid whatſoever was due to any other from himſelf, but ſuch debts as were owing unto him he could by no means obtain: yet calling further to remembrance that in *England* by certain Merchants there was due to him the ſum of fifteen thouſand Duckets, he ſo purpoſed with himſelf, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himſelf, and no longer deal in the Trade of Merchants, but quietly paſs over the reſt of his days.

All things prepared for his journey, he ſetting forward towards *England* at laſt arrived at *London*, having utterly forgotten what courteſie long before he had ſhewed to *Cromwel*, which is the property always of a good nature, for a Man to forget what benefits he hath ſhewed to other, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of other. *Frefcobald* thus being now arrived at *London*, and there travelling earneſtly about his buſineſs, it chanced him by the way to meet with this Noble Man, as he was riding towards the Court. Whom, as ſoon as the ſaid Lord Cromwel had eſpied, and had earneſtly beheld, he bethought himſelf that he ſhould be the Man of *Florence*, at whoſe Hands in times paſt he had received ſo gentle Entertainment, and thereupon ſuddenly alighting (to the great admiration of thoſe that were with him) in his Arms he gently embraced the ſtranger, and with a broken voyce ſcarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not *Francis Frefcobald* the *Florentine*, Yea Sir, he answered, and your humble ſervant. My ſervant (quoth *Cromwel*?) no, as you have not been my ſervant in times paſt, ſo will I not now account you other ways than my great and ſpecial Friend, aſſuring you that I have juſt reaſon to be ſory, that you knowing what I am (or at the leaſt what I ſhould be) will not let me underſtand of your arriving in this Land, which known unto me, truly I ſhould have payed part of that debt which I confeſs to owe you; but thanked be God, I have yet time. Well, Sir, in conſequence, you are heartily welcom. But having now weighty affairs in my Princes cauſe, you muſt hold me excuſed, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore at this time I take my leave, deſiring you with the faithful mind of a Friend, that you forget not this day to cometo my Houſe to dinner; and then in remounting on his Horſe, he paſſed to the Court. *Frefcobald* greatly marvelling with himſelf who this Lord ſhould be, at laſt, after ſome pauſe his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the ſame, whom long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in *Florence*, and thereſt not a little joyed, eſpecially

Cromwel asking his Alms of *Frefcobald*.

Note that this cloth-ſheaver was his father, in law.

Cromwel Page to a Soldier.

The gentleſie of *Frefcobald* ſhewed to *Cromwel*.

An *Italian* Duckets counſel to as much as our *Engliſh* Crown.

The words of the Lord Cromwel to the *Italian* Merchant.

Old friend-ſhip remains; bred.

The gentle behavior of the Lord Cromwel, in remembering his old friends.

Example of a grateful debtor.

Ex-Biſhop of *Italia*.

A notable ſtory of the L. Cromwel, and an *Italian*.

especially considering how that by his means he should the better recover his due.

The hour of Dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house of his honourable Counsellor, where walking a while in his bafe Court, he attended his coming. The Lord shortly returned from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this Gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admiral, and all the other Noble Men of the Court being then in his Company, did not a little marvel thereat.

Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceived, he turning towards them, and holding *Frescobald* fast by the hand, do ye not marvel my Lords, quoth he, that I seem so glad of this man? This is he by whose means I have achieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you, and there declared unto them every thing in order according as before hath been recited unto you. His Tale finished, holding him still by the hand, he entred his House, and coming into the Chamber, where his Dinner was prepared, he fate him down to the Table, placing his best welcomed Guest next unto him.

The Dinner ended, and the Lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought *Frescobald* to London. *Francis* in few words opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his only Portion to maintain the rest of his life was fifteen thousand Duckats which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spain. Whereunto the Lord Cromwell answering again, said, Touching the things, Mr. *Frescobald* that be already past, although it cannot now be undone by mans power, nor by policy called again, which hath hapned unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world altering to and fro; yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your self alone, but that by the bond of mutual love I must also bewail with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may work in you matter of just heaviness, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive in this your heavy distress some consolation for your old courtesie shewed to me in times past, the like courtesie now requireth of me again, that likewise should repay some portion of that debt whereunto am bound unto you; according as the part of a thankful man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benevolence my part heretofore received. And this further I have in the word of a true Friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to supply your lack and necessity: and so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

Then taking him by the hand, he led him into his Chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the Door. Then opening a Coffer full heaped with Treasure, he first took out sixteen Duckats, and delivering them to *Frescobald* he said; Lo here (my Friend) is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here other ten which you bestowed in my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the Horse I rid away on. But considering you are a Merchant, it seemeth to me not honest to return your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these four bags, and in every of them is four hundred Duckats, these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured Friend.

Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb, and almost an utter decay, yet expressing the virtue of a modest mind, after gentle thanks given to the Lord Cromwell for his exceeding kindness shewed, courteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it.

This done, he caused *Frescobald* to give him a Note of the Names of all his Debtors, and the sum that every one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his Servants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to search out such men whose names were therein contained, if they were within any parts of the

Realm, and then frailty to charge them to make payment of those sums within fifteen days, or else to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The Servant so well performed his Masters commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole sum: and if it had liked *Frescobald* so to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost such commodity as the use of his money in so many years would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principal, would demand no further. By which means he got both hearty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so dear to the Lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this time, *Frescobald* continually lodged in the house of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide here in England, offering him the loan of three score thousand Duckats for the space of four years, if he would continue and make his Bank in London. But *Frescobald*, who desired to return into his Country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where richly arriving he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he still time enjoyed, for in the first year of his return he died.

So plentiful was the life of this man in such fruits full of singular gratitude and courtesie, that to rehearse all it would require too long a tractation. Yet one amongst many other I may not overpass, whereby we may evidently consider, or rather marvel at the lively mind of such a Person in so High a State and place of Honour. For as he coming with other of the Lords of the Council and Commissioners, to the house of *Shene*, about the examination of certain Monks which there denied the Kings Supremacy, after the examination done was there sitting at Dinner, it chanced him to spy afar off a certain poor man, which there served to sweep their Cells and Cloisters, and to ring the Bells. Whom when the Lord Cromwell had well advised, he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and before all the Table most lovingly and friendly called him by his name, took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the Lords, My Lords (quoth he) see you this poor man? This mans Father hath been a great Friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meals meat. Then said he unto the poor man, Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live. Such as were there present, and saw and heard the same, reported it to be true.

In this worthy and Noble Person, besides divers other eminent virtues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, excelling wisdom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his Gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of Christian Faith, sufficient is to be seen before by the Injunctions, Proclamations, and Articles above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a noble man, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

Secondly, for his wisdom and policy no less singular, joyned with his Christian zeal, he brought great things to pass, as well on this side the Sea as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with foreign Realms, as may be well by the Kings Letters and instructions sent by his means to his Ambassadors resident both with the Emperour, the French King, and the King of Scots, and also with the Pope, appear. In all whose Courts, such watch and espial he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any spark of mischief kindling never so little against the King and the Realm, which he by wit and policy did not quench and keep down. And where policy would not serve to obtain peace, yet by money he bought it out; so that during all the time of Cromwells prosperity, the King never had Wars with any foreign Nation: notwithstanding, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the King of France and Scotland, were mightily bent and incensed against him.

Thus

The courtesie of the Lord Cromwell, not in contenting his old Host.

Modesty in an Italian.

The Duckats after the Italian count come much near to our English Crowns.

An other example of the kind and lowly mind of this Lord Cromwell.

Three things in the Lord Cromwell, 1. Zeal, 2. Wisdom, 3. Authority.

The wisdom and policy of the Lord Cromwell.

The Lord Cromwell a continual nourisher of peace.

This as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumpect abroad, to stay the Realm from forcin wars; so his Authority was no less occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: First, in hampering the popish Prelats, and disappointing their subtil devices; secondly in bridling and keeping other untuly subjects under subjection and discipline of the Laws. Whereby as he was a succour and refuge to all Godly Persons, so was he a terror to the evil Doers; so that not the presence of him only, but also the hearing of the coming of Cromwel brake many fraies, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of Ruffians in the Street of London called *Pater-noster-Row*; where Carts were fet on both sides, of purpose prepared to inclose them, that none might break in to part them. It happened, that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwel coming the same time from the Court through *Pauls-Churchyard*, and entering into *Cheap*, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the Carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the little conduit, and so came upon them through *Pannier-Alley*.

A skirmish or fray in Pater-noster-row, stoped by the coming of the Lord Cromwel.

A story between the Lord Cromwel and a Ruffian.

The Ruffian between the Lord Cromwel and a Ruffian.

Frier Bartley catcheth away his Priests soul.

I suppose verily that neither these monstrous habits, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal or rather hyperbolical barbarous Breeches (which seem rather like Barrells than Breeches) would have any place in England. In which uncomatious excess of volture this I have to marvel; first, how these serving-men, which commonly have nothing else but their waies, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such stay, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more than their three years wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their Masters and Lords (who shall yield to God account of their Servants doings) do not search and try out their Servants walks, how they come by these expenses wherewith to uphold this bravery, seeing their stipendary wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend therunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marvelled, that magistrates which have in their Hands the ordering and guiding of good Laws, do not provide more feverely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, That England once had a Cromwel.

The Monstrous Habits of England lack a Cromwel.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy Counsellor by his prudent policy, his grave Authority, and perfect Zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the publick Realm, and especially in the Church of England, what good Orders he established, what wickednesses and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light, what crafty jugglings, what Idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious delusions he detected and abolished out of the Church. What posterity will ever think the Church of the Pope, pretending such Religion, to have been so wicked, so long to abuse the peoples eyes with an old rotten stock (called the Rood of Grace) wherein a Man should stand inclosed, with an hundred wyers within the Rood to make the Image goggle with the eyes, to nod with the Head, to hang the lips, to move and shake his jawes, according as the vallew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a final piece of silver he would hang a frowning lip, if it were a piece of gold, then should his jawes go merrily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ abused, their Souls seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this Idolatrous forgery at last by Cromwels means was disclosed, and the Image with all his engins shewed openly at *Pauls Cross*, and there torn in pieces by the People. The like was done by the Blood of *Heales*, which in like manner by Cromwel was brought to *Pauls of Heales*, *Cross*, and there proved to be the Blood of a Duck.

Divers contrivances in the Church destroyed and reformed by Cromwel.

The Rood of Grace goggling with his eyes.

The Blood of Heales.

Who would have judged, but that the Maid of *Kent* had been an holy Woman and a Prophetess inspired, had not Cromwel and Cranmer tried her at *Pauls Cross* to be a strong whore.

The holy Maid of Kent read before.

What should I speak of *Darvel Gariboren*, of the Rood of *Chester*, of *Thomas Becket*, our Lady of *Walsingham*, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinity? All which stocks and blocks of cursed Idolatry Cromwel, stirred up by the Providence of God, removed out of the peoples way, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.

Stocks and blocks removed out of the way.

While the Lord Cromwel was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the common wealth, and purging the Church of Christ, it hapned to him, as commonly it doth to all good Men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there envie creepeth in, and where true piety leeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withal.

This, I say, as he was labouring in the Commonwealth and doing good to the poor afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his Enemies lo wrought continually hunting for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end they by false trains and crafty furnishes brought him out of the Kings Favour.

The chief and principal Enemy against him was *Stephen Gardiner* Bilhop of *Winchester*; who ever disdaining and envying the State and Felicity of the Lord Cromwel, and now taking his occasion by the Marriage of Lady *Anne of Cleve*, being a stranger and forcin, put in the Kings ears what a perfect thing it were to the quiet of the Realm, and establishment to the Kings succession, to have an English Queen and Prince that were

Step. Gardiner chief enemy to the Lord Cromwel.

were

were meer English; so that in conclusion, the Kings affection, the more it was diminished from the late married *Anne of Cleve*, the less favour he bare unto *Cromwel*. Besides this *Gardiner*, there lacked not other Friends also, and ill willers in the Court about the King, which little made for *Cromwel* both for his Religion which they malign'd, and for other private grudges also incident by the way.

Over and besides all which, it is moreover supposed, that some part of displeasure might rise against him, by reason of a certain talk which happened a little before at *Lambeth*, at what time the King after the making of the six Articles, sent the said Lord *Cromwel* his Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of *Northfolk*, and *Suffolk*, with all the Lords of the Parliament to *Lambeth*, to dine with the Archbishop (who mightily had disputed and alledged in the Parliament against the said Articles) to cheer and comfort his daunted Spirits again.

The talk between the Lord Cromwel and certain of the Lords at Lambeth.

There the said *Cromwel* with the other Noble Lords sitting with the Archbishop at his Table in talk, as every Lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of *Crommer*, to signify what good will both the King and they bare unto him; amongst the rest one of the company entering into a comparison between the said *Thomas Crommer*, and *Thomas Wolsey* late Cardinal of *York*, declared in his judgment, that *Crommer* was much to be preferred for his mild and gentle nature, whereas the Cardinal was a stubborn and a churlish Prelate, and one that could never abide any Noble-man, and that, said he, know you well enough, my Lord *Cromwel*, for he was your Master, &c. At these words the Lord *Cromwel*, being somewhat touched to hear the Cardinals service cast in his teeth, inferred again, saying, That he could not deny but he was Servant sometime to Cardinal *Wolsey*, neither did he repent the fame, for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other Commodities; but yet he was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to *Rome*, if he had been chosen Pope, as he understood that he would have done, if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, *Cromwel* still persisted, affirming the fame, and shewing moreover, what number of Florens he should have received, to be his Admiral, and to have safe conducted him to *Rome*, in case he had been elected Bishop of *Rome*. The party, not a little moved with these words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and high words rose between them. Which contention, although it was through intreaty of the Archbishop and other Nobles somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some bitter Root of grudge remained behind, which afterward grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was Anno 1540. in the Month of *July*. *Ex testimonio Secretarii Cantuar.*

Anno 1541. A Parliament. The Lord Cromwel apprehended.

After this, the next year following, which was 1541. in the Month of *April*, was holden a Parliament, which after divers prorogations was continued till the Month of *July* the said year. In the which Month of *July*, the Lord *Cromwel* being in the Council-Chamber was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the *Tower of London*. Whereat as many good Men, which knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, so more there were on the contrary side that rejoiced, especially of the Religious sort, and of the Clergy, such as had been in some dignity before in the Church and now by his means were put from it. For indeed such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of Popery, or of false Religion creeping under Hypocrisie, and less could he abide the ambitious pride of Popish Prelacy, which professing all humility was so elated in pride, that Kings could not rule in their own Realms for them. These snuffing Prelates he could never abide, so they again hated him as much, which was the cause of shortning his days, and to bring him to his end; so that the xix. day of the Month aforesaid, he was attainted by Parliament.

Crimes and accusations brought against the Lord Cromwel.

In the which Attainder, divers and sundry Crimes, surmises, objections, and Accusations were brought against him, but chiefly, and above all other he was charged and accused of Heresie, for that he was a supporter of them (whom they recounted for Hereticks) as *Barns*,

Clark, and many other, whom he by his Authority and Letters written to Sheriffs and Justices in divers shires rescued, and discharged out of Prison. Also that he did divulgate and disperse abroad among the Kings Subjects great numbers of Books, containing (as they said) manifest matter of much Heresie, diffidence, and misbelief. *Item*, that he caused to be translated into our English Tongue Books comprising matter expressly against the Sacrament of the Altar, and that after the Translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and Christian Doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses (what they were, the attainer expresseth not) which most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with hainous words spoken against the King in the Church of *Saint Peter the Poor*, in the Month of *March*, in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign. Which words if they be true, as the Attainder doth purport, three things I have here much to marvel at. First, if his Adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should move them to make such hasty speed, in all post haste to have him dispatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation? Which if might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he would easily have cleared himself thereof.

Witnesses against Cromwel falsely ed.

Secondly, this I marvel, that if the words had been so hainous against the King, as his Enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses which heard those words in *St. Peters Church*, in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign, conceal the said words of such Treason so long, the space almost of two years, and now uttered the same in the two and thirtieth year of the Kings Reign, in the Month of *July*.

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the King had known or believed these words to be true, and that *Cromwel* had indeed been such a Traitor to his Person, why then did the King so shortly after lament his death, wishing to have his *Cromwel* alive again? What Prince will with the life of him whom he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a Traitor to his Life and Person? Whereby it may appear what judgment the King had of *Cromwel* in himself, howsoever the Parliament by sinister information was otherwise incited to judge upon him.

Such Malicious Makebates about Princes, and Parliaments never lacked in Commonweals. By such King *Erbseltene* was incited to kill his Brother *Edwine*. So was King *Edward* the second deposed. So likewise when King *Richard* the second was once brought into the *Tower*, what Crimes and Accusations were laid against him in the Parliament? So was *Humfrey* the good Duke of *Gloucester*, the Kings uncle, by *Henry Beauford* Bishop of *Winchester*, and other in the Parliament holden at *Berry*, arrested as a traitour, and falsely made away. What great Treason was in the words of him, who, dwelling in *Cheapside* at the sign of the Crown, said merrily to his Son, that if he lived, he would make him heir of the Crown; and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a Traitor. In the time of King *Henry* the eighth, how was that Parliament incited, wherein both Queen *Anne* was falsely condemned, and Queen *Elizabeth* her Daughter as falsely disherited? To omit here the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*, wrought by the Cardinal of *York*; of the Lord *Cobham* likewise, and Sir *Roger Aston*: If the cause of the Lord *Henry* late Earl of *Surrey* were well tried out, peradventure no such hainous purpose of any Treason should be found therein as then was made. Who incited the late Duke of *Somerst* to behead his own Brother, but such Makebates as these? And afterward, when the said Duke himself was attainted for a Traitor, and condemned for a Felon, a Briber, and Extortioner; how was the Parliament then incited? *Adam Damis* received of Cardinal *Pole* at *Rome* but a silly Crown in way of Alms, and therefore, by means of *Stephen Gardiner*, was attainted for a Traitor. *George Egles* did but read sometimes in Woods, and by the said *Gardiner* was also condemned, and suffered as a Traitor. Not that I here speak or mean against the high Courts of Parliaments of this our Realm, necessarily assembled for the Commonwealth, to whom I always attribute their due Reverence and Authority. But as it happeneth sometimes in General Councils, which though they be

What mischief malicious Makebates make in a Commonwealth.

Example of men falsely accused, and wrongfully judged.

Authority of Parliament.

A French
Proverb.

Lady Ann
of Cleve
divorced
from the
King.

The Christi-
an Patience
of the Lord
Cromwel in
his adver-
sity.

Cromwel
foreseeing
and prepar-
ing for his
trouble be-
fore it fell.

Cromwel
good to his
Servants.

Sir Ralph
Sadler, the
Lord Crom-
wel's trusty
Friend.

The Lord
Cromwel
brought to
the Scaffold.

A true Chris-
tian confi-
sion of the
L. Cromwel
at his death.

The Prayer
of the Lord
Cromwel at
his Death.

be never so general, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may do err in weighty matters of Religion. so likewise they that say, that Princes and Parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister Heads; in matters civil and politick, do not therein derogate or empaire the high estate of Parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to Princes and Parliament Men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what Counsel they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all Societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such general Councils, and into Princes Courts also, either too much amplifying things that be but small, making Mountains of Molehills, or else too much extenuating things that be of themselves great and weighty, according as it is truly said of the Poet Juvenal; *Dat veniam carius, vexat censura columbus*; or as our English Proverb sheweth, *As a man is friended, so is his matter ended*; And where the Helge is low, a man may lightly make large leaps; or rather to speak after the French Paraph; *Qui son chien veut tuer, la rage lui met sus*, That is *He that is disposed to have his Dog killed, first maketh men believe that he is mad*. And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I refer to the high Parliament of that mighty King, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of the Lord Cromwel standeth true or false, this is certain, that Stephen Gardiner wanted notan Head, nor yet privy Assilters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when as the King being disposed to marry another Wife, which was the Lady Katherine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwel, did repudiate Lady Ann of Cleve, which otherwise is to be thought during the life of Cromwel could not so well be brought to pass.

But these things being now done and past, let us pass them over, and return again from whence we have digressed, that is to the Lord Cromwel, being now attained and committed to the Tower. Who so long as he went with full fall of Fortune, how moderately, and how temperately he did ever bear himself in his estate, before hath been declared. So now the said Lord Cromwel, always one man, by the contrary wind of adversity being overblown, received the same with no less constancy, and patience of a Christian heart, neither yet was he so unprovided of Counsel and forecast, but that he did foresee this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for the same; for two years before, smelling the conspiracy of his Adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his Servants, and there shewing unto them in what a slippery state he stood, and also perceiving some stormy weather already to gather, required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest through their default any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore before the time of his apprehension, such order he took for his Servants, that many of them, especially the younger Brethren, which had little else to take unto, had honestly left for them in their Friends hands to relieve them, whatsoever should him befall.

Briefly, such a loving and kind Master he was to his Servants, that he provided aheadmost for them all; inasmuch, that he gave to twelve Children, which were his Musicians, twenty pounds a piece, and so committed them to their Friends, of whom some yet remain alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower, a Prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himself, how gravely and discreetly he answered, and entertained the Commissioners sent unto him, is worthy noting. Whatsoever Articles and Interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters Ecclesiastical or Temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in every condition than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those Commissioners which came unto him, one there was, whom the Lord Cromwel desired to carry for him a Letter to the King, which when he refused, saying that he would carry no Letter to the King from a Traitor; then the Lord Cromwel desired

him at least to do from him a message to the King. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not against his Allegiance. Then the Lord Cromwel taking witness of the other Lords; what he had Promised; You shall commend me, said he, to the Kings, and tell him, By that he hath so well tried, and thoroughly proved you as I have done, he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him.

Besides this, he wrote also a Letter from the Tower to the King, whereof when none durst take the carriage upon him, Sir R. Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the King before, being ever trusty and faithful unto him) went unto the King to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the Letter or not, which when the King had granted, the said Master Sadler, as he was required, presented the Letter unto the King, which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, inasmuch as the King seemed to be moved therewith.

Notwithstanding by reason of the Act of Parliament afore passed, the worthy and Noble Lord Cromwel, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not coming to his answer, the twenty eighth day of July, Anno 1541, was brought to the Scaffold on Tower Hill, where he said these words following.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my self, as some think peradventure that I will. For if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a Miser. I am by the Law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine Offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great Traveller in this World, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and since the time I came thereunto I have offended my Prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil Opinions, which is untrue. But I confess, that like as God by his holy Spirit doth instruct us in the Truth, so the Devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced; but bear me witness that I die in the Catholick Faith of the holy Church: and I heartily desire you to pray for the Kings Grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his Son, Prince Edward that goodly Impie, may long Reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I never nothing in my Faith. And so making his Prayer, kneeling on his knees he spake these words, the effect whereof here followeth.

A Prayer that the Lord Cromwel said at the hour of his death.

O Lord Jesus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee; I wretched sinner do submit my self wholly unto thy most blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot Perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt be thy grace make strong my Soul against all temptations, and defend me with the Buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the Devil. I see and know that there is in my self no hope of Salvation, but all my confidence, hope and trust is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may alledge before thee. Of sins and evil works (alas) I see a great heap; but yet through thy mercy I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; and wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou merciful Lord wert born for my sake, thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for

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my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy Acts and Works thou wroughtest for my sake. thou sufferedst most grievous Pains and Torments for my sake; finally, thou gavest thy most precious Body and thy Blood to be shed on the Croys for my sake. Now must merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me, which hast graciously self also for me. Let thy Blood cleanse and wash away the spots and stains of my sins. Let thy righteousness cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy Passion and blood shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord thy grace, that the Faith of my salvation in thy Blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me, that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my Body, yet the eyes of my Soul may still behold and look upon thee, and when death hath taken away the use of my Tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord into thy hands I commend my Soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit, Amen.

The death
of the Lord
Cromwel.

And thus his Prayer made, after he had godly and devoutly exhorted them that were about him on the Scaffold, he quietly committed his Soul into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the Ax, by a ragged and butcherly Miller, which very ungodly performed his Office.

Of the Bible in English, printed in the large Volume; and of Edmund Boner preferred to the Bishoprick of London, by the means of the Lord Cromwel.

About the time and year when Edmund Boner Bp. of Hereford, and Embassa^r our resident in France, being first nominate and preferred by the means of the Lord Cromwel to the Bishoprick of London, which was Anno 1540. it happened that the said Thomas Lord Cromwel Earl of Essex procured of the King of England his gracious Letters to the French King, to permit and Licence a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English within the University of Paris, because Paper, was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the Realm of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the ready dispatch of the same. And in like manner at the same time the said King wrote unto his Embassa^dour, who then was Edmund Boner Bishop of Hereford lying in Paris, that he should aid and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suits. The which Bishop outwardly shewed great friendship to the Merchants that were the Imprinters of the same, and moreover did divers and sundry times call and command the said Persons to be in manner daily at his Table both Dinner and Supper, and so much rejoiced in the workmanship of the said Bibles, that he himself would visit the Imprinters House, where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which as it seemed he little weighed. And further, the said Boner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a New Testament in English and Latin, and himself took a great many of them, and payed for them, and gave them to his Friends. And it chanced the mean time, while the said Bible was in printing, that King Henry the eighth preferred the said Boner from the said Bishoprick of Hereford to be Bishop of London; at which time the said Boner according to the Statute Law of England took his Oath to the King, acknowledging his Supremacy, and called one of the fore-said Englishmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterward upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whom the said Boner said when he took his Oath, Master Grafton, so it is, that the Kings most excellent Majesty hath by his gracious gift presented me to the Bishoprick of London, for which I am forry; for if it would have pleased his Grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old Bishoprick of Hereford. Then said Grafton, I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the

The Bible of
the great
Volume
printed in
Paris.

The doers
hereof were
R. Grafton
and W. Whitchurch
who were
Edm. Boner
a great furtherer
in printing the
Bible in English.

The New
Testament
in English
and Latin
put in Print
by Boner.

Edm. Boner
was the Bishop
of London.

City of London; for though they yet know you not, yet they have heard so much goodness of you from hence, as no doubt they will be glad of your placing. Then said Boner, I pray God I may do that may content them. And to tell you Master Grafton, before God (for that was commonly his Oath) the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokeley was, for vexing and troubling of poor men, as Lobbey the Book-binder and other, for having the Scripture in English; and, God willing, he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it, and I will have of your Bibles set up in the Church of Pauls, at least in sundry places six of them, and I will pay you honestly for them, and give hearty thanks. Which words lie then spake in the hearing of divers credible Persons, as Edmund Stile Grocer, and other. But now Master Grafton at this time I have specially called you to be a witness with me, that upon this translation of the Bishops Sees, I must according to the Statute take an Oath unto the Kings Majesty, knowing, ing his Supremacy, which, before God, I take with my heart, and so think him to be, and beseech Almighty God to save him, and long to prosper his Grace. Hold the Book, Sirra, and read you the Oath (said he to one of his Chaplains) and he laid his hand on the Book and so he took his Oath. And after this he shewed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the Corrector of the great Bible.

Now after that the fore-said Letters were delivered, the French King gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the doing thereof, and so the Printer went forward and printed forth the Book even to the last part, and then was the quarrel picked to the Printer, and he was sent for to the Inquisitors of the Faith, and there charged with certain Articles of Heresie. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Miles Coverdale; but having some warning what would follow, the said Englishmen posied away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thousand five hundred, called the Bibles of the great Volume, and never recovered any of them, saving that the Lieutenant Criminal having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of Paris (like Smithfield) called Malbert place, was somewhat moved with covetousness, and sold four great Dry-fats of them to a Haberdasher to lap Caps in, and those were bought again, but the rest were burned to the great and importunate loss of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said loss, after they had recovered some part of the fore-said Books, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwel, the said Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the Prefaces, Letters, and Servants of the fore-said Printer, and brought them to London, and there they became Printers themselves (which before they never intended) and printed out the said Bible in London, and after that printed sundry Impressions of them; but yet not without great trouble and loss, for the hatred of the Bishops, namely St. Gardiner and his Fellows, who nightly did stomach and malign the printing thereof.

Here by the way, for the more direction to the Story, thou hast loving Reader, to note and understand, that in those days there were two sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers Titles, and printed in divers places. The first was called Thomas Matthews Bible, printed at Hamborough, about the year of our Lord 1532. the Corrector of which Print was then John Rogers of whom ye shall hear more, Christ willing, hereafter. The Printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tindal, who with the help of Miles Coverdale had translated all the Books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and certain Notes in the Margent which were added after. But because the said W. Tindal in the mean time was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tindal, because that name then was odious, and to further it by a strange name of Thomas Matthew, John Rogers the same time being Corrector to the Print, who

Boner would
to Grafton
when he
took his
Oath to the
King.

Boner re-
covered
Stokeley for
his perse-
cution.

Boner pro-
mised to see
with the
Scripture in
English.

Boner for-
warded
recovery
to the
Kings Su-
premacy.

Miles Cover-
dale Correc-
tor in
printing the
Bible of the
large Vo-
lume.

The print-
ing of the
Bible stayed
at Paris
through the
jealousie of
English Bi-
shops.

English Bi-
shops staid
at Paris.

How Graf-
ton and
Whitchurch
became
Printers.

T. Matthews
Bible by
whom and
how.

The Bible presented to the King by the L. Cromwel.

who had then translated the residue of the *Apocrypha*, and added also certain Notes thereto in the Margent, and thereof came it to be called *Thomas Mathew's Bible*. Which Bible of *Thomas Mathew's*, after it was Imprinted and presented to the Lord *Cromwel*, and the Lord *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who liked very well of it, the said *Cromwel* presented it to the King, and obtained that the same might freely pass to be read of his Subjects with his Graces Licence; so that there was printed upon the same Book, one line in red Letters with these words, *Set forth with the Kings most Gracious Licence*.

The setting forth of this Book did not a little offend the Clergy, namely the Bishops aforesaid, both for the Prologues and especially because in the same Book was one special Table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the same, and chiefly about the Supper of the Lord, and Marriage of Priests, and the Mass which there was said not to be found in the Scripture.

Another Bible of the great volume printed at Paris.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this aforesaid Bible of *Mathew's*, another Bible began to be printed at *Paris*, Anno 1540. Which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The Printers whereof were the forefard *Richard Grafton*, and *Wbit-church* which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the Lord *Cromwel*. The chiefest overseer was *Miles Coverdale*, who taking the translation of *Tindal*, conferred the same with the Hebrews, and amended many things.

In this Bible although the former Notes of *Thomas Mathew's* were omitted, yet sundry marks and Hands were annexed on the sides, which meant that in those places should be made certain Notes, wherewith also the Clergy was offended, though the Notes were not made.

The Bibles offered at the Bible translated into English. The sale of the Bible stayed by the King through the Bishops means.

After this the Bishops, bringing their purpose to pass, brought the Lord *Cromwel* out of favor, and shortly to his death; and not long after, great complaint was made to the King of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same, and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the Bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same. Then *Grafton* was called, and first charged with the printing of *Mathew's Bible*; but he being fearful of trouble made excuses for himself in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what Notes he was purposed to make. To which he answered, that he knew none. For his purpose was to have retained learned men to have made the Notes, but when he perceived the Kings Majesty, and his Clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, *Grafton* was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks, and before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he should neither sell, nor imprint, or cause to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the King and the Clergy should agree upon a Translation. And thus was the Bible from that time stayed, during the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth.

Rich. Grafton imprisoned for printing the Bible.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the Imprinters had lost their Bibles, they continued furies to *Boner*, as is aforesaid, to be a mean to obtain of the French King their Books again: but so long they continued suiters, and *Boner* ever fed them with fair words, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till at the last *Boner* was discharged of his Embassage, and returned home, where he was right joyfully welcomed home by the Lord *Cromwel*, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And so long as *Cromwel* remained in Authority, so long was *Boner* at his beck and Friend to his Friends, and Enemy to his Enemies: as namely, at that time to *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who never favoured *Cromwel*, and therefore *Boner* could not favour him, but he and *Winchester* were the greatest enemies that might be. But so soon as *Cromwel* fell, immediately *Boner* and *Winchester* pretended to be the greatest men that lived, and no good word could *Boner* speak of *Cromwel*, but the lowdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could speak, calling him the rankest Heretick that ever lived: and then such as the said *Boner* knew to be in good favour with *Cromwel*, he could never abide their sight. Inasmuch as the next day after that *Cromwel* was apprehended, the above named *Grafton*,

Edm. Boner a great Friend to L. Cromwel at the time of his imprisonment.

St. Gardiner great enemy of Boner and Cromwel.

who before had been very familiar with *Boner*, met with the said *Boner* suddenly; and said unto him, That he was sorry to hear of the news that then was abroad. What are they, said he? Of the apprehension of the Lord *Cromwel*, said *Grafton*. Are ye sorry for that, said he? It had been good that he had been dispatched long ago. With that *Grafton* looked upon him and knew not what to say, but came no more to *Boner*. Howbeit afterward the said *Grafton* being charged for the imprinting of a ballad made in favour of *Cromwel*, was called before the Council, where *Boner* was present, and there *Boner* charged him with the words that he spake to him of *Cromwel*, and told out a great long tale. But the Lord *Audley*, who then was Lord Chancellor, right discreetly and honourably, cut off the matter, and entred into other talk.

Dr. Boner against the L. Cromwel.

The History of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, Divines.

Like as in foreign Battles the chief point of Victory consisteth in the safety of the General or Captain, even so when the valiant Standardbearer and stay of the Church of England, *Thomas Cromwel* I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good Men and good Women ensued thereupon, whereof we have now (Christ willing) to intreat. For *Winchester* having now gotten his full purpose, and free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that *Aper Calydonius*, or (as the Scripture speaketh) that *Ferns* *Val* *qui singularis*, what troubles he raised in the Lords *Vineyard*. And left by delays he might lose the occasion presently offered, he straightways made his first assaults upon *Robert Barnes*, *Thomas Garret*, and *William Hierome*, whom in the very same Month, within two days after *Cromwel's* death, he caused to be put to execution. Whose Histories severally to comprehend, first of all we will somewhat speak of *Barnes* Doctor of Divinity, whose particular Story here followeth.

Rob. Barnes, Trin. Garret, Will. Hierome Martyrs.

This *Barnes*, after he came from the University of *Lovain*, went to *Cambridge*, where he was made Prior and Master of the House of the *Augustines*. At that time the knowledge of good Letters was scarcely entred into the University, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, saving in very few, which were privy and secret. Whereupon *Barnes*, having some feeling of better learning and Authors, began in his house to read *Terence*, *Plautus*, and *Cicero*, so that what with his industry, pains, and labour, and with the help of *Thomas Parnel* his Scholar, whom he brought from *Lovain* with him, reading *Copia verborum & rerum*, he caused the House shortly to flourish with good Letters, and made a great part of the House learned (which before were drowned in barbarous rudeness) as Master *Cambridge*, Master *Field*, Master *Coleman*, Master *Burley*, Master *Coverdale*, with divers other of the University, that sojourned there for learnings sake. After these foundations laid, then did he read openly in the House *Pauls* Epistles, and put *Duns* and *Derbel*, and yet he was a questionary himself and only, because he would have Christ then taught and his Holy Word, he turned their unfavoury problems and fruitless disputations to other better matter of the Holy Scripture, and thereby in short space he made divers good Divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his House, he observed likewise in the University abroad when he should dispute with any man in the common Schools. And the first man that answered Doctor *Barnes* in the Scriptures, was Master *Stafford* for his form to be Batchelor of Divinity, which Disputation was marvellous in the sight of the great blind Doctors, and joyful to the godly spirited.

Rob. Barnes Prior of the House of Augustines in Cambridge.

Th. Parnel a Londoner, born Scholar to Barnes.

Mr. Cambridge, Mr. Field, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Coverdale, Batchelor of Divinity.

Thus *Barnes*, what with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching ever against Bishops and Hypocrites, and yet did not see his inward and outward Idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Master *Bilney* with other (as is aforesaid in the life of Master *Bilney*) converted him wholly unto Christ.

The first Sermon that Dr. Barnes preached in defence of the truth.

The first Sermon that ever he preached of this truth was the Sunday before Christmas day, at Saint Edwards Church belonging to Trinity-Hall in Cambridge by the Pease Market; whose Theme was the Epistle of the same Sunday, *Gaudete in Domino, &c.* And so polluted the whole Epistle, Following the Scripture and *Luthers* postil, and for that Sermon he was immediately accused of Heresie by two Fellows of the Kings Hall. Then the godly learned in Christ both of Pembroke-Hall, Saint Johns, Peters-House, Queens Colledge, the Kings Colledge, Gunwell Hall, and Benet Colledge shewed themselves and flocked together in open sight, both in the Schools and at open Sermons at Saint Maries, and at the *Austins*, and at other disputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The House that they resorted most commonly unto was the white Horse, which for despite of them, to bring Gods Word into contempt, was called *Germany*. This House especially was chosen because many of them of Saint Johns, The Kings Colledge, and the Queens Colledge came in on the back side. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The Adversaries of Doctor Barnes accused him in the Regent House before the Vice-Chancellor, whereas his Articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make answer at the next Convocation, and so it was done. Then Doctor *Nettoris*, a rank Enemy to Christ, moved Doctor Barnes to recant, but he refused so to do; which appeareth in his Book that he made to King Henry the eighth in English, confuting the judgment of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the residue of the Bishops Papistical, and so for the time stood steadfast. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of Gods Truth, until within six days of *Shrove-tide*. Then suddenly was sent down to Cambridge a Sergeant of Arms, called Master *Gibson*, dwelling in Saint Thomas Apostles in London, who suddenly arrested Doctor Barnes openly in the Convocation-House, to make all other afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for *Luthers* Books, and all the *Germanys* works suddenly.

Trouble through the Cambridge men for the Gospel.

Dr. Barnes arrested by Mr. Gibson.

Search in Cambridge for Books.

False Brethren.

Dr. Barnes brought to London.

Dr. Gardiner Secretary to the Cardinal.

But good Doctor *Farmen* of the Queens Colledge sent word incontinently thereof, to the Chambers of those that were suspected, which were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised, they were conveyed away by that time that the Sergeant at Arms, the Vice-chancellor and the Proctors were at every mans Chamber, going directly to the place where the Books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company) and that night they studied together, and gave him his answer, which answer he carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Tuesday before *Shrove-sunday*, and came on the Wednesday to London, and lay at Master *Parnels* House by the Stocks. In the morning he was carried by the Sergeant at Arms to Cardinal *Wolsey* to *Westminster*, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night. Then by reason of Doctor *Gardiner* Secretary to the Cardinal, (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before) and Master *Fox* master of the Wards, he spoke the same night with the Cardinal in his Chamber of Estate, kneeling on his Knees. Then said the Cardinal to them, Is this Doctor Barnes your man that is accused of Heresie? Yea, and please your Grace, and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise.

The talk between Cardinal Wolsey and Dr. Barnes.

What, Mr. Doctor (said the Cardinal) had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pollaxes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my Croffes did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum Caput* amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a Sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage than in a Pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say bloody gloves (quoth you) that I should not be cold in the midst of my Ceremonies. And he answered, I spoke nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my Conscience, and according to the old Doctors; and then did he deliver him fix sheets of Paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings.

He received them smiling on him, and saying, We perceive then that you intend to stand to your Articles, and to shew your learning.

Yea, said Barnes, that I do intend, by Gods Grace, with your Lordships favour.

He answered, Such as you are do bear us little favour and the Catholick Church. I will ask you a question: Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this Royalty, because I represent the Kings Majesties Person in all the high Courts of this Realm, to the terror and keeping down of all Rebellious Treasons, Traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this Commonwealth, or to be as simple as you would have us, to fill all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poor, which shortly will piss it against the walls, and to pull away this Majesty of a Princely dignity, which is by me maintained a Terror to all the wicked, and to follow your Counsel in this behalf?

He answered, I think it necessary to be bold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the Kings Majesty maintained by your pomp and pollaxes, but by God who faith, *Per me Reges regnant, Kings and their Majesty reign and stand by me.*

Then answered he, Lo Master Doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of. Then they kneeled down and said, We desire your Grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable.

Dr. Gardiner a letter for Barnes.

Then said he, stand you up; for your fakes and the University we will be good unto him. How say you Master Doctor, do you not know that I am *Legatus de latere*, and that I am able to dispence in all matters concerning Religion within this Realm, as much as the Pope may? He said, I know it be so.

Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the University?

He answered, I thank your Grace for your good will, I will stick to the Holy Scriptures, and to Gods Book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.

Well, said he, thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the Law.

Then he required him that he might have Justice with equity, and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that *Gardiner* and *Fox* became his Sureties that night, and so he came home to Mr. *Parnels* House again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not, Master *Coverdale*, Master *Goodwin*, and Master *Field* being his writers; and in the morning he came to York place to *Gardiner* and *Fox*, and by and he was committed to the Sergeant of Arms to bring him into the Chapter House at *Westminster* before the Bishops and the Abbot of *Westminster* called *Slip*.

The same time when Doctor Barnes should appear before the Cardinal, there were five *Still-yard* Men to be examined for *Luthers* Book and *Lollards*, but after they spied Barnes they set the other aside, and asked the Sergeant of Arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Doctor Barnes to be examined of Heresie, and presented both his Articles and his Accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they swore him and laid his Articles to him. Who like as he answered the Cardinal before, so said he unto them; and then he offered the Book of his probations unto them. Who asked him whether he had another for himself, and he said yea, shewing it unto them. Who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the Kings Majesty, which they had to do, and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the *Still-yard* Men again one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the Master of the Fleet, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his Articles or no, and he subscribed willingly; and then they committed him and young Master *Parnel* to the Fleet also with the other. There they remained, till Saturday in the morning, and the Warden of the Fleet was commanded that no Man should speak with him.

The Still-yard Men committed to the Fleet.

Dr. Barnes with Parnel committed to the Fleet.

On the Saturday he came again afore them into the Chapter House, and there with the *Still-yard* men remained till five a clock at night. And after long disputations, threatnings, and scornings, about five a clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather

Dr. Barnes with Parnel committed to the Fleet.

rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he said again to have the Counsel of *Guard* and *Fox*, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) he should do no more in time to come, and with divers other persuasions that were mighty in the fight of reason and foolish Flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his Knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own Hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the Bosom of the Church as they termed it. Then they put him to an Oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil all that they commanded him, and he promised so to do.

Then they commanded the Warden of the Fleet to carry him, and his Fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close Prison, and in the morning to provide five Fagots for Doctor *Barnes*, and the four Still-yard Men. The fifth Still-yard Man was commanded to have a Taper of 5. pound weight to be provided for him, to offer, to the Rood of *Northen* in *Pauls*, and all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he with all that he could make, with Bills and Gloves, and the Knight Marshal with all his Tiptaves that he could make, should bring them to *Pauls* and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready by their hour appointed in *Pauls Church*, the Church being so full that no man could get in. The Cardinal had a Scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six and thirty Abbots, mitred Priors and Bishops, and he in his whole pomptitude (which *Barnes* spake against) fate there enthroned, his Chaplains and Spiritual Doctors in Gowns of Damask and Satin, and he himself in Purple, even like a bloody Antichrist. And there was a new Pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the Bishop of *Rocheſter* to preach against *Luther* and Doctor *Barnes*; and great Baskets full of Books standing before them within the Rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made afore the Rood of *Northen*, there to be burned, and these Hereticks after the Sermon to go thrice about the fire and to call in their Fagots.

Now while the Sermon was a doing, Dr. *Barnes* and the Still-yard men were commanded to kneel down and ask God forgiveness, the Catholic Church, and Cardinals Grace; and after that he was commanded at the end of the Sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy (his Heresies were so horrible and so detestable) and once again knelt down on his Knees, desiring the people of forgiveness and to pray for him; and so the Cardinal departed under a Canopy with all his mitred men with him till he came to the second Gate of *Pauls*, and then he took his Mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these poor Men being commanded to come down from the Stage (whereon the Sweepers use to stand when they sweep the Church) the Bishops sat them down again, and commanded the Knight Marshal and the Warden of the Fleet with their company to carry them about the fire, and so were they brought to the Bishops, and therefor absolution kneeled down. Where *Rocheſter* stood up and declared unto the people how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that Sermon, and there did assay Doctor *Barnes* with the other, and shewed the people that they were received into the Church again.

This done, the Warden of the Fleet and the Knight Marshal were commanded to have them to the Fleet again, and charged that they should have the liberty of the Fleet as other Prisoners had, and that their Friends might resort unto them, and there to remain till the Lord Cardinals pleasure was known.

After that *Barnes* there in the Fleet had continued the space of half a year, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free Prisoner at the *Austlin Friars* in *London*. When those Caterpillars and bloody Beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to the Lord Cardinal. Whereupon he was removed to the *Austlin Friars* of *Northampton*, there to be burned. Yet he himself understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still that he should there remain, and continue in Free Prison, at last one Master *Horne*, who had brought

him up, was his special Friend, having Intelligence of the Wit which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him Counsel to fain himself to be desperat, and that he should write a Letter to the Cardinal and leave it on his Table where he lay, and a Paper by, to be drowned. And there he wrote a Letter to the Cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by him. Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to *London* in a poor mans apparel, and so tarried there, but took Shipping and went by long Seas to *Antwerp*, and so to *Luther*, and there fell to study till he had made an answer to all the Bishops of the Realm, and had made a Book intituled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another Book with a supplication to King *Henry*. Immediately it was told the Cardinal, that he was drowned, and he said, *Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu*. But this did light upon himself shortly after, which wretchedly died at *Leicester*.

In the same season Dr. *Barnes* was made strong in Christ and got favor both the learned in Christ and foreign Princes in *Germany*, and was great with *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Pomeran*, *Justus Jonas*, *Hegendorpinus*, and *Æpius*, and with the Duke of *Saxon*, and with the King of *Denmark*, which King of *Denmark* in the time of *More* and *Stokeſly* sent him with the *Lubecks*, as an Embassador to King *Henry* the eighth. He lay with the *Lubecks* Chancellor at the Still-yard.

Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellor would fain have entrapped him, but the King would not let him, for *Cromwel* was his great Friend. And ere he went, the *Lubecks* and he disputed with the Bishops of this Realm in defence of the Truth, and so he departed again without restraint with the *Lubecks*. After his going again to *Wittenberge* to the Duke of *Saxon*, and to *Luther*, he remained there to set forward his works in print that he had begun, from whence he returned again in the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, as others did, and continued a faithful Preacher in this City, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that he was sent Embassador by King *Henry* the eighth to the Duke of *Cleves*, for the Marriage of the Lady *Anne of Cleves*, between the King and her, and well accepted in the Embassade and in all his doings, until the time that *Steven Gardiner* came out of *France*; but after he came, neither Religion prospered, nor the Queens Majesty, nor *Cromwel*, nor the Preachers; who, after the Marriage of the Lady *Cleves*, never ceased until he had grafted the Marriage in another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloody Broyl.

For not long after, Dr. *Barnes* with his Brethren were apprehended and carried before the Kings Majesty to *Hampton-Court*, and there he was examined. Where the Kings Majesty seeking the mean of his safety, to bring *Wincheſter* and him agreed, at *Wincheſter* request granted him leave to go home with the Bilhop to confer with him, and so he did. But as it happened, they not agreeing, *Gardiner* and his Comparters fought by all subtil means how to entangle and to entrap them in further danger, which not long after was brought to pass. For by certain Complaints made to the King of them, they were enjoined to preach three Sermons the next *Easter* following at the *Sputle*. At the which Sermons, besides other Reporters which were thither sent, *Stephen Gardiner* also was there present sitting with the Mayor, either to bear record of their Recantation, or else as the *Pharisees* came to Christ, to trip them in their talk, if they had spoken any thing awry. When these three had thus preached their Sermons, among whom *Barnes* preaching the first Sermon, and seeing *Stephen Gardiner* there present, humbly desired him in the face of all the Audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his Hand, and the said *Gardiner* thereupon held up his finger; yet notwithstanding shortly after, by the means of the said reports, they were sent for to *Hampton-Court*; who from thence were carried to the Tower by Sir *John Goswike*. From thence they never came out till they came to their Deaths hereafter, Christ willing, shall more appear.

O o 3 And

Dr. Barnes
persuaded
by Gardner
and Fox to
abjure.

Dr. Barnes &
the Still-yard
men bear
Fagots.

Dr. Barnes
raised him-
self to be
desperat.

Dr. Barnes
sent Embas-
sador from
the King of
Denmark to
King Henry
into England

Sir Thomas
More fought
the death of
Dr. Barnes.

Dr. Barnes
returned again
into
England in
the time of
Queen Anne;
Dr. Barnes
sent Embas-
sador by
King Henry,
into Cleves.

Days of pro-
diges given
for hearing
a Popish
Sermon.

And thus hitherto concerning the History of *Barnes*. Now let us likewise, consider the story and doings of *Thomas Garret*.

The Story of Thomas Garret or Garrard, and of his trouble in Oxford, testified and recorded by Anthony Dalaber, who was there presents the same time.

The Garret brought Books to Oxford.

ABout the year of our Lord 1526. Mr. Garret, Curate in *Hony-Lane* in *London*, came unto *Oxford*, and brought with him sundry Books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of *Unio dissidentium*, and *Tindal's* first translation of the New Testament in English, the which Books he sold to divers Scholars in *Oxford*.

Garret sought for at London.

After he had been there a while, and had dispatched those Books, News came from *London*, that he was searched for through all *London* to be apprehended and taken as an Heretick, and to be imprisoned for selling of those heretical Books (as they termed them) because they spake against the usurped Authority and erroneous Doctrine of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his no less impure and filthy Synagogue. For it was not unknown to Cardinal *Wolsey*, and to the Bishop of *London*, and to other of that naughty Generation, that Mr. Garret had a great number of those Books, and that he was gone to *Oxford* to make sale of them there; so such as he knew to be the lovers of the Gospel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a privy search through all *Oxford*, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his foreraind Books, and him too if they could; so burning hot was their Charity. But yet at that time one of the foreraind Proctors, called *McCole* of *Magdalen Colledge*, who after was Cross-bearer unto Cardinal *Wolsey*, was well acquainted with Mr. Garret, and therefore he gave secret warning unto a Friend or two of Mr. Garret's of this privy search, and willed therefore that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of *Oxford*; for if he were taken in the same search, no remedy but he should be forthwith sent up unto the Cardinal, and so he should be committed unto the Tower.

A privy search in Oxford for Garret. At City of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford.

Anthony Dalaber Scholar of All Saints Hall, Recorder here of.

The *Christmas*; before that time, I *Anthony Dalaber* then Scholar of *Alborne-Hall*, who had Books of Mr. Garret's, had been in my Country in *Dorsetshire* at *Stalbridge*, where I had a Brother Parson of that Parish, who was very desirous to have a Curate out of *Oxford*, and willed me in any wise to get him one there if I could. This just occasion offered, it was thought good among the Brethren (for so did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another) that Mr. Garret, changing his Name, should be sent forth with my Letters into *Dorsetshire* to my Brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly from thence convey himself some whither over the Sea. According hereunto I wrote my Letters in all hast possible unto my Brother, for Mr. Garret to be his Curate, but not declaring what he was indeed, for my Brother was a rank Papist, and afterward was the most mortal Enemy that ever I had for the Gospels sake.

Brother against Brother.

So the *Wednesday* in the Morning before *Shrove-tide* Mr. Garret departed out of *Oxford* toward *Dorsetshire*, with his Letters for his new Service. How far he went, and by what occasion he soon returned, I know not. But the *Friday* next, in the Night time he came again to *Radley's* House, where he lay before, and so after *Midnight*, in the privy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his Bed by the two Proctors, and on the *Saturday* in the Morning was delivered unto one Dr. *Cottisford* Master of *Lincoln Colledge*, then being Commissary of the University, who kept him as Prisoner in his own Chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the Papists for his Apprehension, and specially with Dr. *London*, Warden of the New Colledge, and Dr. *Higdon* Dean of *Fride-wides*; two Arch-Papists, who immediately sent their Letters in post-hast unto the Cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable Heretick. For the which their doing they were well assured to have great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly-burly was I utterly ignorant, so that I knew neither of Mr. Garret's sudden return, neither that he was so taken; until that afterward he

Garret taken in the privy search

came unto my Chamber, being then in *Gloucester Colledge*, as a man amazed, and as soon as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said, he knew him not: but he had been to seek a Monk of his acquaintance in that Colledge, who was not in his Chamber, and thereupon desired that his Servant, (not knowing my Chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me: and so forth declared how he was returned and taken that Night in the privy search, as ye have heard, and that now when the Commissary and all his Company were gone to *Even-song*, and had locked him alone in his Chamber, he hearing no body stirring in the Colledge, put back the Bar of the Lock with his Finger, and so came strait unto *Gloucester Colledge*, to speak with that Monk, if he had been within, who had also bought Books of him.

The miraculous deliverance of Garret out of the Colledge Chamber.

Then said I unto him, Alas Mr. Garret, by this your uncircumspect coming unto me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed your self, and utterly undone me. I asked him, why he went not unto my Brother with my Letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a days Journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return again unto *Oxford*; and so he came again on *Friday* at Night, and then was taken, as ye heard before. But now with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away, and so he cast off his Hood and his Gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a Coat with Sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would go into *Wales*, and thence convey himself into *Germany*, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved Coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of Cap of me, but I had none but Priest-like, such as his own was.

Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, desiring him with plenty of tears to conduct and prosper him in his Journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his Enemies, to the glory of his holy Name, if his good pleasure and will so were; and then we embraced and kissed the one the other, the tears so abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all bewet both our faces, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another, and so he departed from me apparelled in my Coat, being committed unto the tuition of our Almighty and Merciful Father.

The parting between Mr. Garret and Dalaber.

When he was gone down the Stairs from my Chamber, I straightways did shut my Chamber-door, and went into my Study, and took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear I did with much deliberation read over the tenth Chapter of *St. Matthew's* Gospel: and when I had so done, with Prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved Brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christs sake his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear Brother from the hands of all his Enemies; but also that he would endure his tender and lately born little Flock in *Oxford* with heavenly strength by his holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand to his glory all their fierce Enemies, and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience bear Christs heavy Cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burthen, without the great help of his Holy Spirit.

Dalaber's Prayer for Mr. Garret.

This done, I laid aside my Book safe, folded up Mr. Garret's Gown and Hood, and laid them in my Press among mine Apparel, and so having put on my short Gown, shut up my Study and Chamber-doors, and went toward *Fride-wides*, to speak with that worthy Martyr of God *McClark*, and others, and to declare unto them what had hapned that Afternoon. But of purpose I went by *St. Mary Church*, to go first unto *Corpus Christi Colledge*, to speak with *Dier* and *Udal*, my faithful Brethren and Fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the

Mr. Clerk a famous or worthy learned man.

Mr. Dier, Mr. Udal, Mr. Edmon.

way

way with a Brother of ours, one Master Eden, fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, saying, that we were all undone, for Master Garret was returned again to *Oxford*, taken the last night in the *Privy search*, and was in Prison with the *Commiffary*. I said it was not so. He said it was so. I told him it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He answered me and said, I know he was gone with your Letters, but he came again yesterday in the even, and was taken in his Bed at *Radley* this night in the *Privy search*; for, quoth he, I heard our Proctor Master Cole say and declare the same this day in our Colledge to divers of the House. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later then either the Proctor or the Commiffary did: and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the same unto our other Brethren whom he should meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance and to pray him also that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies, and told him that I was going unto Master Clarke of *Frideswides*, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily that he and divers others there were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to *Frideswides*, and Evening was begun, and the Dean and the other Canons were there in their gray Amices; they were almost at *Magnificat* before I came thither, I stood at the Quire Door and heard Mr. Treasurer play, and others of the Chappel there sing with and among whom I my self was wont to sing also, but now my fingring and musick was turned into sighing and muling.

M. Tawm.

The Pharisee troubled at Mr. Garret's escape out of Prison.

As I thus and there stood, in cometh Dr. Cotiford the Commiffary as fast as ever he could go, bare headed, as pale as Albes (I knew his grief well enough) and to the Dean he goeth into the Quire, where he was sitting in his Stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully: what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truly guess. I went aside from the Quire Door, to see and hear more. The Commiffary and Dean came out of the Quire wonderfully troubled, as it seemed. About the middle of the Church met them Dr. London puffing, blustering, and blowing, like an hungry and greedy Lion seeking his Prey. They talkt together a while, but the Commiffary was much blamed of them for keeping of his Prisoner so negligently, inasmuch that he wept for sorrow: and it was known abroad that Master Garret was escaped, and gone out of the Commiffaries Chamber at Evening time, but whither no man could tell. These Doctors departed, and sent abroad their Servants and spies every where. Master Clark about the middle of *Compline* came forth of the Quire: I followed him to his Chamber, and declared what was happened that afternoon, of Master Garret's escape. He was glad, for he knew of his foretelling. Then he sent for one Mr. Sumner and Mr. Betts, Fellows, and Canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our Brethren, *Prudentiam serpentinam & simplicitatem columbinam*, for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Mr. Sumner and Mr. Betts were come unto him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two, and they were very glad that Master Garret was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. Then desiring them to tell unto our other Brethren what was happened, (for there were divers others in that Colledge) I went to *Corpus Christi Colledge* to comfort our Brethren there being in like heaviness. There I tarried and supped with them. At which Supper we were not very merry, considering our State and peril at hand.

M. Clark.

Mr. Sumner, Mr. Betts.

When we had ended our Supper, and committed our whole cause with fervent sighs and hearty Prayers unto God our heavenly Father, I went to *Albion-Hall*; and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early, and so soon as I could get out of the door, I went straight toward *Glocester Colledge* to my Chamber. It had rained that morning, and with my going I had all to be sprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto *Glocester Colledge*, which

was about six of the Clock, I found the Gates fast shut. Whereat I did much marvel, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the Wall there, a whole hour before the Gates were opened. In the mean while my muling head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuse no man nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so when the Gate was opened, thinking to shift my self, and to put on a longer Gown, I went in towards my Chamber, and going up the Stairs, would have opened my Door, but I could not in a long season do it. Whereby I perceived that my Lock had been meddled withal, and therewith was somewhat altered. Yet at last with much ado I opened the Lock and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all to be tossed and tumbled, my Cloaths in my Pres thrown down, and my study door open. Whereat I was much amazed, and my thought verily that some search was made there that night for Mr. Garret, and that it was known of his being with me, by the Monks man that brought him to my Chamber.

Dalester Chamber searched for Mr. Garret.

Now was there lying in the next Chamber unto me a Monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the Chamber, came to me, and told how Mr. Garret was sought for in my Chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the Commiffary and the two Proctors, with Bills and Swords thrust through my bed straw, and how every Corner of my Chamber was searched for Mr. Garret. And albeit his Gown and his Hood lay there in my Pres with my Cloaths, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me as soon as I came in, unto the Prior of the Students named Anthony Dunstan a Monk of *Westminster*. This so troubled me that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another Gown, and therefore so all to be dirted as I was, and in my short Gown, I went with him to the said Priors Chamber, where I found the said Prior standing and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night. I told him I lay at *Albion-Hall* with my old bedfellow *Fitzjames*, but he would not believe me. He asked me if Master Garret were with me yesterday. I told him yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him I knew not where he was except he were at *Woodstock*. For so, said I, he had shewed me that he would go thither because one of the Keepers there his Friend had promised him a piece of Venison to make merry withal the *Shrove-tide*, and that he would have borrowed a Hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This Tale I thought meetest, though it were nothing so. Then had he spied on my finger a big Ring of silver very well double gilt with two Letters A. D. engraved in it for my name; I suppose he thought it to be Gold. He required to see it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his Ring, for therein was his name: *An. A. for Anthony*, and a *D. for Dunstan*. When I heard him so say, I withdrew in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his Company, as I was assured to be delivered from my Ring for ever.

Dalester brought to the Prior of the Students Colledge.

Anthony Dunstan brought to the Prior of the Students Colledge.

Then he called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, and commanded me to write when and how Garret came unto me, and where he was become. I had scarcely written three words, but the chief Beadle with two or three of the Commiffaries men were come unto Mr. Prior, requiring him straightwaies to bring us away unto *Lincolne Colledge* to the Commiffary, and to Doctor London. Whither when I was brought into the Chappel, there I found Dr. Cotiford Commiffary, Doctor Higdon then Dean of the Cardinals Colledge, and Doctor London Warden of the New Colledge, standing together at the Altar in the Chappel. When I was brought unto them, after Salutations given and taken between them, they called for Chairs and sate down, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalester. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the University, and I told them almost three years. And they asked me what

Anthony Dunstan brought to the Prior of the Students Colledge.

what I studied. I told them that I had read *Sophistry* and *Logic* in *Alborn Hall*, and now was removed unto *Gloucester College* to study the Civil Law, the which the forefaid Prior of the Students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Master *Garret*, and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelve Month. They asked me when he was with me. I told them yesterday at afternoon.

Now by this time, whiles they had me in this talk, one came unto them which was sent for, with Pen, Inke and Paper; I trow it was the Clarke of the *University*. As soon as he was come, there was a Board and Trefles with a form for him to sit on, set between the Doctors and me, and a great Mass-Book layed before me, and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such Articles and Interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I made danger of it awhile at first, but afterward being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me, but in my heart meant nothing so to do. So I laid my Hand on the Book, and one of them gave me my Oath, and that done commanded me to Kiss the Book. Then made they great courtesie between them who should examine me, and minister Interrogatories unto me. At the last, the rankest Papistical Pharisee of them all, Dr.

The examination of Anthony Dalaber.

Dr. London Warden of New College at which Phisice.

Then he asked me again by my Oath where Master *Garret* was, and whither I had conveyed him. I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet wist where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to *Woodstock* (as I had before said) as he shewed me he would. Then he asked me again when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me. I told him he came to me about Evenfong time, and that one brought him unto my Chamber Door, whom I knew not, and that he told me he would go to *Woodstock* for some Venison to make merry withal this *Shrove-tide*, and that he would have borrowed a Hat, and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none such to lend him, and then he straight went his way from me, but whither I know not. All these sayings the Scribe wrote in a PaperBook.

Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely they said I brought him going some whither this morning, for that they might well perceive by my foul shoes and dirty hosen, I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly that I lay at *Alborn Hall* with Sir *Fitz-james*, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at Evenfong. I told them at *Friswides*, and that I saw first Master *Commissary*, and then Master Doctor *London* come thither at that time unto Master Dean of *Friswides*, and that I saw them talking together in the Church there. Doctor *London* and the Dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had done him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the *Tower of London*, and there be racked, and put into Little-cage. But Master *Commissary* prayed me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great Friend, and deliver me out of trouble straight way. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was become. Thus they did occupy and tosse me almost two hours in the Chappel, sometimes with threatnings and foul words, and then with fair words and fair promises flattering me. Then was he that brought Mr. *Garret* unto my Chamber brought before me, and caused to declare what Mr. *Garret* said unto me at his coming to my Chamber; but I said plainly I heard him say no such thing, for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly Brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

Anthony Dalaber sent in the stocks.

At the last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of the which they fought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great Chamber over Master *Commissaries* Chamber wherein stood a great pair of very high Stocks. Then Master *Commissary* asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my

knives, and then they put both my leggs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them: in which I fate, my feet being almost as high as my head, and so departed they (I think to their abominable Mass) locked fast the Chamber Door, and leaving me alone. When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master *John Clark* my Father in Christ, who welnigh two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his Scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and whereforever he should teach or preach (the which he did daily) said unto me much after this sort, *Dalaber*, you desire you

wot not what, and that you are, I fear me, unable to take upon you: for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the Crofs of persecution to try you withal, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as stubble and dross be consumed. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by Saint *Paul*; *Quod omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Jesu persecutionem patientur*. Yea, you shall be called and judged an Hereick, you shall be abhorred of the world, your own Friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you, and you shall be cast into Prison, and no man shall dare to help or comfort you, and you shall be accused and brought before the Bishops to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful Friends and Kinsfolk. Then will ye with ye had never known this Doctrine; then will ye curse *Clarke*, and wish that ye had never known him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore rather than that you should do this, leave off from meddling with this Doctrine, and desire not to be and continue in my company.

At which words I was so griev'd, that I fell down on my Knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God shewed to us in our Lord *Jesus Christ* he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired, saying that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me and took me up in his Arms, kissed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and said unto me; The Lord Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your Father, and I will take you for my Son in Christ. Now were there at this time in *Oxford* divers Graduates and Scholars of sundry Colleges and Halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy Word, which all resorted unto Mr. *Clarke* Disputations and Lectures in Divinity at all times as they might, and when they might not come conveniently, I was by Mr. *Clark* appointed to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture, that by me from him they might have the true understanding of the same. Which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

This forefaid forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly Martyr of God Mr. *Clarke*, coming to my remembrance, caused me with deep sighs to cry unto God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him of his fatherly love to lay on me, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved Brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all; for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But God be blessed, I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen of me. Before Dinner Master *Cosford* came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Mr. *Garret* was, and if I would so do, he promised of me straightways to deliver me out of Prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was; no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat, I told him, Yea, right gladly. He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his Servants asked

The exhortation of Mr. Clarke to Anthony Dalaber.

The Crofs commonly followeth the Gospel.

Dalaber excused with patient and courtesy.

Dr. Cosford persecutor of Dalaber and Garret.

asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake to me fair and some threatened me, calling me Heretick, and so departed, locking the door fast upon me.

Thus far *Anthony Dalaber* hath profecuted this Story, who before the finishing departed, the year 1562. in the Diocess of *Salisbury*; the residue whereof as we could gather it out of ancient and credible Persons, so have we added here unto the same.

After this, *Garret* was apprehended or taken by *Maister Cole* the Proctor, or his men going Weltward, at a place called *Hinksey*, a little beyond *Oxford*, and so being brought back again was committed to Ward: that done, he was convented before the Countiffary, Doctor *London*, and Doctor *Higdon* Dean of *Frideswides* (now called *Christis Colledge*) into *St. Maries* Church, where they sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their Law as an Heretick (as they said) and afterward compelled him to carry a Ragot in open Procession from *St. Maries* Church to *Frideswides*, and *Dalaber* likewise with him, *Garret* having his red Hood on his shoulders like a Master of Art. After that, they were sent to *Oxney*, there to be kept in Prison till further order was taken.

There were suspected beside a great number to be infected with Heresie, as they called it, for having such Books of Gods Truth, as *Maister Garret* sold unto them; as *Maister Clark*, which died in his Chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the Communion, being in Prison, and saying these words; *Credo, & manducasti*; *Maister Sumner*, *Mr. Betts*, *Taverner* the Musitian, *Radley*, with other of *Frideswides* Colledge; of *Corpus Christi* Colledge; as *Udel* and *Dietz*, with other of *Magdalen* Colledge, one *Eden*, with other of *Gloucester* Colledge, and two black Moncks, one of *Saint Austines* of *Canterbury* named *Langport*, the other of *Saint Edmunds* Bury, Monk, named *John Salisbury*, two white Monks of *Bernard* Colledge, two Canons of *Saint Maries* Colledge, one of them named *Robert Ferrar*, afterward Bishop of *Saint Davids*, and burned in *Queen Maries* time. These two Canons, because they had no place in the University with the other, they went on the contrary side of the Procession bare headed, and a Beadle before them to be known from the other. Divers other there were, whose names I cannot remember, which were forced and constrained to forsake their Colledges, and fought their Friends. Against the Procession time there was a great fire made upon the Top of *Carfax*, wherein all such as were in the said Procession, either convict or suspect of Heresie, were commanded in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors, every man to cast a Book into the fire as thy passed by.

After this, *Maister Garret* flying from place to place escaped their Tyranny, until this present time that he was again apprehended and burned with Doctor *Barns* with whom also *William Hierome* sometime Vicar of *Stepney* was likewise drawn into *Smithfield*, and there together with them constantly endured Martyrdom in the fire.

Now let us add also to these the Story of *Hierome*

The Life and Story of William Hierome Vicar of Stepney and Martyr of Christ.

The third Company which suffered with *Barns* and *Garret*, was *W. Hierome* Vicar of *Stepney*. This *Hierome* being a diligent preacher of Gods Word, for the comfort and edification of the People, had preached divers and sundry Sermons, wherein to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere Truth of Christian Religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to extirp and weed out the roots of mens Traditions, Doctrines, Dreams, and Fantasies. In so doing it could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the Adversaries of Christs Gospel.

If so happened, that the said *Hierome*, preaching at *Pauls* on the fourth Sunday in Lent last past, made there a Sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of *Agar* and *Sara*, declaring what these two signified. In process whereof he shewed further how that *Sara* and her Child

Isaac and all they, that were *Isaacs*; and born of the free Woman *Sara*, were freely justified: contrary, they that were born of *Agar* the Bondwoman were bound and under the Law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was here spoken, but that Saint *Paul* himself uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the *Gal.* 4. or what could here be gathered of any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to sound Doctrin, and vein of the Gospel? Now see what Rancor and malice armed with crafty and subtil Sophistry can do. This Sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the King at *Weistminster*, and there accused for Erroneous Doctrin.

Percase thou wilt muse (gentle reader) what Erroneous Doctrin here could be picked out. Note therefore for thy learning; and he that listeth to study how to play the Sycophant, let him here take example. The knot found in this Ruhl was this, for that he preached erroneously at *Pauls* Crofs, teaching the People that all that were born of *Sara* were freely justified, speaking there absolutely without any condition either of Baptism or of Penance, &c. Who doubteth here but if *St. Paul* himself had been at *Pauls* Crofs, and had preached the same words to the Englishmen, which he wrote to the *Galatians* in this behalf, *ipso facto*, he had been apprehended for an Heretick for preaching against the Sacrament of Baptism and Repentance.

Furthermore it was objected against him, touching matter against Magistrates, and Laws by them made. Whereto he answered again and affirmed (as he had before preached) that no Magistrate of himself could make any Law or Laws, private or otherwise, to bind the inferior People, unless it were by the Power, Authority and Commandment of his or their Princes to him or them given, but only the Prince. And moreover, to confirm the same he added, saying, that if the Prince make Laws consenting to Gods Laws, we are bound to obey them. And if he make Laws repugnant to the Laws of God, and be an evil and wicked Prince; yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

Also concerning his Sermons, one Doctor *Wilson* entered into disputation with him, and defended that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to Salvation. To whom *Hierome* answered again, That all works, whatsoever they were, were no thing worthy, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God directeth the workers thereof, and yet it is at his mercy and goodness to accept them. Which to be true, Doctor *Wilson* neither could nor did deny.

And thus much concerning the several Stories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their Martyrdom, joyning them all together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their Protestations and words at their suffering.

Ye heard before how *Barns*, *Hierome*, and *Garret* were caused to preach at *Eastar* at the Spittle. the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by *Stephen Gardiner* writing against *George Joye*, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

Stephen Gardiner hearing that the said *Barns*, *Hierome*, and *Garret* should preach the Lent following, *Anno*, 1541. at *Pauls* Crofs, to stop the course of their Doctrine sent his Chaplain to the Bishop of *London*, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at *Pauls*. Which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow; which Sunday was appointed before for *Barns* to occupy that room. *Gardiner* therefore, determining to declare the Gospel of that Sunday containing the Devils three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of Scripture amongst some, as the Devil abused it to Christ, and so alluding to the temptation of the Devils, wherein he alledged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying;

Gal. 4.

Quarret
Hierome
Sermons.

W. Hierome
accused for
preaching
against Ma-
gistrates.

Works no
part of our
salvation,

Good works
avail not
but only by
imputation.

Out of the
pitties of
Stephen Gardiner
writing against
George Joye.

Now

The effect
of the Ser-
mon at
Pauls Crof-
the first
Sunday in
Lent, Anno
1544.

Nowadays, quoth he, the Devil tempteth the World, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the Devil teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins, and all is backward; inasmuch that men must now learn to lay their *Pater noster* backward. For where we said, *Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our Debtors*; now it is, *as thou forgiveest our debts, so I will forgive my Debtors*; and so God must forgive first, and all I say is turned backward, &c.

Pardon pro-
cured by the Devil,
quoth Stephen
Gardiner.
Gardiner
against
Friers and
Pardons.

Amongst other things, moreover he noted the Devils craft and shift in deceiving man: who envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleness with a vain hope to live merrily at his pleasure here, and yet to have Heaven at the last, hath for that purpose procured our Pardons from Rome, wherein Heaven was sold for a little Money; and to retale that Merchandise, the Devil used Friers for his Ministers. Now they be gone with all their Trumpery; but the Devil is not yet gone, &c. And now that the Devil perceiveth that it can no longer be born to buy and sell Heaven by the Friers, he hath ex-cogitate to offer Heaven without works for it, so freely, that men shall not need for Heaven to work at all, whatsoever opportunity they have to work; marry, if they will have any higher place in Heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in Heaven needs no works at all, but only belief, only, only, and nothing else, &c.

St. Gardiner
cannot abide
only, only.

The Sermon
of Dr. Barnes
replying to
Winchester.

This Sermon of Stephen Winchester finished, Doctor Barnes, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed, which was the third Sunday next following, to make his Sermon: who taking the same Text of the Gospel which Gardiner had done before, was on the contrary side no less vehement in setting forward the true Doctrine of Christian Religion, than Winchester had been before in plucking men backward from Truth to Lies, from Sincerity to Hypocrisy, from Religion to Superstition, from Christ to Antichrist. In the procefs of which Sermon he proceeding, and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluding in a pleasant Allegory to a Cock-fight; terming the said Gardiner to be a fighting God, and himself to be another, but the Garden-Cock (he said) lacked good Spurs: objecting moreover to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his Grammar Rules; thus saying, That if he had answered him in the Schools, so as he had there preached at the Cross, he would have given him six stripes. Declaring furthermore what evil Herbs this Gardiner had set in the Garden of Gods Scripture, &c.

St. Gardiner
complained
to the King
of Dr. Barnes.

The King
displeased
against
Barnes.

Finally, with this Sermon Gardiner was so tickled in the Spleen, that he immediately went to the King to complain, shewing how he, being a Bishop and Prelate of the Realm, was handled and reviled at Pauls Crofs.

Whereupon the King, giving too much ear to Gardiners grief, was earnestly incensed against Barnes, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy Closet, having with him the Earl of Southampton which was the Lord Whisley, and the Master of the Horse which was Anthony Brown, Dr. Cocks, and Dr. Robinson. Unto whom when Barnes had submitted himself; Nay, said the King, yield thee not to me, I am a mortal Man, and therewith rising up and turning to the Sacrament, and putting of his Bonnet, said, Yonder is the Master of us all, the Author of Truth, yield in truth to him, and that Truth will I defend, and otherwise yield thee not unto me. Much ado there was, and great matter laid laid against Barnes. In conclusion this order was taken, that Barnes should go apart with Winchester, to confer and commune together of their Doctrine, certain witnesses being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom one was Dr. Cocks, the other was Dr. Robinson, with two other also to them assigned, which should be Reporters to the King of the Disputation. At the first entry of which talk, Gardiner, forgiving him (as he saith) all that was past, offered him the choice, whether he would answer or oppose, which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached.

The Question between them propounded, by Gardi-

ners narration was this, *Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the Grace of Justification, or not.* Which question rose upon a certain contention which had been between them before. For Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our Neighbour, to obtain forgiveness of him; yet he said that God must forgive us first, before we forgive our Neighbour; for else to forgive our Neighbour were sin, by the Text which saith, *All that is not of faith is of sin, &c.* Rom. 13:

Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner to prove the contrary, came forth with his Arguments two or three: To the which Arguments (saith Gardiner) Barnes could not answer, but desired to be spared that Night, and the next Morning he would answer his Arguments. In the Morning Gardiner with the Hearers being again assembled, Dr. Barnes, according to the appointment, was present, who then went about to assail his Arguments. To his Solutions Gardiner again replied. And thus continued they in this altercation by the space of two hours. In the end of this Cock-fight Winchester thus concluded this glorious Tale, and croweth up the Triumph; declaring how Barnes befought him to have pity on him, to forgive him, and to take him to be his Scholar: whom then the said Winchester (as he himself confesseth) receiving, not as his Scholar, but as his Companion, offered to him a portion out of his Living, to the sum of 40 l. a year. Which if it be true (as Stephen Gardiner himself reporteth) why then doth this glorious Cockatrice grow so much against Barnes afterward, and call him in the Teeth, bearing all the world in hand that Barnes was his Scholar; whereas he himself here refuteth Barnes to be his Scholar, and receiveth him as his Companion fellow-like; But to the Story.

This done, the King being advertized of the conclusion of this matter between Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes should repair to the Bishops House at London the Monday following. Which he did, with a certain other Companion joyed unto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not express, only he saith that it was neither Hierome nor Garret. In this next meeting between Barnes and the Bishop, upon the foresaid Monday, the said Bishop studying to instruct Barnes, uttered to him certain Articles or Conclusions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

Winchesters Articles against Barnes.

1. The effect of Christs Passion hath a Condition. Winchester The fulfilling of the Condition diminisheth no- Articles against Dr. Barnes; tiking the effect of Christs Passion.
2. They that will enjoy the effect of Christs Passion must fulfil the Condition.
3. The fulfilling of the Condition requireth first knowledge of the Condition, which knowledge we have by Faith.
4. Faith cometh of God, and this Faith is a good gift; it is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exercise this Faith; Ergo, by the gift of God I may do well before I am justified.
5. Therefore I may do well by the gift of God before I am justified, towards the attainment of Justification.
6. There is ever as much Charity towards God as Faith: and as Faith increaseth so doth Charity increase.
7. To the attainment of Justification is required Faith and Charity.
8. Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and set at liberty, without any cause of provocation.
9. Faith must be to me the assurance of the Promises of God made in Christ (if I fulfil the Condition) and love must accomplish the Condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the Promise according to Gods Truth.
10. A man being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of Penance, whereby he may attain to his Justification.

These Articles, soformuch as they be sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joy in his Joyner and the Rejoynder against Winchester, I shall not need to comber this Work with any new ado therewith, but only refer the Reader to the Books aforesaid, where he may see matter enough to answer to these Popish Articles.

The ques-
tion be-
tween
Dr. Barnes
and
St. Gardiner.
God for-
giveth us
before we
forgive
our
Neighbour.

Rom. 13:

Gardiners
Reports.
Disputa-
tion be-
tween
Barnes
and
Gardiner.

St. Gardiner
in his Pre-
face to Gas.
1st.

St. Gardiner
offereth to
Dr. Barnes 40
pound a
year.

The Answer
of the Re-
joynder of
Geo. Joy
against
Winch.

I told' you before how the King, was contented that *Barns* should resort to the house of the Bishop of *Winchester*, to be trained and directed by the Bishop: which *Barns* then hearing the talk of the People, and having also conference with certain Learned men, within two days after his coming to the Bishop's house, waxed weary thereof, and so coming to the Bishop signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more, and to clean gave over the Bishop.

This being known unto the King, through sinister complaints of Popish Sycophants; *Barns* again was sent for, and converted before the King, who being grievously incensed against him, enjoined both him, *Hierome* and *Garret*, at the solemn *Easter* Sermons at *St. Mary Spittle*, openly in writing to revoke the Doctrine which they before had taught. At which Sermon *Stephen Gardiner* also himself was present to hear their Recantation.

First *Dr. Barnes*, according to his promise made to the King, solemnly and formally began to make his Recantation; which done, he with much circumstance and obtestation called upon the Bishop (as is above touched) and asking of him forgiveness, required him in token of a grant to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his Charity before the world, the Bishop also would declare his Charity in like manner. Which when the Bishop refused to do at the first, as he was required, *Barns* again called for it, desiring him to shew his Charity, and to hold up his hand. Which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little: then *Barns* entering into his Sermon, after his Prayer made, beginneth the process of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted. Inasmuch that the Mayor, when the Sermon was finished, sitting with the Bishop of *Winchester*, asked him whether he thought from the Pulpit sent him to Ward, to be forthcoming for that his bold preaching contrary to his Recantation. The like also did *Hierome*, and *Garret* after him.

The King had appointed before certain to make report of the Sermons. Besides them there was one who writeth to a Friend of his in the Court, in the favour of these Preachers, declared how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to falsifie that Recantation, and also in the same Sermons to utter out the Truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore partly by these Reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this Letter, which came to the Lord *Cromwells* hands, faith *Gardiner*, *Barns* with his other Fellows were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. *Stephen Gardiner*, in his foretold Book against *George Joy*, would needs clear himself, that he was in no part nor cause of their casting into the Tower, and giveth this reason for him, for that he had then no access, nor had after, so long as *Cromwells* time lasted, to the Kings secret Council; yet notwithstanding the said *Gardiner* cannot perfwade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the King, and his secret whisperings in his Friends ears, and his other workings by his Factors about the King, was a great sparkle to set their Fagots a fire.

Thus then *Barns*, *Hierome* and *Garret*, being committed to the Tower after *Easter*, there remained till the 30th day of July, which was two days after the death of the Lord *Cromwell*. Then ensued Process against them by the Kings Council in the Parliament, to the which Process *Gardiner* confest himself that he was privy amongst the rest. Whereupon all those three good Saints of God, the 30th day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing were brought together from the Tower to *Smithfield*, where they preparing themselves to the Fire, had there at the Stake divers and sundry Exhortations, among whom *D. Barnes* first began with this Proclamation following.

I am come hither to be burned as an Heretick, and you shall hear my Belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous Opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous Doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my Sermons I never maintained any Error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any Insurrection. Although

I have been slandered in preach that our Lady, was but a Saffron-Bag, which I never, priest before God that I never taught it, nor preached it; but all my study and diligence hath been strictly to confound and confute all men of that Doctrine, as are the Anabaptists, which deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary, which I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our Sovereign Lord the King, and the true and sincere Religion of Christ, and now Iarken to my Faith.

I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons and one God, that created and made all the World, and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second Person, Jesus Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And let me bear me record, that I do never condemn that abominable and detestable Opinion of the Anabaptists, which say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe, that without means will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our Body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, He was made in all things like to his Brethren, except sin. And I believe that his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame Sin, Death, and Hell, and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but his death and passion only, and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his Passion, as touching our justification, for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and imperfect. And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his Trespases. For although perchances, said he, you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the Prophet David, Non iudices in iudicium cum servo tuo, Domine, i. Enter not into judgment with thy Servant, O Lord. And in another place, Si iniquitates obli-viscaris Domine, quis sustinebit? Lord, if thou finally mark our Iniquities, who is able to abide thy Judgment? Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works; for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not shall never come into the Kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to shew and set forth our Profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.

I believe that there is a holy Church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all that have suffered and confessed his Name be Saints, and that all they do praise and laud God in Heaven, more than I or any mans Tongue can express; and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a Virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure Virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born. Then said Mr. Sheriff, You have said well of her before. And being afraid that Mr. Sheriff had been or should be agrieved with any thing that he should say, he said, Mr. Sheriff, If I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but becken me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace, for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey.

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to Saints. Then said he, Now of Saints you shall hear my Opinion. I have said before somewhat I think of them, how that I believe they are in Heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But I say throughout Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any Saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that Saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a Doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if Saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour.

Dr. Barnes sent to come to Gardiner to be instructed, but only to confer with him.

Dr. Barnes fully satisfied.

Dr. Barnes desired Winchester to hold up his hand.

The Mayor of London ready to trouble Dr. Barnes for his Sermon.

Dr. Barnes Confession.

All men's works imperfect.

Psalm 144.

Psalm 130.

Good works to be done.

Process against Barnes, Hierome and Garret.

Dr. Barnes obedient to Magistrate.

The proclamation of Dr. Barnes at the Stake.

Pray not to Saints.

bow, Mr. Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the Faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a Saint. Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you.

No cause showed why Dr. Barnes died.

Well, have you any thing more to say? Then spake he to Mr. Sheriff, and said, Have ye any Articles against me for the which I am condemned? And the Sheriff answered, No. Then said he, Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any Error? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer. And no man answered. Then said he, Well, I am condemned by the Law to die, and as I understand, by an Act of Parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but belike for Heresie, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self. And Dr. Stephen Bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death.

Dr. Barnes praying for his Execution.

And if any of the Council, or any other have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their Ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the Kings Grace, as I have done ever since I was in Prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his Father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of Sedition and Disobedience unto the Kings Majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the Commandment of God, to obey your Prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not so much as in a look to shew your selves disobedient unto him, and that not only for fear of the Sword, but also for Conscience sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the King should command you any thing against Gods Law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it.

D. Barnes prayeth for the King. Five Requests of Dr. Barnes to the King. The 1. Request. The King of England made a whole King by poor Preachers.

Then spake he to the Sheriff and said, Mr. Sheriff, I require you on Gods behalf to have me commended unto the Kings Grace, and to shew him that I require of his Grace these five Requests: First, that where his Grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the Abbies. Then the Sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered Mr. Sheriff, I warrant you I will speak no harm, for I know it is well done that all such Superstition be clean taken away, and the Kings Grace hath well done in taking it away. But his Grace is made a whole King, and obeyed in his whole Realm as a King (which neither his Father nor Grandfather, neither his Ancestors that reigned before him ever had) and that through the preaching of us and such other Wretches as we are, which alwaies have applied our whole Studies, and given our selves for the setting forth of the same, and this is now our reward. Well, it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his Grace to bestow the said Goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor Subjects, which surely have great need of them.

The 2. Request of D. Barnes to the King.

The second that I desire his Grace, is, that he will see that Matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men for every light cause invented cast not off their Wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

The third Request.

The third, That the abominable Swearers may be punished and straightly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their malicious Oaths. Then desired he Mr. Pope to have him commended to M. Edgar, and to desire him for the dear Blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable Swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some malicious end.

The fourth Request.

The fourth, That his Grace would set forth Christs true Religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his Grace to look on Gods Word himself, for that it hath been observed

with many Traditions invented of our own Brains. Now, said he, how many Petitions have I spoken of? And the People said, four. Well, said he, even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the Kings Grace may be certified of, and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace take heed that he be not deceived with false Preachers and Teachers and evil Counsel, for Christ saith, that such false Prophets shall come in Lambs skins.

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil Opinions and Doctrines against the Word of God, and that he died in the Faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his Cloaths, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

Dr. Barnes cleareth himself of all Heresie.

The like Confession made also Hierome and Garret, professing in like manner their Belief, reciting all the Articles of the Christian Faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every Article, as the time would suffer; whereby the People might understand that there was no cause nor error in their Faith, wherefore justly they ought to be condemned; Pretending moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their Sovereign Lord the King, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue among them, with his most dear Son Prince Edward. Which done, Hierome added this Exhortation in few words following.

The Profession and Confession of Hierome and Garret.

I say unto you, good Brethren, that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with his most precious Blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth, to fulfil his Commandments; that is, Love your Brethren. Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy Neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if you were in necessity, thou wouldest gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your Cross with Christ. Consider what reproach, slander and reproach he suffered of his Enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his mere goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adams breaking of Gods Precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as Adam broke the Precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so we if we break Gods Commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now therefore let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their Works, but in the Blood of Christ, to whom I commit my Soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my Brethren here present with me, that our Souls leaving these wretched Carcasses may constantly depart into the true Faith of Christ.

In much like sort Garret also protesting and exhorting the People, after his Confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth.

I also detest, abhor and refuse all Heresies and Errors, and if either by negligence or ignorance I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy, Or if I have been too vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire him, and all other persons which I have any way offended, forgive me. Notwithstanding to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against Gods holy Word, or contrary to the true Faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living, but have always, for my little learning and wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his Laws, and also the Kings accordingly. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God fend the Kings Grace good and godly Council, to his glory, to the Kings honour, and the increase of virtue in this Realm. And thus now I yield my Soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and

The fourth cleareth himself.

Garret prayeth for the King.

The Martyrdom of D. Robert Barnes, Tho. Garret, and William Hierome, at Smithfield, the 1541



Anno
1541.

and believing that he of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the Blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour, Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon me of all my sins, whereby I have most grievously from my youth offended his Majesty; wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and dye stedfastly in true Faith, perfect Hope, and Charity.

The patient
suffering of
these three
Martyrs.

Difference
between
them that
suffer for
Gods truth,
and other
that dye for
their own
desires.

The cheerful
patience
in the Lord
Cromwel
his death

The comfort-
table words
of the Lord
Cromwel
to the Lord
Hungerford,
they both
going to
their deaths

And though the Breakfast which we are going to be sharp; yet trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful Dinner. And so went they together to the place of Execution, and took their deaths patiently.

A note of three Papists executed the same time with Barnes, Hierome, and Garret.

The same time and day, and in the same place, where and when these three above mentioned did suffer, three other also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary, for denying the Kings Supremacy, whose names were *Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel*. The which spectacle so happening upon one day, in two so contrary parts or factions brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their Religion, which part to follow and take; as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people, seeing two contrary parts so to suffer, the one for Popery, the other against Popery, both at one time. Inasmuch that a certain Stranger being there present the same time, and seeing three on the one side, and three on the other side to suffer, said in these words, *Dum bone: quomodo hic vivunt gentes? hic suspenduntur Papistae, illic comburuntur Antipapistae*. But to remove and take away all doubt hereafter from the Posterity, whereby they shall the less marvel how this so happened, here is to be understood how the cause thereof did rise and proceed. Which happened by reason of a certain division and discord among the King's Council, which were so divided among themselves in equal parts, that the one half seemed to hold with the one Religion, the other half with the contrary.

Three Pa-
pists execut-
ed.

Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel.

The words
of a stran-
ger, seeing
both Papists
and Protest-
ants to suffer.

The Names of whom, although it were not necessary to express, yet being compelled for the setting forth of the truth of the story, we have thought good here to annex, as the certainty thereof came to our hands.

Protestants.

- Canterbury,
- Suffolk,
- Vicount Beauchamp,
- Vicount Lisle,
- Russell, Treasurer,
- Pages,
- Sadler,
- Audley.

P p

The Council
divided in
Religion.

Papists.

Papists.

Winchester,
Duresme,
Norfolk,
Southampton,
Anthony Brown,
William Paulet,
John Baker,
Richard, Chancellour of the Augmentation.
Wingfield, Vice-Chancellor.

This division and separation of the Council amongst themselves, caused both these parts above mentioned, the one for one Religion, the other for another, to suffer together. For as the one part of the Council called upon the execution of Barnes, Garret, and Hierome, so the other part likewise called upon the execution of the Law upon Powell, Fetherstone, and Abel. Which six being condemned and drawn to the place of Execution, two upon a Hurdle, one being a Papist, the other a Protestant, thus after a strange manner were brought into Smithfield, where all the said six together for contrary Doctrine suffered death, three by the fire for the Gospel, the other three by hanging, drawing, and quartering for Popery.

Two together laid up on the Hurdle, the one a Papist, the other a Protestant.

Allen Cope.

Allen Cope in his worshipful Dialogues, making mention of these three aforesaid, Powell, Fetherstone, and Abel, amongst other which died in King Henries days in the like Popish quarrel, that is, for the like Treason against their Prince, (being in all to the number of twenty four) extolled them not only in words, but with miracles also, up to the height of Heaven, among the crowned Martyrs and Saints of God. To the which Cope, because in this halfe of story I have no leisure at this present to give attendance, I shall wait attendance (the Lord willing) another time, to joyn in this issue with him more at leisure. In the mean time it shall suffice at this present to recite the names only of those twenty four Rebels, whom he of his Popish Devotion lo dignified with the pretended Title of Martyrs. The names of which Monkish Rebels be these here following:

Traitors made Martyrs.

John Houghton.
Robert Lawrence.
Augustine Webster.
Reginald of Syon.
John Hayle.
John Rochester.
Jac. Wanneve.
John Stone.
John Traversse.
William Hom.
Powell.
Fetherstone.
Abel.

24. Neither good Martyrs to God, nor good Subjects to the King.

Besides these were other nine Carthusian Monks which died in the Prison of Newgate. To the which number if you add Mr. More and the Bishop of Rochester, the summa totalis cometh to twenty four, whom the said Cope unjustly crowned for Martyrs. But of these more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Great disturbance in England after the six Articles.

Thus having discoursed the order of the six Articles, with other matter likewise following in the next Parliament, concerning the condemnation of the Lord Cromwell, of Dr. Barnes and his Fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this History) consider what great disturbance and vexations ensued after the setting forth of the said Articles, through the whole Realm of England, especially among the godly sort. Wherein first were to be mentioned the freight and severe Commissions sent forth by the Kings Authority to the Bishops, Chancellors, Officials, Justices, Maiors, and Bailiffs in every Shire, and other Commissioners by name in the same Commissions expressed; and amongst other, especially to Edmund Boner Bishop of London, to the Maior, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of the same, to enquire diligently upon all Heretical Books, and to burn them. Also to enquire upon

all such Persons whatsoever, culpable or suspected of such Felonies, Heresies, Contempts, or Transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the forefaid Act set forth of the six Articles. The tenor of which Commissions being sufficiently expressed in ancient Records, and in the Bishops Registers, and also partly touched before, therefore for tediousness I here omit, only shewing forth the Commission directed to Edmund Boner Bishop of London, to take the Oath of the Maior of London, and of others, for the execution of the Commission aforesaid; the tenor whereof here followeth.

Read before.

The Commission for taking the Oath of the Maior of London and others, for the execution of the Act aforesaid.

HENRY the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth supreme Head of the Church of England, unto the Reverend Father in Christ Edmund Boner Bishop of London, and to his wellbeloved the Bishops Chancellors, health. Know ye that we have given you jointly and severally, Power and Authority to receive the Oaths of William Roch Maior of London, John Allen Knight, Ralph Warren Knight, Richard Grelham Knight, Roger Cholmley Knight, Sergeant at Law, John Grelham, Michael Dortmer Archdeacon of London, the Bishops Commissary and Official, Robert Chidley, Guy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Brook, and John Morgan, and every of them our Commissioners for Heresies, and other Offences done within our City of London and Diocess of the same, according to the tenor of a certain Schedule hereto annexed. And therefore We command that you receive the Oaths aforesaid, and when you have received them, to certify us into our Chancery under your Seals, returning this our Writ. Telle me ipso at Westminster the twenty ninth of January, in the 32. year of our Reign.

Commission directed to John Boner Bishop of London, from the King.

What the Oath was of these Commissioners whereunto they were bound, read before.

A Note how Boner sate in the Guildhall in Commission for the six Articles. And of the condemning of Mekins.

UPON this Commission given unto Edmund Boner, The story of he coming to the Guildhall with other Commissioners, to sit upon the Statute of the six Articles, began effusions to put in execution his Authority after a rigorous sort, as ye shall hear. And first he charged certain Juries to take their Oath upon the Statute aforesaid; who being sworn, had a day appointed to give their verdict. At the which day they indicted sundry Persons, which shortly after were apprehended and brought to Ward; who, after a while remaining there, were by the King and his Council discharged at the Star-Chamber, without any further punishment.

Not long after this, Sir William Roch being Maior, Boner with other Commissioners sate at the Guildhall aforesaid, before whom there were a certain number of Citizens warned to appear, and after the Commission read, the said Parties were called to the Book, and when five or six were sworn, one of the said Persons being called to the Book, Boner seemed to mislike, and said, Stay a while, my Masters, (quoth he) I would ye should consider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the wealth of the Realm, and if there be any here among you that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence than here. Then commended the Commissioners with Boner about that man, so that at length he was called to the Book and sworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two Juries were sworn, Boner taketh upon him to give the Charge unto the Juries, and began with a Tale of Anacharsis, by which example he admonished the Juries to spare no Persons, of what degree soever they were. And at the end of his Charge, he brought forth to the Bar a Boy, whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking of certain words against the State, and of the death of Dr. Barnes, and produced into the said Court two Witnesses, which were there sworn in the face of the Court.

John Boner Bishop of London, from the King.

So a day was assigned upon which the Juries aforesaid should give up their Verdict; at which day both the Commissioners and the said Juries met at Guildhall aforesaid. Then the Clerk of the Peace called on the Juries by their Names, and when their Appearance was taken, Boner bade them put in their Presentments. Then said the Foreman of that Jury, whose name was *William*

*Spil. Rolin
Juron.*

Robins; My Lord (with a low courtesy) we have found nothing. At which words he fared as one in an Agony, and said, *Nothing? have ye found nothing? What nothing? By the faith I owe to God* (quoth he to the Foreman) *I would trust you upon your Obligation, but by your Oath I will trust you nothing.* Then said some of the Commissioners; My Lord, give them a longer day. No, (quoth he) in London they ever find nothing. I pray you what say you to Mekins? My Lord, quoth the Foreman, we can say nothing to him, for we find the Witnesses to disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the Sacrament was nothing but a Ceremony; and the other, nothing but a signification. Why (quoth Boner) did he not say that Barnes died holy. Then pausing a while, he bade call the other Jury. Put in your Verdict, (quoth he.) My Lord, said one, we have found nothing. Jesus! (quoth he) is not this a strange case?

*Self Testy
Juron.*

Then spake one of the same Jury, whose name was *Ralph Foxley*, and said, My Lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have the Parsons and Curates of every Parish to give us instructions, and it was denied us.

*This Recorder
was Sir
Th. Cawley.*

Then stood up the Recorder, and said, *It was true indeed that he had spoken*; and there wiche said, *Thus last year were charged two Juries, which did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the Kings people, and therefore it was thought not meet that they should give information to you.* Nay, nay, quoth Boner, this was the case; If the Parson or Curate should give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I

*Against Po
pish Priests
of London.*

must tell my Confession to Knave-Priest, and he shall go by and by and open it. What, said my Lord Maior, there is no man (I trow) that will say so? Yes, by my troth, quoth Boner, Knave-Priest, Knave-Priest. Then said my Lord Maior somewhat smiling, *There be some of them slippery Fellows; and as men find them, so will they oft-times report.* Boner not well contented with those words, said to the Jury, *My Masters, what say you to Mekins?* They answered, *The Witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them.* Why (quoth Boner) the Court hath allowed them. Then said one of the Jury to the Recorder, *Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this Court do allow them?* Yes, said the Recorder, it is sufficient; and said, *Go you aside together awhile, and bring in your Verdict.* After the Jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the Bar again with their Judgment, which at Boners hand was friendly received; so both they and the other Jury were discharged, and bidden take their ease. Thus ended the Court for that day. Shortly after they sate for Life and Death. Mekins being brought to the Bar, and the Indictment read, Boner said to him; Mekins, confess the truth, and submit thy self unto the Kings Law, that thy death may be an example to all other.

*Mekins
brought to
the Bar.*

Ex Ed. Hall.

This *Richard Mekins* being a Child, which passed not the Age of fifteen years (as *Hall* reporteth) as he had heard some other Folks talk, so chanced he to speak against the Sacrament of the Altar. Which coming to Boners ears, he never left him (as afore doth plainly appear) before he had brought him to the five. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor Father nor Mother for fear durst aid him with any relief, whereby he there endured in great misery. At what time he was brought unto the Stake, he was taught to speak much good of the Bishop of London, and of the great Charity he shewed to him, and to defie and detest all Hereticks and Heresies, but specially Dr. Barnes, unto whom he imputed the learning of that Heretic, which was the cause of his death. The poor Lad would for safeguard of his life have gladly said that the twelve Apostles had taught it him; such was his childish innocency and fear. But for this deed many spake and said, *It was great shame for the Bishop, whose part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to save his life, than*

*And how
could he
take that
learning of
Dr. Barnes,
when Dr.
Barnes was
never of
that Opin-
ion.*

to procure that terrible Execution, seeing that he was such an ignorant Soul, that he knew not what the affirming of Heresie was.

Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and one Hewet, suffered at Salisbury.

About the same time also a certain Priest was burned at Salisbury, who leaving his Paristrey had married a Wife, and became a Player in Enterludes, with one Ramsey and Hewet, which three were all condemned and burned; against whom, and specially against Spencer, was laid matter concerning the Sacrament of the Altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

*Spencer,
Ramsey, and
Hewet, sate
1541.*

Although this Inquisition above mentioned was meant *ex Regibus* properly and especially concerning the six Articles, yet so it fell out, that in short space doubts began to rise, and to be moved by the Quelt, whether they might enquire as well of all other Opinions, Articles, and Causes of Lollardy, or for speaking against the holy Bread, holy Water, or for favouring the cause of Barnes; of Frier, of Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, &c. Whereupon great perturbation followed in all Parishes almost through London in the year aforesaid, which was 1541. as here enseth in a brief Summary Table to be seen.

A brief Table of the Troubles at London in the time of the six Articles.

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Dixe.

This Dixe was noted never to be confessed in Lent, s. Albon; nor to receive at Easter, and to be a Sacramentary. *Paris in London.*

Rich. Chepeman.

Chepeman for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy days, and not coming to the Church.

Mrs. Cicely Marshall.

Cicely, for not bearing her Palm, and despising holy Bread and holy Water.

Michael Haukes.

Haukes for not coming to the Church, and receiving young men of the new Learning.

Mr. John Browne.

Browne, for bearing with Barnes.

Annes, Bedikes Wife.

Bedikes Wife, for despising our Lady, and not praying to Saints.

Andrew Kempe. Will. Paben. Rich. Manerd.

Kempe, Paben, Manerd, for disturbing the Service of the Church with brabbling of the New Testament.

William Wyders.

Wyders denied two years before the Sacrament the Priest to be Christs Body, and said that it was but only a of Trinity the left.

William Stokesly.

Stokesly, for rebuking his Wife at the Church for taking holy Water.

Roger Darcy.

Darcy for speaking against worshipping of Saints.

Mr. Blage.

Mr. Blage for not coming to his Parish Church, not Confessing, nor Receiving.

William Clinch.

For saying, when he seeth a Priest preparing to the Mass, *Ye shall see a Priest now go to making.* Item, *For calling the Bishop of Winchester, False flatterer.* *s. John Bap-
tist in
Walbrooke.*

Persons presented, with the causes.

ing Knave. Item, For burying his Wife without Dirge, and causing the Scot of S. Katherine's to preach the next day after the Burial.

William Plaine.

Plaine seeing a Priest going to Mass, said, Now you shall see one in masking. Item, When he came to the Church, with loud reading the English Bible he disturbed the Divine Service.

Herman Johnson. Hierome Akon.
Giles Hoffeman. Richard Bonfeld.
Thomas Couper. Humphrey Skanner.
John Smeudnam. Richard Philips.

John Celos.

S. Botolphs
at Billings-
gate.

These nine Persons were presented, for that they were not Confessed in Lent, nor had Received at Easter.

John Jones. William Wright.
Peter Butcher. Roger Butcher.

S. Nicholas
in the flesh
Shambles.

These four were presented for not keeping the Divine Service in the holy days.

Brisleys Wife.

Brisleys Wife, for busie reasoning on the new Learnings, and not keeping the Church.

Mrs. Castle.

S. Andrews
in Holborn.

Mrs. Castle, for being a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the Church.

Mr. Galias of Bernards Inn.

Mr. Galias, for withstanding the Curate censuring the Altars on Corpus Christi Even, and saying openly that he did naught.

Mr. Pates of Davids Inn.

Mr. Pates and Mr. Galias, for vexing the Curate in the Body of the Church, in declaring the Kings Injunctions, and reading the Bishops Book, so that he had much ado to make an end.

Wil. Beckes and his Wife.

S. Mildred's
Breadstreet.

Beckes and his Wife suspected to be Sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the Cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham. Wil. Thomas.
Rich. Beckes. Wil. Becker.

These four were presented for interrupting the Divine Service.

Ralph Symonds.

Symonds, for not keeping our Ladies Mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith Apprentice.

Smith, for saying that he had rather hear the crying of Dogs, than Priests singing Mattens or Evening.

Thomas Bale. John Sturgion.
John Wiltshire. Thomas Symon.
Ralph Clerous and his Wife.
James Banaster. Nicholas Barker.
John Sterky. Christopher Smith.

Thomas Net.

S. Margers
Parish.

These eleven Persons of S. Magnus Parish were presented and accused for maintaining of certain Preachers (as then it was called) of the new Learning, as Wisdom, Rose, Frier, Ward, Sir William Smith, alias Wright.

Nicholas Philips.

For maintaining Heresies and Scripture Books, and for using neither fasting nor Prayer.

Persons presented, with the causes.

Richard Bigges.

Bigges, for despising holy Bread, putting it in the throat of a Bitch, and for not looking up to the Elevation.

Mrs. Elizabeth Stratham.

For maintaining in her House Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Hierome, and divers other. S. Mary Magdalene in Milk-street.

John Duffet.

Duffet, for marrying a woman which was thought to be a Nun.

W. Hilliard.

Hilliard and Duffet, for maintaining Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, with other more. S. Owens Parke in Newgate Market.

Grafton. Whitechurch.

Grafton and Whitechurch suspected not to have been Confessed.

John Greene. Mother Palmer.
Christopher Coats. Will. Selly.
Alexander Frere. Will. Bredi.
John Bulp. W. Somerton.

M. Davids Apprentice.

All these being of the Parish of S. Martins, at the Well with two Buckets, were presented for contemning the Ceremonies of the Church. Also some for walking in the facing time with their Caps on. Some for turning their heads away, some for sitting at their doors when Sermons were in the Church, &c. S. Martins at the Well with two Buckets.

Robert Andrew.

Andrew, for receiving Hereticks into his House, and keeping disputation of Heresie there. S. Michael in Woodstreet.

John Williamson. Thomas Bage.
Thomas Gilbert. W. Hickson.
Rob. Daniel. Robert Smitten.

These other six were suspected to be Sacramentaries and rank Hereticks, and Procurers of Hereticks to preach, and to be followers of their Doctrine.

John Mayler.

To be a Sacramentary, and a railer against the Mass. S. Botolphs at Billingsgate.

Richard Billy Draper.

Billy presented for saying these words, That Christ is not present in the blessed Sacrament.

Henry Patinson. Anthony Barber.

These two were detected for maintaining their Boyes S. Giler's to sing a Song against the Sacrament of the Altar. Also without Crispie, Patinson came not to Confession.

Robert Norman.

Norman also refused to come to Confession, saying, That none of his Servants should be shaven of a Knave-Priest.

John Humfrey.

For speaking against the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church. S. Reginald's Load.

William Smith and his Wife.

John Cooke and his Wife.

These two Couples were presented for not coming to Service in their Parish Church, and for saying it was lawful for Priests to have Wives.

Wil. Gate or Cote. Wil. Aston.

John Humfrey. John Cooke.

To these four it was laid, for saying, That the Mass was made of pieces and patches. Also for depraving of Mattens, Mass, and Evening.

John

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Miles and his Wife. John Millen.
John Robinson. Richard Mullar.
John Green and his Wife. Arnold Chiff.

All these were put up for railing against the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

John Crosdall. Job. Clerke. Jo. Owel.

These three labouring men, for not coming to Divine Service on Holy-days, and for labouring on the same.

Thomas Grangier. John Dillier.

Noted for common Singers against the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

John Sutton and his Wife. John Segar.

These three were noted to be Despisers of Auricular Confession.

John Rawlins.

John Skiler.

William Chalinger.

John Edmonds.

John Richmond and his Wife.

For despising holy Bread and holy Water, and letting Divine Service.

Margaret Smith.

For dressing Fleh-meat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham.

For reasoning against the Sacrament of the Altar, and saying that the Sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, very God.

Robert Granger. William Petingale.

William May and his Wife.

John Harison and his Wife.

Robert Welch. John Bengloss.

John Pitley. Henry Foster.

Robert Causy. William Pinchbeck and his Wife.

All these thirteen were put up by the Inquisition; for giving final reverence at the facing of the Mass.

Martyn Bishops Wife.

She was presented by her Curate for being not shaven in Lent, nor receiving at Easter. Also she did set light by the Curate, when he told her thereof.

Robert Plat and his Wife.

These were great Reasoners in Scripture, saying, That they had it of the Spirit; and that Confession availleth nothing; and that he, not able to read, would use no Beads.

Thomas Adnet. John Palmer. Robert Cooke.

The cause laid to these three persons, was for reasoning of the Scripture, and of the Sacraments.

The Register saith, That they denied all the Sacraments. But this Popish Hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with Popish practices, setteth to be the Judge.

John Cocker.

This man was noted for a great searcher out of new Preachers, and maintainer of Barnes's Opinions.

John Boulser.

For forbidding his Wife to use Beads.

Thomas Kelde.

He refused to take Penance and Absolution, and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent.

Nicholas Newell.

Newell a French man, presented to be a man far gone in the new Sect, and that he was a great jester at the Saints and at our Lady.

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Hawkins and his Servant.

Thomas Chamberlaine and his Wife.

John Cartey. Mr. Disfel, his Wife and his Servant.

These eight were great Reasoners and Despisers of Ceremonies.

The Curate of S. Katherine Coleman.

He was noted for calling of suspect persons to his Sermons by a Beadle, without ringing of any Bell; and when he preached he left his matters doubtful.

Item, For preaching without the commandment of his Parson.

Item, For that he was a Scottish Friar, driven out of his Country for Heresie.

Tulle Bussere, his Wife and his Son in Law.

These were noted for coming seldom to the Church, and many times were seen to labour upon the Holy-days.

William Ettis and his Wife.

Ettis and his Wife were noted for maintaining certain Preachers; and for causing one Taverner, being a Priest, to preach against the Kings Injunctions.

Merifield and his Son in Law.

Nicholas Russet. The good man of the Saracens Head in Friday-free. William Callaway.

Thomas Gardiner with three Apprentices.

Against this Company presentation was made for gathering together in the Evening; and for bringing ill Preachers, that is to say, good Preachers amongst the People.

Thomas Plummer.

This Thomas was presented for saying, That the blessed Sacrament was to him that doth take it, so; and to him that doth not, was not so.

Shermons.

Shermons, Keeper of the Carpenters Hall in Christs Church Parish, was presented for procuring an Enterlude to be openly played, wherein Priests were railed on, and called Knaves.

Lewis Morall a Servant.

James Ogule and his Wife.

Noted not to have been Confessed certain years before.

Thomas Baham.

Accused not to have been Confessed nor Housel in his Parish Church.

The Parson and Curate of S. Antholines.

For not using the Ceremonies in making holy Water, nor keeping their Processions on Saturdays.

Lewis Bromfield.

For not taking his Housel, and for absenting himself from the Church on Holy-days.

John Sempe. John Goffe.

For dispraising a certain Anthem of our Lady, beginning *Te matrem, &c.* saying that there is Heresie in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey.

For absenting himself from the Church on Holy-days.

Tho. Capps.

For saying these words, That the Sacrament of the S. Mary Altar was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lords Death.

John Mailer Grocer.

For calling the Sacrament of the Altar the baken God, and for saying that the Mass was called beyond the Seas, for that all is amiss in it.

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Hardyman Priest.
Hardyman, Parson of *S. Marys* in *Ironmonger Lane*, presented for preaching openly, that Confession is Confusion and Deformation; and that the Butcherly Ceremonies of the Church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, What a mischief is this to esteem the Sacraments to be of such virtue? for in so doing they take the glory of God from him: and for saying That Faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other Sacraments to justify.

Christopher Dray Plummer.
 For saying of the Sacrament of the Altar, That it was not offered up for remission of sins; and that the Body of Christ was not there, but only by representation and signification of the thing.

Robert Ward Shoemaker.
 Presented by three Witnesses for holding against the Sacrament of the Altar: he died in Prison in *Breadstreet*.

Nicholas Otes.
 For not coming to the Houfel at *Easter*, he was sent to *Newgate*.

Herman Peterfen. *James Goffon*.
 For not coming to Shrift and Houfel at the time of *Easter*. These were committed to Prison in *Breadstreet*.

Richard White Haberdasher.
 For saying, That he did not think that Christ was in the Sacrament of the Altar within the Sepulchre, but in Heaven above.

Giles Harrison.
Harrison being in a place without *Aldgate*, merrily jesting in a certain Company of Neighbours, where some of them said, *Let us go to Mass: I say, tarry*, said he; and so taking a piece of Bread in his Hands, lift it up over his head: and likewise taking a Cup of Wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a Cross over the Cup, and so taking the said Cup in both his hands, lift it over his head, saying these words, *Have ye not heard Mass now?* For the which he was presented to *Boner*, then Bishop of *London*. Against whom came these Witnesses,

Thomas Caffe. *Andrew Morice*.
William Greene. *John Margetson*,
 Witnesses against him.

Richard Boscock Priest.
 For saying that Auricular Confession hath killed more Souls then all the Bills, Clubs, and Halters have done since King *Henry* was King of *England*, &c. Also for saying, That the Water in the *Thames* hath as much virtue as the Water that the Priests do hallow.

Margaret Ambsworth.
 For having no reverence to the Sacrament at sacring time. Item, For instructing of Maids, and being a great Doctress.

John Leicefer. *W. Raynold*.
Christ. Townsend. *Tb. David Skinner*.
Tho. Mabs. *Thom. Starckey*.
Christ. Holybread. *Martyn Donam*.
W. Derby.

All these noted and presented for maintaining of *Barnes*, and such other Preachers, and many of their Wives for not taking holy Bread, nor going in Procession on *Sundays*.

Lawrence Maxwell Bricklayer.
 For speaking and reasoning against Auricular Confession.

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Cogges, or *Livelande*.
 For holding against the Sacrament of the Altar, and not receiving at *Easter*.

Gerard Frise.
 Presented by two Witnesses, for affirming that a Sermon preached is better than the Sacrament of the Altar, and that he had rather go to hear a Sermon than to hear a Mass.

Dominick Williams, a French man.
 For not receiving the Sacrament of the Altar at *Easter*.

Tb. Lancaster, Priest.
 He lay in the *Compter* in the *Poultry*, for compiling and bringing over Books prohibited.

Gough.
 Item, *Gough* the Stationer troubled for resorting unto him.

Frier Ward.
 Laid in the *Compter* in *Breadstreet*, for marrying one *Elizabeth* to his Wife, after his Vow made of Chastity.

Frier Wilcock.
Wilcock, a Scotch Frier, prisoned in the *Fleet*, for preaching against Confession, holy Water, against praying to Saints, and for Souls departed, against Purgatory, and holding that Priests might have Wives, &c.

John Taylor Dr. in Divinity.
 Dr. *Taylor* presented for preaching at *S. Bridges* in *Fleetstreet*, that it is as profitable to a man to hear Mass and see the Sacrament, as to kiss *Judas*'s mouth, which killed Christ our Saviour, &c.

W. Tolwine Parson of *S. Antholines*.
 Presented and examined before *Edmund Boner*, for permitting *Alexander Seton* to preach in his Church, having no licence of his Ordinary, and also for allowing the Sermons of the said *Alexander Seton*, which he preached against Dr. *Smith*.
 To the said *Tolwine* moreover it was objected, That he used, the space of two years, to make holy water, leaving out the general Exorcisme, beginning *Exorcismo re, &c.* using these words for the sake, *Benedicite, Dominus deus, &c.* *Ab eo sit benedictio, a cuius latere fluxit sanguis king of hebr.* *& aqua*: Adjoyning thereto, *Commissio salis & aqua*.
fiat in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti.

The like usage of making holy Water was also used in *Aldermay Church*, where Dr. *Crome* was, and in *Hony Lane*.

Against this Objection thus *Tolwine* defended himself, saying, That he took occasion so to do by the Kings Injunctions, which say, That Ceremonies should be used, all Ignorance and Superstition set apart.

In the end, this *Tolwine* was forced to stand at *Pauls Crofs* to recant his Doctrine and doings.

Robert Wisdom, *Thomas Becon*, Preachers.
 The same time also *Robert Wisdom*, Parish Priest of *S. Margarets* in *Lothbury*, and *Thomas Becon*, were brought to *Pauls Crofs*, to recant and to revoke their Doctrine, and to burn their Books.

Sir George Parker, Parson of *S. Pancrace*.
 This Priest and Parson of *S. Pancrace*, and Curate of *Little Alders*, was noted, suspected, and convented before the Ordinary for certain Books, especially for having *Unio dissidentium*, &c.

Sir John Byrch, Priest.
John Byrch, Priest of *S. Batolphs Lane*, was complained of by one Mr. *Wilson*, for being a buile reasoner in certain Opinions, which agreed not with the Popes Church.

Alex.

Persons presented, with the causes.

Alexander Seton a Scottish, and a worthy Preacher.

Alexander Seton was denounced, detected, and presented, by three Priests of whom one was fellow of *Whittington Colledge* called *Richard Taylor*; another was *John Smith*; the third was *John Hanningdon*, who after was converted to the same Doctrine himself.

This Seton was Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and by him was made free Denison. In his Sermon Preached at Saint *Antholines*, his adversaries picked against him matter containing fifteen objections, or rather cavillations, which for example I thought here to exhibit to the Reader, to the intent that men may see, not only what true Doctrine Seton then Preached, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving that is right, or in wringing that is well meant, or in carping that they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none is, as by these their sinister cavillations may appear.

Certain places or Articles gathered out of Setons Sermons by his Adversaries.

Articles gathered out of Seton Sermons by his Adversaries. The sayings and Words of Alexander Seton, spoken and Preached by him in his Sermon, made the thirteenth day of November, at afternoon, in the Parish Church of Saint *A. in London*; Paul said, of our selves we can do nothing; I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better than Paul, James, Peter, and all the Apostles? Hast thou any more Grace than they? Tell me now if thy will be any thing or nothing. If it be any thing, tell me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou say to do ill, I will grant thou hast a greater deal. If thou say to do good, I ask whether is more, somewhat or nothing? For Paul said he could do nothing, and I am sure thou hast no more Grace, than Paul and his Companions.

Scripture speaketh of three things in man; the first is will, the other two are consent and deed. The first that is will, God worketh without us, and besides us. The other two he worketh in us, and with us. And here he alledged Saint *Augustine*, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he said, thou hast not one jot, no not one tittle to do any good.

There is nothing in Heaven or Earth, creature or other, that can be any mean towards our justification, nor can any man satisfy God the Father for our sin, save only Christ, and the shedding of his Blood.

He that Preacheth that works do merit, or be any mean to our Salvation, or any part of our justification, Preacheth a Doctrine of the Devil.

If any thing else, save only Christ, by any mean towards our justification, then did not Christ only justify us.

I say, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full justifier, and that I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two Servants, the one is called *John*, and the other *Robert*, and I promise to fend you such a day twenty pound by *John* my servant, and at my day I fend you by *Jo*. my servant, *xix. li. xix. xi. d. ob. q.* and there lacketh but one farthing, which *Robert* doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pound, every penny and farthing. Yet, will I ask if I be true of my promise, or no, and thou maist say nay. And why, because I promised to fend thee that whole twenty pound by *John* and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which *Robert* brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works do merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, which said that he would do all together.

One Scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe, to prove that Christ was only promised to be our only justifier, our only mean, and that is in the two and twentieth of *Genesis*, where it is written, *In thy seed shall all people be blessed*, meaning thereby only Christ, and he said not in thy seeds, nor in the works of thy seeds. Wherefore all they that preach, that works be any

part or mean toward our justification, do make God false of his promise.

They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of justice, wrought by him that is already a just man, which cannot chuse but bring forth good fruit.

I would ask a question, whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad, for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot chuse but bring forth good fruits; if he be an ill man, he cannot bring forth no fruit, but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit.

He that faith that works do merit any thing towards our Salvation, doth make works checkmate with Christ and plucketh from Christ that is his, and giveth it to works. Some will ask, wherefore then should I do good works? I answer, good works are to be done for no cause else, but only for the Glory of God, and not that they do merit any thing at all. And he that faith that good works are to be done for any other cause, than for the glory of God only, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our justification, I say he lieth and believe him not.

He that can shew me in any scripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our justification, for the first Scripture I will (without any further judgment) lose both mine ears, for the second, my Tongue, and for the third my Neck. For if I dare say he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one tittle: Wherefore believe them not.

Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lye on us, we deny nothing but Popish works, and Popish fasting, and Popish Prayer; and he that preacheth that works do merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a Popish Doctrine.

If you ask me when we shall leave preaching of works? even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier, and only mean to our justification; and till then we will not cease in Gods Cause to set forth only Christ to be a full, and perfect, and only satisfaction.

If you ask, if good works shall be rewarded, I say yes, and with no less than eternal Glory, but for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but only because God hath promised, not for the merit of the work, but for his promise sake, and he will not break his promise.

Other Articles gathered out of Setons Sermons.

Touching reconciliation spoken of by Doctor *Smith*, Other Articles out of Seton Sermons. preaching in the forenoon at *Pauls Cross*, Alexander Seton preaching at afternoon at Saint *Antholines*, and reciting his sayings and Scriptures, reproved him for alledging this saying, *Reconciliamini Deo*, and Englishing the same thus, *Reconcile your selves to God*; because it is there spoken passively, and not actively, so that there should be nothing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also reproving the said Doctor *Smith*, for that the said D. said that man by his good works might merit. Which saying of Doctor *Smith* the said Alexander Seton reproved in the Pulpit at S. *Antholines* the 13. day of November, the year of our Lord 1541. as naughtily spoken.

Moreover the said Alexander Seton said in the same place, that it was a shame that any such preacher should be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous Doctrine, as to say that works should merit, adducing, *Non sunt condigna passionis, &c. Et postquam feceris omnia, &c.*

Finally Seton said, peradventure ye will say the Church hath determined this matter touching works. And I say, quoth he, that it is *Ecclesia Malignantium*, so determining any thing against Scripture.

To these pretended Objections of his Adversaries he made his Answer again by writing, first denying many things there presented, taking upon his Conscience, that he never spake divers of those words; and again many things that he never meant to such end or purpose, as in the said Register may appear. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himself, the Ordinary proceeded in his consistory judgment, ministring

Good fruits make not a good man, but a good man cannot chuse but make good fruits. Many works made checkmate with Christ.

The Papists believe the righteousness; as though they denied good works.

Good works show they be rewarded.

1 Cor. 13.

to him certain Interrogatories (after the Popish course) to the number of 10. Articles. The greatest matter laid against him, was for preaching free justification by Faith in Christ Jesus, against false confidence in good works, and Mans free will. Also it was laid unto him, for affirming that private Masses, Diriges, and other Prayers profited not the Souls departed; so that in the end, he with *Tolwaine* afore said, was caused to recant at *Pauls Cross*, 1541.

Add to these afore said, *Doctor Taylor*, *Parson of S. Peters* in Cornhill.

South, *Parish Priest of Alhallows in Lombardstreet*. Some, *Priest*.

Giles the Kings Beer-brewer, at the *Red-Lion* in *Saint Katherine's*.

Thomas Lancaffer, Priest. All which were imprisoned likewise for the six Articles.

To be short, such a number out of all Parishes in *London*, and out of *Calais*, and divers other quarters, were then apprehended through the said Inquisition, that all Prisons in *London* were too little to hold them, in so much that they were fain to lay them in the Halls. At the last, by the means of good *Lord Audley*, such pardon was obtained of the King, that the said *Lord Audley* then Lord Chancellor, being content that one should be bound for another, they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the *Star-Chamber* the next day after *All-Souls*, there to answer if they were called; but neither was there any person called, neither did any appear.

The Story of John Porter, cruelly Martyred for reading the Bible in *Pauls*.

A Story of John Porter, Martyr.

IN the number of these forenamed cometh the remembrance of *John Porter*, who in the same year, 1541. for reading the Bible in *Pauls Church*, was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you shall hear. It was declared in this History above how *Edmund Boner* Bishop of *London* (in the days of the Lord *Cromwel*) being then Embassadour at *Paris*, was a great doer in setting forth the printing of the Bible in that great Volume: promising moreover, that it would for his part have fix of those Bibles set up in the Church of *S. Paul* in *London*. Which also at his coming home he no less performed, according to the Kings Proclamation set forth for the same, whereof read afore.

The Bible commanded by the King to be set in Churches.

Read afore.

The Bibles thus standing in *Pauls* by the Commandment of the King, and the appointment of *Boner* the Bishop, many well disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an Audible Voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was so long as the days of *Cromwel* lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst divers and sundry godly disposed persons, which frequented there the reading of the fore said Bible, that one *John Porter* used sometimes to be occupied in that Godly Exercise, to the edifying as well of himself, as of other. This *Porter* was a fresh young man, and of a big stature: Who by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of such Sermons as then were preached by them that were the letters forth of Gods Truth, became very expert. The Bible then being set up by *Boners* Commandment upon divers Pillars in *Pauls Church*, fixed unto the same with Chains for all men to read in them that would, great multitudes would resort thither to hear this *Porter*, because he could read well, and had an Audible Voice. *Boner* and his Chaplains being grieved withal (and the World beginning then to frown upon the Gospellers) sent for the fore said *Porter*, and rebuked him, very sharply for his reading. But *Porter* answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the Law, neither contrary to his advertisements which he had fixed in Print over every Bible.

Boner & his Chaplains grieved with the Bibles which he before caused to be set up himself.

Boner then laid unto his charge that he had made Explications upon the Text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make Tumults. He answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him. But in fine *Boner* sent

him to *Newgate*, where he was miserably fettered in Irons both Legs and Arms, with a Collar of Iron about his Neck fastened to the Wall in the Dungeon, being there so cruelly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose Name is also *Porter*, and yet alive, and can testify that it is true, and dwelleth yet without *Newgate*. Who, seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, intreated *Jewes*, then Keeper of *Newgate*, that he might be released out of those cruel Irons, and so through friendship and money had him up among other Prisoners, which lay there for Felony and Murder, where *Porter* being amongst them, hearing and seeing their Wickedness and Blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of Life, and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned of the Scriptures; for which his doing he was complained on and so carried down, and laid in the lower Dungeon of all, oppressed with Bolts and Irons, where within fix or eight days after he was found dead.

It is signified to us by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the same place of the Prison where *Porter* lay, did hear him pitiously to groan and make a lamentable noise, where some suppose that he was put in certain frait Irons which be there in the House, called, *The Devils nail on the neck*, being after an horrible sort devised, of viling and wringing the Neck of a man with his Legs together, in such sort, as the more he stretch in it the frailer it presseth him, so that within three or four hours it breaketh and crusheth a Mans back and body in pieces. In which devilish Torment, whether *John Porter* was slain or no, it is not certain. But howsoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead (as is afore said) in the Dungeon, with such groaning and piteous noise heard the night before in the said Dungeon as is declared.

John Porter sent to Newgate by Boner.

This Porter was alive at the writing hereof.

The cruel handling of J. Porter in Newgate.

The Death and Martyrdom of John Porter.

A Note of one Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the Gospel.

AMONGST these *Londoners* thus troubled by the Clergy, (we will add also (though a little out of place) another Note of a Merchant called *Thomas Sommers*, who dyed in the *Tower* of *London* for confessing the Gospel. Which *Thomas* being a very honest Merchant and Wealthy, was sent for by the Lord Cardinal, and committed to the *Tower*, for that he had *Luthers Books* (as they termed them) and after a great lute made for him to the said Cardinal, his judgment was, that he should ride from the *Tower* into *Cheapside*, carrying a new Book in his hand, and be hanged with Books round about him, with three or four other Merchants after the same order, which was done. And when Master *Sommers* should be set on a Colliers Nagg, as the rest of his fellow Prisoners were, a friend of his called Master *Cupland* brought him a very good Gelding, fair dressed with Bridle and Saddle; and when the Bishops Officers came to dress him with Books, as they had trimmed the other, and would have made holes in his Garment to have thrust the strings of the Books therein; Nay, said *Sommers*, I have always loved to go handsomely in my Apparel, and taking the Books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar, and being on Horseback, rode formost thorow the Streets, till they came about the Standard in *Cheapside*, where a great fire was made to burn their Books in, and a Pillory set up there for four persons, in token that they had deserved it.

The Penance of Tho. Sommers Merc. shant.

M. Luthers Books burnt in Cheapside.

In the mean time, by the way as they should come, it was appointed that one should go before them with a bason, at the noise whereof *M. Sommers* Horse, being a lofty Gelding and fierce, was in such a rage, that he which rung the bason, being afraid of himself, was fain to go alone a great pace before that any Horseman followed after. At length when they came to the fire, every of them having a Book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their Books into the Fire. But when Master *Sommers* saw that his new Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire which was seen by some of Gods Enemies, and brought to him again commanding him to cast it into the fire; which he would not do.

The Papists burnt the new Testament.

T. Sommers
died in the
Tower.

do, but cast it through the fire. Which thing was done three times. But at last a slander by took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, the said Master Sommers, cast again into the Tower by the Cardinal, through the cruelty of the Bishops and their adherents, who soon after died in the said prison for the testimony of his faith.

What trouble and vexation happened amongst the godly Brethren in London, for the six Articles, hitherto we have discoursed. Albeit neither have I comprehended all which were molested thorow all the Parishes of London, neither again did this rigorous Inquisition so cease within the precincts of this City only, but also extended further to *Salisbury, Norfolk, Lincoln*, and through all other Shires and quarters of the Realm; so that whereas any Popish Prelate most bare stroke, there most persecution increased. The Bishop of *Lincoln* the same time was *John Longland*, and Doctor *Dracot* his Chancellor. Of whose rigorous doings ye have heard enough and too much before. His ready diligence in all Popish quarrels as it never lacked before, so now in the execution of these six Articles it was not far behind in whose Diocess divers good Men and Women, namely, about *Buckingham and Amergham*, and quarters thereabouts, were grievously disquieted, appearing yet in the same register; as one.

Re Regib.
Lincoln.

Elinore Godfrey.

Of great
Marlow.

For laughing and speaking certain words against one *Thomas Collard*, who, like a Pope-holy Hypocrite in the Church of *Marlow*, used at Mass time to crouch behind the Children, and when the Priest crossed his head with the saucer (as he termed it) he would cross his head likewise. And for these words he was convented before the Bishop, and miserably vexed.

W. Hart.

Of great
Beckhill.

For saying these words; Thinkst thou that God Almighty will abide over a knave Priests head?

Christopher Erle

Of Ric-
brough.

Because he did no reverence unto the Sacrament coming to the Church; and for looking upon his book at the time of Elevation; and that he would not come to see the Elevation, &c. Item, as he was working upon a piece of Fustian on an holy day, and being asked why he kept not the holy day, he answered, That was no work, and that it was better to do that, than to sit at the Alehouse drinking drunk.

W. Eastendich.

Of Woot-
bern.

For speaking certain words against the Sacrament of the Altar, and because he believed not that it was the very Body of Christ.

W. Garland.

Of Weth-
Wycombe.

William Garland, talking of extreame Unction, said that those things were godly signs, but there were but two Sacraments, &c.

W. Wpb.

Because he set the Image of a headless Bear in the Tabernacle of *S. Roke*.

Thomas Bernard and James Morton, Martyrs.

The Bernard,
James Morton
Martyrs.

About the same time *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, burned two upon one day, the one named *Thomas Bernard*, and the other *James Morton*: the one for teaching the Lords Prayer in English, and the other for keeping the Epistle of Saint *James* translated into English.

In Oxford also the same time, or much thereabout, recanted one Master *Barber*, Master of Art of that University, a man excellently learned. Who being called up to *Lambeth* before the Archbishop *Thomas Cranmer*, was in his Examination so stout in the cause of the Sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them which yet be alive, and were present thereat) neither *Cranmer* himself, nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of *Augusine*. Wherein he was so prompt and

ripe of himself, that the Archbishop, with the residue of his company were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithstanding, by compulsion of the time and danger of the six Articles, at last he relented, and returning again to Oxford was there caused to recant. After which the good man long prospered not, but ware away. *Ex testimonio Rad. Morris.*

A merry and pleasant narration, touching a false fearful imagination of fire, raised among the Doctors and Masters of Oxford in Saint Maries Church, at the recantation of Master Malarie Master of Art of Cambridge.

His Recantation of Master Barber aforesaid, in the University of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of another Recantation likewise, happening not long before in the said University, which I thought here not to overpass, and namely, for that the same carrieth withal a merry ridiculous spectacle, not unworthy to be remembered, and here to be inserted, somewhat to recreate and refresh by the way the weary mind of the Reader, after so many bloody and lamentable stories, executions, recantations, and tragedies above passed. The story is this.

There was one Master *Malarie*, Master of Art of the Heads of Cambridge, Scholar of *Christ's Colledge*, who for the like opinions to those above rehearsed, holden contrary to the Catholick Determination of holy Mother Church of *Rome*, that is, for the right truth of Christs Gospel, was convented before the Bishops, and in the end sent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to bear his fagot, to the terror of the Students of that University. The time and place was appointed, that he should be brought solemnly into Saint Maries Church upon a Sunday, where a great number of the Head Doctors and Divines, and other of the University were together Assembled, with a great multitude of Citizens and Town-dwellers, which came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some official Sermon, for the holding up of the Mother Church of *Rome*, Doctor *Smith*, reader then of the Divinity Lecture, was appointed to make the Sermon at this Recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this Sermon there was Assembled a mighty Audience of all sorts of degrees as well of Students as other. Few almost were absent which loved to hear or see any news; Inasmuch that there was no place almost in the whole Church which was not fully replenished with concourse and throng of people.

All things being thus prepared and set in readines, cometh forth *Malarie* with his Fagot upon his shoulder. Not long after also proceedeth the Doctor into the Pulpit to make his Sermon, the purpose and Argument whereof was wholly upon the Sacrament. The which Doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy Catholick Cake, and the Sacrament of the Altar, there to hang by a string before him in the Pulpit. Thus the Doctor with his God Almighty, entering his Godly Sermon, had scarce proceeded into the midst thereof, the People giving great silence with all Reverence unto his Doctrine, but suddenly was heard into the Church the voice of one crying in the Street, Fire, fire. The party which thus cried first in the Street was called *Henster*. The occasion was this, for that he coming from *Allballows Parish* saw a Chimney on fire, and so passing in the Street by Saint Maries Church, cried Fire, as the fashion is, meaning no hurt.

This sound of Fire being heard in the Church, first of them which stood outmost next to the Church door, so increased and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the ears of the Doctors, and at last to the Preacher himself. Who as soon as they heard the matter, being amazed with sudden fear, and marveling what the matter should mean, began to look up into the top of the Church, and to behold the Walls. The residue seeing them look up, looked up also. Then began they in the midst of the Audience to cry out with a loud Voice, Fire, fire. Where saith one? Where saith another. In the Church, saith one. The mention of the Church was scarcely pronounced, when as in one moment there was a common cry amongst them, the Church is on Fire, the Church is on Fire by Hereticks, &c. And albeit no man

The Recan-
tation of
M. Barber
at Oxford.Malarie
was brought
to Oxford.Doctor Smith
preached at
the Recan-
tation of Ma-
larie.A maze e-
ming Doctors
South Aus-
dience in
Oxford.The same
Church in
Oxford is
said to be
set on fire
by Hereticks.

did

did see any fire at all, yet so far as much as all men cried out so, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such fear, concourse and tumult of people, through the whole Church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

And as in a great fire (where fire is indeed) we see many times how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stacks and piles on burning: so here upon a small occasion of one mans word kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion running in every mans head within the Church, thinking the Church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders, that is, that these great Doctors and wise men of the Schools, which think themselves so wise in Gods matters as though they could not err, should see by their own senses and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were in these so small matters and sensible trifles.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the Church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard increased this suspicion in them, to make it seem most true, which was indeed most false. The first and chiefest occasion that augmented this suspicion, was the Heretick there bearing his Fagot, which gave them to imagine that all other Hereticks had conspired with him to set the Church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it shewed as it had been the smoke of fire. Which thing, together with the outcry of the people; made all men so afraid, that leaving the Sermon, they began all together to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For whilst they ran all headlong unto the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and stuck so fast, that they which were without, neither could get into the Church again; neither they that were within could get out by any means. So the one door being stopped, they ran to another little wicket on the North-side, toward the College called *Brazen-nose*, thinking so to pass out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruising of their Bones or Sides. There was yet another door towards the West, which albeit it was shut and seldom opened; yet now ran they to it with such swiftness, that the great bar of Iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of mens hands, the door notwithstanding could not be opened for the press or multitude of people.

At the last, when they were there also past all hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the Hereticks which had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the Church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly burly rising so of nothing heard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor peril at all: so that if *Demetrius* the merry Philosopher sitting in the top of the Church, and seeing all things in such safety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beheld so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad men, now hither now thither, as being tossed to and fro with Waves or Tempests, trembling and quaking, raging and fuming, without any manifest cause, specially if he had seen those great Rabbins the Doctors laden with so many badges or cognifances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in, gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror being almost beside themselves. I think he would have satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his life time, or else rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilst one said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes, and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of Imagination, when it is once grafted in mens

hearts through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himself more modestly than the Heretick that was there to do Penance; who casting his fagot off from his shoulders upon a Monks head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the other did.

All the other, being careful for themselves, never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the Doctor that preached (who was, as I said, Doctor *Smith*) who in manner first of all cried out in the Pulpit, saying, These are the trains and subtilties of the Hereticks against me: Lord have mercy upon me, Lord have mercy upon me. But might not God, as it had been (to speak with *Job*) out of a Whirlwind, have answered again unto this Preacher thus, Thou dost now implore my mercy, but thou thy self shewest no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren. How doth thy flesh tremble now at the mention of fire? But think it a sport to burn other simple Innocents, neither do ye any thing at all regard it. If burning seem so grievous a matter unto you, and to suffer a torment of fire; then you should also have the like consideration in other mens perils and dangers, when as you do burn your fellows and brethren.

Or if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them, go too now, do you also with like courage contend, and with like patience suffer now the same torments your selves. And if so be it I should now suffer you with the whole Church to be burned to ashes, what other thing should I do unto you, than you do daily unto your fellows and brethren? Wherefore since you so little esteem the death of others, be now content that other men should also little regard the death of you. With this, I say, or with some other like answer, if that either God, or humane Charity, either the common sense of nature would expostulate with them, yea if there had been a fire indeed (as they were more feared then hurt) who would have doubted but that it had happened unto them according to their deserts? But now worthy it is the noting, how the vain fear and folly of those Catholics either was deluded, or how their cruelty was reproved, whereby they, being better taught by their own example, might hereafter learn what it is to put other poor men to the fire, when they themselves here so much abhorred.

But to return again to the description of this Pageant, wherein (as I said before) there was no danger at all, yet were they all in such fear, as if present death had been over their heads.

In all this great maze and garboyl there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all Reason and Counsel out of their minds, to behold what practices and sundry shifts every man made for himself, it would make not only *Demetrius* and *Horacius* also to laugh, but rather a Horse welnear to break his halter. But none used themselves more ridiculously, than such as seemed greatest wilful men, saying that in one or two peradventure somewhat more quietness of mind appeared. Among whom was one *Cloymand* president of *Corpus Christi Colledge* (whom for reverence and learnings sake I do here name) and a few other aged persons with him, which for their age and weakness durst not thrust themselves into the throng amongst the rest, but knelt down quietly before the high Altar, committing themselves and their lives unto the Sacrament. The other, which were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marvelling at the uncivility of men, and waxt angry with the unmanly multitude that would give no room unto the Doctors, Bachelors, Masters, and other Graduates and Regent Masters. But as the terror and fear was common unto all men, so was there no difference made of Persons or Degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The Violet Cap, or Purple Gown did there nothing avail the Dr. neither the Masters Hood nor the Monks Cowl was there respected.

Yea if the King or Queen had been there at that present and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man. After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways and saw no remedy, neither by force, neither authority to prevail, they fell to intreating and

Some say that the Monks head was broken with the fagot.

Job is. *Prophet*.

A just reprobation against the burners of God's people.

A good warning for the Papists to know what burning means.

Cloymand President of *Corpus Christi Colledge*.

Deluder deluded. Clerks how they are deceived sometimes in small truths.

What strong imagination can do in deluding a mans senses.

Much hurt done in the throng, whereof some died, many were saved while Monks arms were there broken.

Demetrius was a Philosopher which used to laugh at all things, as *Horacius* used to weep at all things.

offering of rewards, one offering twenty pound, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears.

Some stood close unto the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the Vaults of Stone for the dropping of the lead. Other some, being without money and unprovided of all shifts, knew not which way to turn them. One being a Prefident of a certain Colledge (whose name I need not here to utter) pulling a boord out from the pews, covered his head and shoulders therewith against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the Church. Now what a laughter would this have misfited unto *Democritus* amongst other things, to behold there a certain grand paunch, who seeing the doors stopped and every way closed up, thought by another compendious means to get out through a glass Window if it might be by any shift? But here the Iron Grates letted him notwithstanding his greedy mind would needs attempt if he could happily bring his purpose to pass. When he had broken the glass, and was come to the space between the Grates where he should creep out, first he thrust in his head with the one shoulder, and it went through well enough. Then he laboured to get the other shoulder after, but there was a great labour about that, and long he fluck by the shoulders with much ado. For what doth not importune labour overcome? Thus far forth he was now gotten. But by what part of his Body he did stick fast, am not certain, neither may I faine, forso much as there be yet witnesses which did see these things, which would correct me if I should do so. Notwithstanding this is most certain that he did stick fast between the Grates, and could neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man being indeed a Monk, and having but short hope, by the which way he supposed himself to escape, by the same he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outside, those parts which did hang out of the Window had been in danger; and contrariwise if the flame had raged within the Church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did stick fast in the windows, so did the rest stick as fast in the doors, that sooner they might have been burned, than they could once stir or move one foot. Through the which press at the last there was a way found, that some going over their heads got out.

*Pleno ride
Calphurnius
ore. Horat.*

Here also happened another Pageant in a certain Monk (if I be not misadvised) of *Gloucester Colledge*, whereat *Calphurnius* might well laugh with an open Mouth. So it happened, that there was a young lad in this Tumult, who seeing the doors fast stopped with the press or multitude, and that he had not way to get out climbed up upon the door, and there staying upon the top of the door was forced to tarry still. For to come down into the Church again he durst not for fear of the fire, and to leap down toward the street he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there a while, he advised himself what to do; neither did occasion want to serve his purpose. For by chance, amongst them that got out over mens heads, he saw a Monk coming towards him which had a great wide Coule hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by. When the Monk came near unto him, the boy which was on the top of the door came down and prettily conveyed himself into the Monks Coule, thinking (as it came to pass indeed) that if the Monk did escape, he should also get out with him. To be brief, at the last the Monk got out over Mens heads, with the boy in his Coule, and for a great while felt no weight or burthen.

At the last, when he was somewhat more come to himself, and did shake his shoulders, feeling his coule heavier then it was accustomed to be, and also hearing the voice of one speaking behind in his Coule, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking in very deed, that the evil spirit which had fed the Church on fire had flen in his Coule. By and by he began to play the Exorcist; in the Name of God (said he) and all Saints, I command thee to declare what thou art that art behind at my back. To whom the boy answered, I am *Bertrams* boy (said he) for that was his Name. But I (said the Monk) adjure thee in the Name of the unseparable Trinity, that thou wicked spirit do tell me

who thou art, from whence thou comest, and that thou get hence. I am *Bertrams* boy (said he) good master let me go: and with that his Coule began with the weight to crack upon his shoulders. The Monk when he perceived the matter, took the boy out and discharged his Coule. The boy took his legs and ran away as fast as he could.

Among other, one wiser than the rest ran with the Church door key, beating upon the stone walls, thinking therewith to break an hole thorow to escape out.

In the mean time those that were in the street looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this sudden outrage, and made signs and tokens to them that were in the Church to keep themselves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

But forso much as no word could be heard by reason of the noise that was within the Church, those signs made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the Church, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tarry still within the Church, and not to venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the space of certain hours.

The next day, and also all the week following there was an incredible number of Bills set upon the Church doors, to inquire for things that were lost, in such variety and number, as *Democritus* might here again have just cause to laugh. If any man have found a pair of Shooes yesterday in *S. Mary Church*, or knoweth any man that hath found them, &c. Another Bill was set up for a Gown that was lost. Another intreated to have his Cap reftored. One lost his purse and girdle with certain money; another his sword. One inquireth for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be short, there was few in this garboil, but that either through negligence lost, or through oblivion left some thing behind them.

Thus have you hitherto heard a Tragical Story of a terrible fire which did no hurt. The description whereof although it be not so perfectly exprest according to the worthiness of the matter, yet because it was not to be passed with silence, we have superficially set forth some shadow thereof, whereby the wise and discreet may sufficiently consider, the rest, if any thing else be lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the Heretick, because he had not done his sufficient Penance there by occasion of this hurly burly, thereof the next day following he was reclaimed into the Church of *S. Frideswide*, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his Plenary penance.

The fourth and fifth Marriage of King Henry the eighth.

The same year and month next following, after the apprehension of the Lord *Cromwel*, which was *Ann 1541.* the King immediately was divorced from the Lady *Ann of Cleve*. The cause of which separation being wholly committed to the Clergy of the Convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the King being freed from that pretended *Murimoney* (as they called it) might marry where he would, and so might she likewise; who also consenting to the same divorcement her self, by her own Letters, was after that taken no more for Queen, but only called *Ann of Cleve*. Which things thus discussed by the Parliament and Convocation-house, the King the same Month was married to his fifth Wife, which was the Lady *Katherine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Daughter to the Lord *Edmund Howard* the Dukes Brother. But this marriage likewise continued not long.

In the same Month of *August*, and the same year, *Six Popish Monks* for denying the Kings Supremacy executed in the like case of Rebellion. Of whom the first was the Prior of *Doncaster*; the second a Monk of the *Charterhouse* of *London*, called *Giles Horn*, some call him *William Horn*; the third one *Thomas Ipsam* a Monk of *Westminster*, who had his Monks Garment plucked from his

Ann 1541.

August.

The Lady Ann of Cleve divorced from the King.

The King permitted to marry after his divorce.

The King married to the Lady Katherine Howard his fifth Wife.

Six Popish Monks for denying the Kings Supremacy executed.

A boy got into the Monks Coule.

his back, being the last Monk in King *Henries* days that did wear that Monkish weed; the fourth one *Philpas*; the fifth one *Carew*; the sixth was a *Prier*. See what a difficulty it is to pluck up blind Superstition once rooted in Mans Heart by a little custom.

Now as touching the late marriage between the King and the Lady *Howard*, ye heard how this Matrimony indured not long; for in the year next following 1542. the said Lady *Katherine* was accused to the King of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with *Francis Dorcham*, but also of spoufbreach, after her marriage, with *Thomas Culpeper*. For the which both the men aforesaid by Act of Parliament were attainted and executed for high Treason, and also the Lady *Katherine*, late Queen, with the Lady *Jane Richmond* Widow, late Wife to *George Boleyn* Lord *Rob't*, Brother to Queen *Ann Boleyn*, were beheaded for their defaults within the Tower. *Ex Halo & alius*.

After the death and punishment of this Lady his fifth Wife, the King calling to remembrance the words of the Lord *Cromwel*, and missing now more and more his o'd Counsellour, and partly also smelling somewhat the ways of *Winchester*, began a little to set his foot again in the Cause of Religion. And although he ever had a special favour to *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the Life of *Cranmer*) yet now the more he misliked the Lord *Cromwel*, the more he inclined to the Archbishop, and also to the right cause of Religion. And therefore in the same year and in the Month of *October*, after the Execution of this Queen, the King understanding some abuses yet to remain unreformed, namely, about Pilgrimages and Idolatry, and other things more besides to be corrected within his Dominions, directed his Letters unto the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for the speedy redress and reformation of the same. The tenour of which Letters hereafter fully ensueth, in these words.

The Kings Letters to the Archbishop, for the abolishing of Idolatry.

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we did not only cause the Images and Bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the Ornaments of the same, and all such Writings and Monuments of fained Miracles, whereunto they were blinded, to be taken away in all places of the Realm, but also by our Injunctions commanded that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be suffered in any Church, but only to the blessed Sacraments of the Altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the Shrines, coverings of Shrines, and Monuments of the same, do yet remain in sundry places of this Realm, much to the slander of our Doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our Subjects to their former Hypocrite and Superstition, and also that our Injunctions be not kept as appertaineth. For the due and speedy Reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our Letters expressly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the Cathedral Church for these things, and if any Shrine, covering of Shrine, Table, Monument of Miracles, or other Pilgrimages, do there continue, cause it to be so taken away, as there remain no memory of it, but also that you shall take order with all the Churches, and other having charge within your Dioceses to do the semblable, and it is that our Injunctions be duly kept, as appertaineth without failing, as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

Given under our Signet at our Town of *Hull*, the fourth day of *October* in the 33. year of our Reign.

Furthermore, the next year after this ensuing, which was 1543. in the Month of *February*, followed another

Proclamation given out by the Kings Authority, wherein the Popes Law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in *Lent*, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at liberty, for the behoof of the Kings Subjects. The Copy of which Proclamation I thought here good also to be remembered.

A Proclamation concerning eating of white meats, made the ninth of *February*, the 34. year of the Reign of the Kings most Royall Majesty.

Forasmuch as by divers and sundry occasions, as well Herringes, Linges, Salsfijh, Salmond, Stuckfijh, as other kinds of Fish have been this year scant & also, onbaunched in prices above the old rate and common estimation of their value, so that if the Kings loving Subjects should be enforced only to buy and provide Herring and other salt store of Fish for the necessary and sufficient sustentation and maintenance of their households and families all this holy time of *Lent*, according as they have been wont in times past to do, and should not be by some other convenient means relieved therein, the same might and should undoubtedly redound to their importable charge and detriment; and forasmuch as his Highness considereth how this kind and manner of fasting, that is to say, to abstain from Milk, Butter, Eggs, Cheese, and other white meats, is but a meer positive Law of the Church, and used by a Custom within this Realm, and of none other force or necessity, but the same may be upon considerations and grounds altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the public Authority of Kings and Princes, whensoever they shall perceive the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people: The Kings Highness therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the Wealth and Commodity of his people, hath thought good for the considerations above rehearsed, to release and dispense with the said Law and Customs of abstaining from white meats this holy time of *Lent*, and of his especial grace and meer motion granteth unto all and singular his Subjects within this his Realm of England, Wales, Calles, Guines, and Hammes, and in all other his Graces Dominions, free liberty, faculty and licence, to eat all manner of white meats, as Milk, Eggs, Butter, Cheese, and such like, during the time of this *Lent*, without any scruple or grudge of Conscience, any Law, Constitution, Use, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Whereas nevertheless his Highness exhorteth, and in the Name of God requirith all such his Faithful Subjects, as may, will, or shall enjoy this his said grant or faculty, that they be in no wise scrupulous or doubtful thereof, nor abuse or turn the same into a fleshly or carnal liberty, but rather endeavour themselves to their possible power, with this liberty of eating of white meats, to observe also that fast which God most specially requirith of them, that is to say, to renounce the World and the Devil, with all their pomp and works, and also to subdue and repress their carnal affections and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their Vow and profession made at the font stone, for in these points specially consisteth the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian Man; thus to endure and continue from year to year, till the Kings Highness pleasure shall by his Majesties Proclamation be published to the contrary.

The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor-men, Robert Telwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Perfon, and John Marbeck, persecuted for Righteousness sake, and for the Gospel.

Coming now to the Story and time of the four Windsor-men troubled and persecuted for the true Testimony of Gods Word, whereof three were Martyred and Sacrificed in Fire, the fourth (which was *Marbeck*) had his Pardon: First I have to shew the original of their troubles in several parts, secondly the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was Anno 1544. Thirdly, to answer partly in purgation of my self, against certain clatterers which have hitherto taken their pleasure in railing against my former Edition of Acts and Monuments, for mistaking the name of *Marbeck*, whom in one place I reported to have been burned, albeit in the end of the Story, correcting my self again I declared him not to have been burned. Wherefore to stop the brawling mouths of such quarrellers, I thought here

It is reported or some, that the Lady *Katherine* was accused to the King of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with *Francis Dorcham*, but also of spoufbreach, after her marriage, with *Thomas Culpeper*.

The Kings mind inclining to Reformation of Religion.

The Kings Letters to the Archbishop for reforming of Idolatry.

The Kings Letters to the Archbishop for reforming of Idolatry.

Shrines and Monuments of Idolatry abolished by the King.

ANNO

1543.

The eating of white meats set at liberty.

ANNO

1544.

here to set forth the full Narration, both of the said *Marbeck* and of his Fellows, in truth, as I trust none of them shall have just cause to quarrel thereat.

The Original of Testwoods trouble.

Persecutors.	Persons persecuted.
Mr. Ely.	Robert Testwood. Henry Filmer. Anthony Pearson. John Marbeck. Robert Benet. Sir Philip Hobby and his Wife. Sir Thomas Cardine and his Wife. Mr. Edmund Harman. Mr. Thomas Weldon. Snoball and his Wife, of the Kings Chamber.
Simons a Lawyer.	Dr. Heynes Dean of Exeter.
Dr. London.	At <i>Windsor</i> , Anno 1544.

The Causes.

The first beginning of Testwoods trouble.

Steph. Gardiner Bp. of Winchester.	<p>IN the Year of our Lord 1544, there was one Robert Testwood dwelling in the City of London, who for his knowledge in Musick had so great a name, that the Musicians in <i>Windsor</i> College thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they enformed Doctor <i>Sampson</i> (being then their Dean) of him. But forso much as some of the Canons had at that time heard of Testwood, how that he finelled of the new Learning (as they called it) it would not be consented unto at the first. Notwithstanding, with often sute of the foresaid Musicians, made to one Doctor <i>Tate</i> (who, being half a Musician himself, bare a great stroke in such matters) a room being void, Testwood was sent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the Quire men, he was so well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after settled in <i>Windsor</i>, with his Household, and had in good estimation with the Dean and Canons a great while: but when they had perceived him by his often talk at their Tables (for he could not well dissemble his Religion) that he leaned to <i>Luthers</i> Sect, they began to dislike him. And so passing forth among them, it was his chance one day to be at Dinner with one of the Canons, named Doctor <i>Raswin</i>. At the which Dinner, among all other, was one of King <i>Edwards</i> four Chantry Priests, named Mr. <i>Ely</i>, an old Bachelor of Divinity. Which <i>Ely</i> in his talk at the Board began to rail against Lay-men, which took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the English Tongue) then they which had been Students in the Universities of <i>Oxford</i> and <i>Cambridge</i> all the days of their lives. Then Testwood, perceiving he meant that by him, could forbear his railing no longer, but said, Mr. <i>Ely</i>, by your patience, I think it is no hurt for Lay-men, as I am, to read and to know the Scriptures.</p> <p>Which of you (quoth <i>Ely</i>) that be unlearned, knoweth them, or understandeth them? S. <i>Paul</i> saith, If</p>
Wrisley, Southborne Treasurer of Exeter.	
Dr. Bruer-wood Chancellor of Exeter.	
Mr. Knight, Winchester's Gentleman.	
Dr. Oking.	
Dr. Capon B. of Sarum.	
Sir William Essex, Kt.	
Sir Thomas Bridger, Kt.	
Sir Humphrey Posser, Kt.	
Mr. Franklen Dean of Windsor.	

Testwood received into Windsor.

Mr. Ely Persecutor.

Persecutors.

Mr. Fachel of Reading.

Buckleye the Kings Attorney

Filmers Brother.

Hide, a Jurate dwelling beside Abington.

Robert Oxbam a Lawyer.

Persons persecuted, and the Causes.

shine enemy hunger; feed him; if he thirst, give him drink, and in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Now Sir, quoth *Ely*, what meaneth S. *Paul* by those coals of fire? Marry Sir, quoth Testwood, he meaneth nothing else by them (as I have learned) but burning Charity, that by doing good to our Enemies we should thereby win them. Ah Sir, quoth he, you are an old Scholar indeed.

After this they fell into further communication of the Pope, whose Supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the Parliament House as it was. And in their talk *Ely* demanded of Testwood, Whether the Pope ought to be Head of their Church, or no? Against the which Testwood durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within his bounds a great while. But when they were both well stricken in an heat, Testwood forgetting himself, chanced to say, That every King, in his own Realm and Dominion, ought to be the Head of the Church under Christ. At the which words *Ely* was so chafed, that he rose up from the Table in a great fume, calling him Heretick, and all that naught was, and so went bawling, and chiding away to the great disquieting of all the Company that were there.

Every King in his own Realm and Church is Head under Christ.

Then was Testwood very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously. Whereupon after Dinner he went and sought Mr. *Ely*, and found him walking in the Body of the Church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and so to have been at one again; but ever as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but spit at him; saying to others that walked by, Beware of this Fellow, for he is the greatest Heretick and Schismatick that ever came in *Windsor*.

Now began the matter to brew. For after that *Ely* had made his Complaint to the Deans Deputy, and other of the Canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing surely at the Deans coming home (if all things had chanced even) to have put him to his trump. But see the fortune, It was not twelve days after, ere that the Kings Supremacy passed in the Parliament House. Whereupon the Dean (Dr. *Sampson*) came home suddenly in the night late, and forthwith sent his Verger about to all the Canons, and Ministers of the Colledge, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the Chapter-house by eight of the Clock in the morning. Then *Ely* consulted with the Canons overnight (as late as it was) and thought on the next day to have put Testwood to a great plunge: But he that layeth a snare for another man, saith *Solomon*, shall be taken in it himself. And so was *Ely*. For when the Dean, and every man were come and placed in the Chapter House, and that the Dean had commanded the Ministers of the Church for their diligence in tending the Quire, exhorting them also to continue in the same; he began, contrary to every mans expectation, to inveigh against the Bishop of *Romes* Supremacy and usurped Authority, confounding the same by manifest Scriptures and probable Reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the Parliament House, the Popes Supremacy was utterly abolished out of this Realm of *England* for ever, and so commanded every man there, upon his Allegiance, to call him Pope no more, but Bishop of *Rome*, and whatsoever he were that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his Cause by any manner of means, he should not only lose the benefit of that House, but be reputed as an utter enemy

The first news of the Kings Supremacy brought to Windsor.

enemy to God, and to the King. The Canons hearing this, were all stricken in a dump. Yet notwithstanding *Elies* heart was so great, that he would fain have uttered his cankered stomach against *Testwood*: but the Dean (breaking his tale) called him old Fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the Dean commanded all the Popes Pardons which hanged about the Church to be brought into the *Chapter House*, and cast into the *Chimney*, and burnt before all their faces, and so departed.

Another cause of Testwoods trouble.

Mr. Fly thinking to complain of either, was called fool for his labour.

Another trouble of Testwood.

Idolatry to King Henry of Windsor.

Testwood de-hateth the people from Idolatry.

Idolatry to an image of a white Lady made of Alabaster in Windsor.

Testwood de-faceth the Image.

W. Simons a persecutor, Obliuid Perjury to feed the death of a living man, for the nose of a dead stocke. Magnus Dilectus Episcopus ruin. Acts 19.

The Papists of Windsor afraid of Cromwel.

The Canons of Windsor glad to fall in again with Testwood.

AS it chanced *Testwood* one day to walk in the Church at Afternoon, and beheld the Pilgrims, specially of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, how they came in by Plumps without Candles and Images of Wax in their hands, to offer to good King *Henry of Windsor*, as they called him, it pited his heart to see such great Idolatry committed, and how vainly the People had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old Hat set upon their Heads; inasmuch that he could not refrain, but (seeing a certain company which had done their Offring, stand gazing about the Church) went unto them, and with all gentleness began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb Creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright, putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his People for running a whoring to such Stocks and Stones, and so would plague them and their Posterity, if they would not leave it.

After this sort he admonished them so long, till at last his words, as God would, took such place in some of them, that they said they never would go a Pilgrimage more. Then he went further, and found another sort licking and kissing a white Lady made of Alabaster, which Image was mortrest in a wall behind the high Altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging Apples and Flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the Image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their heads and faces, as though there had been great verue in touching the Picture, he up with his hand, in the which he had a Key, and smote a piece of the border about the Image, down, and with the glance of the stroke chanced to break off the Images nose. Lo, good People (quoth he) you see what it is, nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help it self, and how then will you have it to help you? For Gods sake, Brethren, be no more deceived. And so he gat him home to his House, for the rumour was so great, that many came to see the Image how it was defaced. And among all other, came one *William Simons* a Lawyer, who seeing the Image so be-raided, and to lack her nose, took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the Pavement, he spied the Images nose where it lay, which he took up and put in his Purse, saying it should be a dear nose to *Testwood* one day.

Now were many offended with *Testwood*, the Canons for speaking against their profit, the Wax-sellers for hindering their Market, and *Simons* for the Images nose. And more then that, there were of the Canons men that threatened to kill him. Whereupon *Testwood* kept his House, and durst not come forth, minding to send the whole matter in writing by his Wife, to Mr. *Cromwel* the Kings Secretary, who was his special Friend. The Canons hearing that *Testwood* would send to *Cromwel*, they sent the Verger unto him, to will him to come to the Church; who sent them word again that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then sent they two of the eldest Pety Canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, That he had no such trust in their promises, but would complain to his Friends. Then wist they not what shift to make, for of all men they feared *Cromwel*, but sent in post haste for old Mr. *Ward*, a Justice of Peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who being come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle in it. But notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to *Testwood*, and had much ado to persuade him, but at the last he did

faithfully promise him, by the Oath he had made to God and the King, to defend him from all danger and harms, that *Testwood* was content to go with him.

And when Mr. *Ward* and *Testwood* were come into the Church, and were going toward the *Chapter House*, where the Canons abode their coming, one of the Canons men drew his dagger at *Testwood*, and would have been upon him, but Mr. *Ward* with his man resisted, and got *Testwood* into the *Chapter House*, causing the Serving-man to be called in, and sharply rebuked of their Masters, who strictly commanded them upon pain of losing their service, and further displeasure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evil word. Now *Testwood*, being alone in the *Chapter House* with the Canons and Mr. *Ward*, was gently entreated, and the master so pacified, that *Testwood* might quietly come and go to the Church, and do his duty as he had done before.

Another Cause of Testwoods trouble.

UPON a Relick Sunday (as they named it) when eve. A very Minister after their old custom should have borne a Relick in his hand about a Procession, one was brought to *Testwood*. Which Relick, as they said, was a Relick of Bishop *Becket*. And as the Sexton would have put the Relick in *Testwood*'s hands, he pushed it from him, saying, if he did give it to him, he would wipe his tail withal, and so the Relick was given to another. Then came the Verger down from the high Altar with S. *George*'s Dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a Relick. *Marry*, quoth *Testwood*, give it to Mr. *Hake*, who stood next him, for he is a pretty man of his hands, and so the Dagger was given unto him. Now *Testwood* perceiving the Dagger in Mr. *Hake*'s hand, and being merrily disposed (as he was a merry conceited man) stepped forth out of his place to Dr. *Clifton*, standing directly before him in the midst of the Quire, with a glorious golden Cope upon his back, having the Pix in his hand, and said, Sir, Mr. *Hake* hath S. *George*'s Dagger. Now if he had his Horse, and S. *Martins* Cloak, and Mr. *John Storm* boots, with King *Henries* Spurs, and his Hat, he might ride when he would, and so stepped into his place again. Whereat the other changed colour, and wist not what to say.

Another Cause of Testwoods Trouble.

IN the days of Mr. *Franken*, who succeeded Doctor *Samson* in the Deanery of *Windsor*, there was on a time set up at the Quire door a certain foolish printed Paper in Meeter, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing unto her our Justification, our Salvation, our Redemption, the Forgiveness of Sins, &c. to the great derogation of Christ. Which Paper, one of the Canons, called Mr. *Magnus* (as it was reported) caused to be set up in despite of *Testwood* and his Sect. When *Testwood* saw this Paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day after was another set up in the same place. Then *Testwood* coming into the Church, and seeing another Paper set up, and also the Dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the Quire door, while the Dean staid to take holy Water, and reaching up his hand as he went, plucked away the Paper with him. The Dean, being come to his Stall, called *Testwood* unto him, and said, That he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take down the Paper in his presence? *Testwood* answered again, That he marvelled much more, that his Mastership would suffer such a blasphemous Paper to be set up, befeching him not to be offended with that he had done, for he would stand unto it. So Master Dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no more Papers set up, but poor *Testwood* was eaten and drunken amongst them at every meal, and an Heretick he was, and would roste a Fagot for this geer one day.

Now Mr. *Magnus* being fore offended with *Testwood* for plucking down his Papers, to be revenged on *magnus* idolaters. Conspiracy of the Priests and the Kings Physician, who lay, for the most part, at the Court, to see what he would do against *Testwood*, *Testwood*, which

Testwood in danger of his life.

Another cause of Testwoods trouble. The Becket's Relick made a Relick.

S. George's Dagger made a Relick.

Mr. Franken Dean of Windsor. Blasphemy and idolatry to our Lady.

Testwood taketh down the blasphemous Paper.

M. Magnus idolaters. Conspiracy of the Priests and the Kings Physician, who lay, for the most part, at the Court, to see what he would do against Testwood, Testwood, which

Which Letters being made, were sent with speed. But whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for fear of *Cromwel*, or what else, I cannot tell, their fute came to none effect. Then wist they not what to do, but determined to let the matter sleep, till *S. Georges* Feast, which was not far off.

Now in the mean time there chanced a pretty story, between one *Robert Philips*, Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and *Tettwood*. Which story, though it was but a merry prank of a finging man, yet it grieved his Adversary wonderfully. The matter was this: *Robert Philips* was so notable a finging man (wherein he gloried) that wherefoever he came, the best and longest Song, with most Countervertes in it, should be let up at his coming. And so his chance being now to be at *Windsor*, against his coming to the Anthem, a long Song was set up called *Lauda vivit*. In which Song there was one Countervert to the end, that began on this wise, *O redemptrix & salvatrix*: Which verse, of all other, *Robert Philips* would sing, because he knew that *Tettwood* could not abide that Ditty. Now *Tettwood* knowing his mind well enough, joynd with him on the other part: and when he heard *Robert Philips* begin to fetch his flourish with, *O redemptrix & salvatrix*, repeating the same one in anothers neck, *Tettwood* was as quick on the other side to answer him again with *Non redemptrix, nec salvatrix*, and so driving there with *O* and *Non*, who should have the mastery, they made an end of the verse. Whereat was good laughing in sleeves of some, but *Robert Philips* with order of *Tettwood*, enemies, were fore offended.

Within fourteen days after this, the Lords of the Garter (as there custom is yearly to do) came to *Windsor* to keep *S. Georges* Feast, at which Feast the Duke of *Norfolk* was President: unto whom the Dean and Canons made a grievous complaint on *Tettwood*. Who being called before the Duke, he shooke him up, and all to reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet nevertheless, *Tettwood* so behaved himself to the Duke, that in the end he let him go without any further molesting of him, to the great discomfort of the Dean and Canons.

Here you have heard the causes which have moved *Tettwoods* enemies to seek his destruction, and could not attain their purpose, till that wicked *Haman*, *Dr. London* came, as shall be shewed in the Proccs following.

The Original of Henry Filmers Trouble.

About the Year of our Lord, 1541. after all the Orders of superstitious and begging Friars were suppressed and put down, there chanced one *Sir Thomas Melter*, which had been a Friar before, and changed his Friars Coat (but not his Friars heart) to be Vicar of *Windsor*. This Priest on a time made a Sermon to his Parishioners, in the which he declared so many fond and Friarish tales, as that our Lady should hold out her Breasts to *S. Bernard*, and spout her milk into his eyes, with such like Festival Tales, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this *Henry Filmer*, then one of the Churchwardens: who was so zealous to Gods Word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious Fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the Priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the Priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content at his gentle admonition to reform himself without any more ado, and so departed friendly the one from the other.

Now there was one in the Town, called *William Simons* a Lawyer (as is aforesaid) who hearing that *Filmer* had been with the Priest, and reproved him for his Sermon, took Pepper in the Nose, and got him to the Vicar, and did so animate him in his doing, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to *Filmer*, and followed the mind of *Simons*: who meeting with *Filmer* afterward, all to reviled him, saying, He would bring him before the Bishop, to teach him to be so malicious. Then *Filmer* hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against *Simons*, and said, That the Vicar had preached false

and unfound Doctrine, and so would he fly to the Bishop whensoever he came before him. Then *Simons* slept not the matter, but went to the Maior, and procured of him and his Brethren a Letter, signified with their own hands in the Priests favour, as much as could be devised; and so departed himself, with other his Friends, to go to the Bishop, (whose name was *Dr. Capon*) and to take the Priest with them; which was a painful Journey for the silly poor man, by reason he had a fore Leg.

Now *Filmer*, hearing how *Simons* went about to put him to a foil, consulted with his Friends what was best to do; who concluded to draw out certain Notes of the Vicars Sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at *Salisbury* as soon as *Simons* or before him, if it might be possible. Thus both the parties being in a readines, it chanced them to set forth of *Windsor* all in one day. But by reason the Priest, being an impotent man, could not indure to ride very fast, *Filmer* and his Company got to the Town an hour and more before *Simons*, went to the Bishop and delivered up their Bill unto him; which Bill, when the Bishop had seen and perused well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying, It did behove him to look upon it, for the Priest had preached Herefie, and should be punished.

Then *Filmer* declared unto the Bishop the form of his talk he had with the Priest, and the end thereof; and how the matter, being renewed again by *Simons*, forced him and his Company to trouble his Lordship therewith. Well, said the Bishop; ye have done like honest men. Come to me soon again; and ye shall know more; and so they departed from the Bishop to their inn. And while they were there reposing themselves, *Simons* with his Company, came to the Town, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the Bishop in all post haste, taking the Priest with them.

The Bishop, hearing of more *Windsor* men, demanded what they were, and being informed how it was the Vicar of the Town, with other more, he caused the Vicar to be brought in. To whom he said, Are you the Vicar of *Windsor*? Yea forthwith, my Lord, quoth he. How chancest it, quoth the Bishop, that you are complained on? for there have been with me certain honest men of your Town, which have delivered up a Bill of erroneous Doctrine against you. If it be so, I must needs punish you; and opening the Bill, he read it unto him. How say you, quoth the Bishop, is this true or no? The Vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himself to the Bishops Correction. Then was his Company called in, and when the Bishop saw *Simons*, he knew him well, and said, Wherefore come ye, Mr. *Simons*? Pleaseth it your Lordship, quoth he, we are come to speak in our Vicars cause, which is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd Fellow we have in our Town, called *Filmer*, which is so corrupt with Herefie, that he is able to poison a whole Country: and truly, my Lord, quoth *Simons*, there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to controll it, and to say it is stark naught. Wherefore we shall beseech your Lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of others, that our Vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this base Fellow troubled him. And that your Lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with me these honest men of the Town; and beside all that, a testimonial from the Maior and his Brethren to confirm the same, and so he held the writing out in his hand.

Then said the Bishop, O God help me, Mr. *Simons* ye are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintain your Priest in his Error, which hath preached Herefie, and hath confessed it; wherefore I may not nor will not see it unpunished. And as for that honest man, *Filmer*, on whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly he hath in this point shewed himself a great deal more honest man than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your Vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things at this time, saying that he shall the next Sunday recant his Sermon openly before all his Parishioners in *Windsor* Church; and so the Bishop called in *Filmer* and his Company which waited without, and delivered

A blasphemous Anthem, calling the Virgin Mary our Saviour and Redeemer. A merry contention between the Virgin Mary of the Kings Chappel, and Tettwood, about O Redemptrix, & non Redemptrix.

Tettwood complained of to the Duke of Norfolk.

Simons trouble beginneth.

Filmer Maior for Vicar of Windsor.

Our Lady spouting milk in S. Bernards eyes.

Simons the Lawyer against Filmer.

Simons complained of to Dr. Capon, Bp. of Salisbury.

Filmer forced to controul the Bp. of Salisbury.

Simons and the Vicar came to Salisbury.

The Vicar of Windsor troubled the Bishop.

The words of Simons to the Bishop.

Frier Mal-
ter caused
to recuse
his Sermon.
The grudge
of Simons a-
gainst Pear-
son.

the Priests Recantation unto them; with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then *Simons* took his leave of the Bishop, and departed with a flea in his ear, disappointed of his purpose, and fore-afamed of the foil. For this cause *Simons* could never brook *Filmer*, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger (as his manner was were he ought displeasure) and say, I will be even with you one day, trust me.

The Original of Anthony Pearsons trouble.

The trouble
of Anthony
Pearson,
Priest.

There was a certain Priest, named *Anthony Pearson*, which frequented much to *Windsor*, about the year of our Lord 1540. and using the Talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the People, who flocked so much to his Sermons which he made both in the Town and Country, that the great Priests of the Castle, with other Papists in the Town, specially *Simons*, were fore-offended: inasmuch that *Simons* at the last began to gather of his Sermons, and to mark his Auditors; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a year and more after, a Minister of Satan, called *Dr. London*, Warden of the *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of *Windsor*, who, at his first coming to *Windsor*, began to utter his stomach and to shew his affection. For at his first residence dinner which he made to the Clerks (which Company for the most part at that time favoured the Gospel,) all his whole talk to two Gentlemen strangers at his board (till the Table was taking up) was nothing else but of Hereticks, and what a desolation they would bring the Realm unto, if they might be suffered. And by *S. Mary*, Masters, (quoth he to the Clerks at last) I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this House: Some made answer, it was undeserved. I pray God it be, quoth he. I am but a stranger, and have but small experience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this House, that will neither have Prayer nor Fasting.

Dr. London
words to
the Clerks
of Windsor.

Thy word
enforced
for the
Clerks.

Then spake *Testwood*, By my troth, Sir, quoth he, I think that was spoken of malice: for Prayer, as your Masterhip knoweth better than I, is one of the first Lessons that Christ taught us. Yea marry, Sir, quoth he, but the Hereticks will have no Invocation to Saints, which all the old Fathers do allow. What the old Fathers do allow, quoth *Testwood*, I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to ask our Petitions of him in Christs Name. Then you will have no mean between you and God, quoth *Dr. London*: Yes, Sir, quoth *Testwood*, our mean is Christ, as *S. Paul* saith, *There is one Mediator between God and Man, even Jesus Christ*. Give us water, quoth *Dr. London*. Which being set on the board, he said Grace and washed, and so falling into other Communication with the strangers, the Clerks took their leave and departed.

Copellers
silly dis-
ordered of the
Papists.

When *Dr. London* had been at *Windsor* a while among his Catholick Brethren, and learned what *Testwood* was, and also of *Simons* (who shewed him our Ladies Nose, as he called it) what a sort of Hereticks were in the Town and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty Priest, called *Anthony Pearson*, he was so maliciously bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the Devil to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with the foresaid *Simons*, a meet Clerk to serve such a Curate, and other of like sort, how they might compass the matter, first to have all the Arch-hereticks, as they termed them, in *Windsor* and thereabout, indicted of Heresie, and so to proceed further: They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six Articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First they drew out certain notes of *Anthony Pearsons* Sermons, which he had preached against the Sacrament of the Altar, and their Popish Mass. That done, they put in *Sir William Hobby* with the good Lady his Wife, *Sir Tho. Cardene*, *Mr. Edmund Herman*, *Mr. Thomas Weldon*, *Sir Edmund Weldon*, and his wife, *Dr. Haynes* Dean of *Exeter*, and a Prebendary of *Windsor*, to be

Dr. London
malicious
Persecutor.
Dr. London
and W. Si-
mons in-
flamed with
malice a-
gainst the
good men of
Windsor.
Sir Philip
Hobby and
his wife.
Sir Thomas
Cardene and
his wife.
Mr. Edmund
Herman.
Mr. Thomas
Weldon.
Sir Edmund
Weldon and
his wife.
Dr. Haynes
Dean of Ex-
eter.

a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted *Anthony Pearsons* Sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the Gospel, or did but smell thereof.

Then had they privy Spies to walk up and down the Church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the Sacrament, at the elevation time, and to bring his name to *Dr. London*. And of these Spies some were Chantry Priests; among the which there was one notable Spy, whose name was called *Sir William Bows*, such a fleeing Priest as would be in every corner of the Church pattering to himself, with his Portuile in his hand, to hear and to note the gesture of men towards the Sacrament. Thus when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect Book thereof, *Dr. London* with two of his Catholick Brethren more, gave them up to the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Stephen Gardiner*, with a great complaint against the Hereticks that were in *Windsor*, declaring unto him how the Town was fore-diquieted through their Doctrine and evil Example. Wherefore they besought his Lordships help, in purging the Town and Castle of such wicked persons. The Bishop hearing their complaint, and seeing their Book, praised their doings, and bade them make Friends and go forward, and they should not lack his help. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nail, sparing for no money nor pains taking, as *Marbeck* saith that he himself heard one of them say, who is a greater doer herein, and afterward sorry for that he had done, that the sute thereof cost him that year, for his part only, an hundred Marks, beside the death of three good Geldings.

Mr. Bows
Priest, Dr.
Londons spy.

Dr. London
complaint to
S^r Gardiner

S^r Gardiner
a Persecutor.

What cost
the Priests
can be at,
to trouble their
even Chris-
tians.

Winchester
and W^rley
complaint to
the King of
the Gospel-
lers.

Winchester
procures a
privy search
in Windsor.

Now Bishop *Gardiner*, which had conceived a further fetch in his brain than *Dr. London* had, made *W^rley* and other of the Council on his side, and spying a time convenient, went to the King, complaining what a sort of Hereticks his Grace had in his Realm, and how they were not only crept into every corner of his Court, but even into his Privy Chamber, beseeching therefore his Majesty that his Laws might be prosecuted: the King, giving credit to the Councils words, was content his Laws should be executed on such as were Offenders. Then had the Bishop that he desired, and forthwith procured a Commission for a private search to be had in *Windsor* for Books and Letters that *Anthony Pearson* should send abroad, which Commission the King granted to take place in the Town of *Windsor*, but not in the Castle.

At this time the Canons of *Exeter* (specially *Sutbray*, Treasurer of the Church, and *Dr. Brurewood* the Chancellor) had accused *Dr. Haynes* their Dean to the Council, for preaching against holy Bread, and holy Water, and that he should say in one of his Sermons (having occasion to speak of Matrimony) that marriage and hanging were destiny; upon the which they gathered *Testwood* against him, because of the Kings marriage. The Bishop of *Winchester* (at the same time) had also informed the Council of *Mr. Hobby*, how he was a bearer of *Anthony Pearsons*, and a great maintainer of Hereticks. Whereupon both he and *Dr. Haynes* were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, ere that by the mediation of Friends they were both delivered.

Dr. Haynes
Dean of
Exeter, accus-
ed to the
Council.
Mr. Hobby
and Haynes
sent to the
Fleet.

Now, as touching the Commission for searching for Books, *Mr. Ward* and *Fachel* of *Reading* were appointed Commissioners, who came to *Windsor* the Thursday before *Palm-Sunday*, in the year of our Lord 1543. and began their search about eleven of the Clock at night. In the which search were apprehended *Robert Benet*, *Henry Filmer*, *John Marbeck*, and *Robert Testwood*, for certain Books and Writings found in their Houses against the six Articles, and kept in ward till Monday after, and then fetched up to the Council, all save *Testwood*, with whom the Bailiffs of the Town were charged, because he lay fore-dissed of the Gout. The other three, being examined before the Council, were committed to Prison, *Filmer* and *Benet* to the Bishop of *London* Goal, and *Marbeck* to the *Marshalsey*; whose Examination is here set out, to declare the great goodness of the Council, and the cruelty of the Bishop.

The secret
search be-
ginnech.
Filmer, *Test-
wood*, and
Marbeck, ap-
prehended
for Books a-
gainst the
six Articles.

The first Examination of John Marbeck, before the Council, on the Monday after Palm-Sunday, 1544.

THis Marbeck had begun a great Work in English, called *The Concordance of the Bible*: Which Book, being not half finished, was among his other Books taken in the search, and had up to the Council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole Work lay before the Bishop of Winchester, *Steph. Gardiner*, at the upper end of the board. Who beholding the poor man a while, said; *Marbeck*, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for? No, my Lord, quoth he. No, quoth the Bishop? that is a marvellous thing. Forsooth, my Lord, quoth he, unless it be for a certain search made of late in *Windsor*, I cannot tell wherefore it should be. Then thou knowest the matter well enough, quoth the Bishop; and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, Understandest thou the Latin Tongue? No, my Lord, quoth he, but simply. No; quoth the Bishop. And with that spake Mr. *Wesley*, (then Secretary to the King) he saith but simply. I cannot tell, quoth the Bishop, but the Book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance, and so began to declare to the rest of the Council, the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the Learned men for the sake of Preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a Book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin Tongue. And so casting down the quire again, he reached another Book, which was the Book of *Ezay* the Prophet, and turning to the last Chapter, gave the Book to *Marbeck*, and asked him who had written the note in the Margent. The other looking upon it, said, Forsooth, my Lord, I wrote it. Read it, quoth the Bishop. Then he read it thus, *Heaven is my seat, and the Earth is my footstool*. Nays, quoth the Bishop, read it as thou hast written it. Then shall I read it wrong, quoth he, for I had written it false. How hadst thou written it, quoth the Bishop. I had written it, quoth he, thus; *Heaven is my seat, and the Earth is not my footstool*. Yea marry, quoth the Bishop, that was thy meaning. No, my Lord (quoth he) it was but an oversight in writing; for, (as your Lordship seeth) this word (*Not*) is blotted out. At this time came other matters in to the Council, so that *Marbeck* was had out to the next Chamber. And when he had stood there a while, one of the Council, named Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Captain of the Guard, came forth, and calling for *Marbeck*, committed him to one *Belson* of the Guard, laying unto him on this wise, Take this man and have him to the *Marshalsey*, and tell the Keeper that it is the Councils pleasure that he shall intreat him gently, and if he have any Money in his Purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the Prisoners do take it, and minister it unto him as he shall have need. And so the Messenger departed with *Marbeck* to the *Marshalsey*, and did his Commission both faithfully and truly, both to the Keeper and to the Prisoner, as he was commanded.

The second Examination of Marbeck, before the Bishops Gentleman in the Marshalsey.

ON the next day, which was *Tuesday*, by eight of the Clock in the Morning, there came one of the Bishop of Winchester's Gentlemen into the *Marshalsey*, whose man brought after him two great Books under his arm, and finding *Marbeck* walking up and down in the Chappel, demanded of the Keeper why he was not in Irons. I had no such Commandment, quoth he, for the Messenger which brought him yesternight from the Council, said, It was their pleasure he should be gently used. My Lord (quoth the Gentleman) will not be content with you; and so taking the Books of his man, he called for a Chamber, up to the which he carried the Prisoner, and casting the Books from him upon a Bed, fate him down and said, *Marbeck*, my Lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed lest thou cast away thy self wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thy self much good; if not, thou shalt do thy self much harm. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy case, for as much as he hath al-

ways heard good report of thee; wherefore now it is to thy self, and play the wife man. Thou art acquainted with a great sort of Hereticks, as *Hobby* and *Haines*, with other more, and knowest much of their secrets; if thou wilt now open them at my Lords request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to better living.

Alas, Sir, quoth he, what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either with Mr. *Hobby* or Mr. *Haines*, to know any part of their minds. Well (quoth the Gentleman) make it not so strange, for my Lord doth know well enough in what estimation they had both thee and *Anthony Pearson*, for your Religion. For *Anthony Pearson*, quoth he, I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life. And as for my self, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest poor man, and shewed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am.

Peradventure (quoth the Gentleman) thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy Friends, lest thy hearing thereof might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee: which thou needest not to fear, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee any more, nor any man else.

With that the water stood in *Marbeck's* eyes. Why weepst thou, quoth the Gentleman? Oh Sir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me; these men have done me good, wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted my self.

Well (quoth the Gentleman) I perceive thou wilt play the fool; and then he opened one of the Books, and asked him if he understood any Latin. But a little, Sir, quoth he. How is it then (quoth the Gentleman) that thou hast translated thy Book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the Tongue? I will tell you (quoth he) in my youth I learned the Principles of my Grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small. Then the Gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought; and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the Books, and so departed, leaving *Marbeck* alone in the Chamber, the door fast shut unto him.

About two hours after, the Gentleman came again, with a sheet of Paper folded in his hand, and set him down upon the Beds side, (as before) and said, By my troth, *Marbeck*, my Lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. When wast thou last with *Haines*? Forsooth, quoth he, about three weeks ago, I was at dinner with him. And what talk, quoth the Gentleman, had he at his board? I cannot tell now, quoth he. No? quoth the Gentleman, thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space. Yes, Sir, quoth he, such familiar talk as men do use at their boards, is most commonly by the next day forgotten, and so it was with me. Didst thou never, quoth the Gentleman, talk with him, nor with any of thy Fellows of the Mals, or of the blessed Sacrament? No, forsooth, quoth he. Now forsooth, quoth the Gentleman, thou liest; for thou hast been seen to walk with *Testwood*, and other of thy Fellows, an hour together in the Church, when honest men have walked up and down beside you, and ever as they have drawn near you, ye have staid your talk till they have been past you, because they should not hear whereof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I have talked with *Testwood* and other of my Fellows, I cannot tell how oft, which maketh not that we talked either of the Mals, or of the Sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters, that they would not that every man should hear, and yet far from any such thing; therefore it is good to judge the best. Well, quoth the Gentleman, thou must be plainer with my Lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weneest. How plain wilt his Lordship have me to be, Sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe Conscience, but I am ready to do it at his Lordships pleasure. What tellest thou me, quoth the Gentleman, of thy Conscience? Thou maist with a safe Conscience utter those that be

The name of this Gentleman was *Haines*.

Marbeck cannot be persuaded to do these things.

Another talk between *Wingfield* Gentleman and *Marbeck*. How *Wingfield* Gentleman intreated for Dr. *Haines*.

Confession little passed of wrong these words.

Hereticks, and to say, thou shalt do God and the King no greater wrong. If I know, Sir, quoth he, who were an Heretick indeed, it were a thing; but if I should accuse him to be an Heretick that is none, what a worm would that be in my Conscience so long as I lived? yea it were a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment. In faith, quoth the Gentleman, thou knowest as well who be Hereticks of thy Fellows at home, and who be none, as I do know this Paper to be in my hand; but it maketh no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I warrant thee. And what a foolish Dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they bee, seeing it standeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth? Whatsoever, quoth he, they shall say of me, let them do it in the Name of God, for I will say no more of them, nor of any men else, than I know. Marry, quoth the Gentleman, if thou wilt so do, my Lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now peradventure thy Wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things even by and by to remembrance, I have brought thee Ink and Paper, that thou mayest excoitate with thy self, and write such things as shall come to thy mind. O Lord, quoth Marbeck, what will my Lord do? Will his Lordship compel me to accuse men I wot not whereof? No, quoth the Gentleman, my Lord compelleth thee not, but gently intreateth thee to say the truth; therefore make no more ado, but write, for my Lord will have it so, and so laid down the Ink and Paper, and went his way.

Now was Marbeck so full of heaviness and woe, that he wist not what to do, nor how to set the Pen to the Book to falshe the Bishops mind, unless he did accuse men to the wounding of his own Soul. And thus being compassed about with nothing, but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down with weeping tears, and said,

Marbeck
Prayer to
God.

O most merciful Father of Heaven, thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor Pinner which is destitute of all help and comfort. Alight me, O Lord, with thy special Grace, that I save this frail and vile Body, which shall turn to corruption at his time; I have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my Christian Brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christs sake.

Marbeck
wrote
ten in
Wichester
Parish.

Then he rose up and began to search his Conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words: *Whereas your Lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my Fellows at home; please it your Lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, be an offence; more than this I know not.*

Wichester
Gentleman
recounted
the third
time to
Marbeck.

Now the Gentleman, about his hour appointed, came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the Chamber. How now, quoth he, hast thou written nothing? Yes Sir, quoth he, as much as I know. Well said, quoth the Gentleman; and took up the Paper. Which when he had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lords Body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his Lord and Master. Therefore, quoth he, go to it again, and advise thy self better, or else thou wilt let my Lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone. By my troth, Sir, quoth Marbeck, if his Lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said. Then wilt thou repent it, quoth the Gentleman; and so putting up his Penner and Ink-horn, departed with the Paper in his hand.

The third Examination of Marbeck before the Bishop of Wichester himself in his own House.

The 11
of March
in the
morning.

THE 11th of March, which was Wednesday, by eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Bishop sent for Marbeck to his House at S. Mary Overies, and as he was entering into the Bishops Hall, he saw the Bishop himself coming

out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a Roll in his hand, and going toward the great Window, he called the poor man unto him, and said, Marbeck, wilt thou cast away thy self? No, my Lord, quoth he, I trust. Yes, quoth the Bishop, thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a Devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy Vocation was another way, wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou didst esteem it. Yes, my Lord, quoth he, I do esteem it, and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me. And why the Devil, quoth the Bishop, didst thou not hold thee there? And with that he flang away from the Window out of the Hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long Gallery, and being there, the Bishop began on this wise; Ah firra, quoth he, the Nest of you is broken, I trow. And unfolding his Roll, (which was about an Ell long) he said, Behold, here be your Captains, both *Hobby* and *Haynes*, with all the whole pack of thy Sect about *Windsor*, and yet wilt thou utter none of them. Alas, my Lord, quoth he, how should I accuse them, by whom I know nothing? Well, quoth the Bishop, if thou wilt needs cast away thy self, who can let thee? What helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy Book? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, none. None, quoth the Bishop, how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help. Truly, my Lord, quoth he, I cannot tell in what part your Lordship doth take it, but howsoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man, save God alone. Nay, quoth the Bishop, I do not discommend thy diligence, but what shouldst thou meddle with that thing which pertaineth not to thee?

And in speaking of these words, one of his Chaplains (called Mr. *Meadow*) came up, and stayed himself at a Window, to whom the Bishop said, Here is a marvellous thing; this Fellow hath taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which Book when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen Learned men at the least, and yet will he bear me in hand, that he hath done it alone. But say what thou wilt, quoth the Bishop, except God himself would come down from Heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it: And so going forth to a Window where two great Bibles lay upon a Cushion, the one in Latin, and the other in English, he called Marbeck unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, Canst thou English this Sentence? Nay, my Lord, quoth he, I trow I be not so cunning to give it a perfect English, but I can fetch out the English thereof in an English Bible. Let's see, quoth the Bishop. Then Marbeck turning the English Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the Bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up and told him the Priest was ready to go to Mass.

And as the Bishop was going, said the Gentleman *Mr. Clowbeck*, which had examined Marbeck in the *Marshall* the day before; Shall this Fellow write nothing while your Lordship is at Mass, for he passeth not of it? It maketh no matter, quoth the Bishop, for he will tell nothing; and so went down to hear Mass, leaving Marbeck alone in the Gallery. The Bishop was no sooner down, but the Gentleman came up again with Ink and Paper. Come, firra, quoth he, my Lord will have you occupied till Mass be done; perswading him with fair words, that he would soon be dispatched out of trouble, if he would use truth and plainness. Alas, Sir, quoth he, what would my Lord have me to do? For more than I wrote to his Lordship yesterday, I cannot. Well, well, go too, quoth the Gentleman, and make speed, and so went his way. There was no remedy but Marbeck must now write something; wherefore he, calling to God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as nigh as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the Bishop was come from Mass, and had looked on the writing, he pulled it from him, saying, What shall this do? It hath neither head nor foot. There is a marvellous Sect of them, quoth the Bishop to his men, for the Devil cannot make one of them to bewray another. Then was there nothing answering the Bishops Gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the Court, but *Cruiciffe* upon the poor man. And when the Bishops white Rochet was on him, and

Christ faith,
Sermons,
Sermons,
and Wines,
for faith,
Devils
never med-
dle with the
Scriptures.

Marbeck
charged for
setting forth
the Concord-
ance.

Mr. Clowbeck
came up to
Marbeck.

Marbeck
preached a-
gain toget-
ter his Fel-
lows.

and all, Well *Marbeck* (quoth he) I am now going to the Court, and was purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the Kings Majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine House; but seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go the Devil for me.

Then was he carried down by the Bishops men, with many railing words. And coming through the great Chamber, there stood Dr. *London*, with two more of his Fellows, waiting the Bishops coming, and passing by them into the Hall, he was there received of his Keeper, and carried to Prison again. It was not half an hour after, ere that the Bishop sent one of his Gentlemen to the under Keeper, called *Stokes*, commanding him to put Irons upon *Marbeck*, and to keep him fast shut in a Chamber alone, and when he should bring him down to Dinner or Supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore, that he should suffer no manner of person (not his own Wife) to come and see him, or minister any thing unto him. When the Porter (who was the cruellest man that might be to all such as were laid in for any matter of Religion, and yet, as God would, favourable to this poor man) had received this commandment from the Bishop, he clapped Irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the House, that no man should speak or talk to *Marbeck*, whensoever he was brought down, and so continued the space of three weeks or more, till his Wife was suffered to come unto him.

The Sute of Marbecks Wife to the Bishop of Winchester.

Marbecks Wife, at the time of her Husbands apprehension, had a young Child of a quarter old sucking upon her breast; and when her Husband was taken from her, and had away to the Council not knowing what should become of him, she left the Child and all, and gat her up to *London*, and hearing her Husband to be in the *Marshalsey*, goeth thither: But when she came there, she could in no wise be suffered to see him, which greatly augmented her sorrow. Then, by counsel of Friends, she gat her to the Bishop of *Winchester*, (for other help was there none to be had at that time) making great sute to have his licence to go and see her Husband, and to help him with such things as he lacked. Nay, quoth the Bishop, thy Husband is acquainted with all the Heretics that be in the Realm, both on this side the Sea and beyond, and yet will he utter none of them. Alas, my Lord (quoth she) my Husband was never beyond the Seas, nor any great Traveller in the Realm, to be so acquainted, and therefore good my Lord, let me go see him. But all her earnest sute from day to day would not help, but still he put her off, harping always upon this string, Thy Husband will utter nothing. At the last, she finding him in the Court at *S. James*, going towards his Chamber, was so bold to take him by the Rocher, and say, Oh my Lord, these eighteen days I have troubled your Lordship; now for the love of God, and as ever ye came of a woman, put me off no longer, but let me go to my Husband. And as she was standing with the Bishop and his men, in a blind corner going to his Chamber, one of the Kings Servants, called *Henry Carrike*, and her next Neighbour, chanced to be by; and, hearing the talk between the Bishop and her, desired his Lordship to be good unto the poor woman, which had her own Mother lying Bedrid upon her hands, beside five or six Children. I promise you (quoth the Bishop) her Husband is a great Hereticke, and hath read more Scripture than any man in the Realm hath done. I cannot tell, my Lord (quoth *Carrike*) what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honest a quiet Neighbour as ever I dwelt by. He will tell nothing, quoth the Bishop; he knoweth a great sort of false Harlots, and will not utter them. Yes, my Lord, quoth *Carrike*, he will tell, I dare say, for he is an honest man. Well, quoth the Bishop, (speaking to the Wife) thou seemest to be an honest woman, and if thou love thy Husband well, go to him, and give him good counsel, to utter such naughty Fellows as he knoweth, and I promise thee he shall have what I can do for him; for I do fantasie him well for his Art, wherein he hath pleased me as well as

any man; and so, stepping into his Chamber, he said the should have his Letter to the Keeper. But his mind being changed, he sent out his Ring by his Gentleman, which Gentleman delivered the Ring to his man, charging him with the Bishops message. And so his man went with the woman to the water side, and took boat, who never rested railing on her Husband all the way, till they came to the Prison; which was no small cross to the poor woman.

And when they were come to the *Marshalsey*, the Messenger shewed the Bishops Ring to the Porter, saying, Mr. *Stokes*, my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye suffer this woman to have recourse to her Husband; but he frairly chargeth you, that ye search her both coming and going, lest she bring or carry any Letters to or fro, and that she bring no body unto him, nor any word from any man. Gods blood, quoth the Porter, (who was a foul swearer) what will my Lord have me to do? Can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her Husband, or let her not go; for I fee nothing by him but an honest man. The poor woman, fearing to be repulsed, spake the Porter fair, saying, Good Master be content, for I have found my Lord a very good Lord unto me. This young man is but the Gentlemans servant which brought the Ring from my Lord, and I think doth his Message a great deal more fraiter than my Lord commanded the Gentleman, or than the Gentleman his Master commanded him: but nevertheless, good Master, (quoth she) I shall be contented to stir my self before you both coming and going, so far as an honest woman may do with honesty; for I do intend no such thing, but only to comfort and help my Husband. Then the Messenger said no more, but went his way, leaving the woman there, who from that time forth was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.

The fourth Examination of Marbeck, before the Commissioners in the Bishop of Londons House.

About three weeks before *Whitsunday* was *Marbeck* sent for to the Bishop of *Londons* House, where sat in Commission Dr. *Capon* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Skip* Bishop of *Hersford*, Dr. *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Oking*, Dr. *May*, and the Bishop of *Londons* Scribe, having before them all *Marbecks* Books. Then said the Bishop of *Salisbury*; *Marbeck*, we are here in Commission, sent from the Kings Majesty to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly. I am content, my Lord, quoth he, to tell you the truth so far as I can, and so took his Oath. Then the Bishop of *Salisbury* laid forth before him his three Books of Notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other mens works, six years ago. For what cause, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*, didst thou gather them? For none other cause, my Lord, but to come by knowledge. For I being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of Scripture, thought by reading of Learned mens Works to come the sooner thereby: and where as I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye see, with a Letter of his name in the Margent, that had set out the Work. So me think, quoth the Bishop of *Ely*, (who had one of the Books of Notes in his hand all the time of their fitting) thou hast read of all sorts of Books, both good and bad, as seemeth by the Notes. So I have, my Lord, quoth he. And to what purpose, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*? By my truth, quoth he, for no other purpose but to see every mans mind. Then the Bishop of *Salisbury* drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the Bishop of *Hersford*, who looking upon it a while, lifted up his eyes to Dr. *Oking*, standing next him, and said, This man hath been better occupied then a great sort of our Priests. To the which he made no Answer.

Then said the Bishop of *Salisbury*, whose help hadst thou in setting forth this Book? Truly, my Lord, quoth he, no help at all. How couldst thou, quoth the Bishop, invent such a Book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an Instructor? I will tell your Lordship quoth he, what Instructor I had to begin it. When *Thomas Mattheus*'s Bible came first out in print, I was much desirous to have

Like master like man,
The part of a good Wife and an honest Matron;

The fourth Examination of Marbeck
The Commissioners for the six Articles,
Dr. Capon B. of Salisbury;
Dr. Skip B. of Ely;
Dr. Goodrick B. of Ely;
Dr. Oking;
Dr. May.

The reason why Marbeck began the Concordance in English,

Marbeck brought again from his better House to the *Marshalsey*.

A cruel Porter of the *Marshalsey*, buyes good to *Marbeck*.

Marbecks Wife (sith to Winchester her her Husband.

Marbeck Wife desired a great while to go to her Husband.

Hen. Carrike playeth the part of a good Neighbour.

Winchesters Argument. He hath read much Scripture: For he is a Hereticke.

Marbecks Wife permitted to talk to go to her husband.

have one of them : and being a poor man not able to buy one of them, determined with my self to borrow one amongst my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of *Moses* in fair great paper, and was entered into the book of *Jehona*, my friend *Mister Turner* chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cause: Tush, quoth he, thou gosselt about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English. A Concordance, said I, what is that? Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the Letter, and that there was such an one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learning to go about such a thing. Enough, quoth he, for that matter, for it required not so much learning as diligence. And seeing thou art so painful a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a good exercise for thee. And this my Lord is all the instruction that ever I had before or after, of any man. What is that *Turner*, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*? Marry, quoth *Doctor May*, an honest learned man, and a Batchelor of Divinity, and sometime a Fellow in *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*. How couldst thou, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*, with this instruction bring it to this order and form, as it is? I borrowed a Latin Concordance, quoth he, and began to practice my Wit, and at last with great labour and diligence brought it into this order, as your Lordship doth see. A good Wit with diligence, quoth the B. of *Hereford*, may bring hard things to pass. It is great pity, quoth the Bishop of *Ely*, he had not the Latin Tongue. So it is, quoth *Doctor May*. Yet cannot I believe, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that he hath done any more in this work, than written it out after some other that is learned.

Marbeck
words to the
Bishops.

My Lords, quoth *Marbeck*, I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and grant to my request if it shall seem good unto you. Say what thou wilt, quoth the Bishop. I do marvel greatly wherefore I should be so much examined for this book, and where I have committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I have, then were I loth any other to be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore to clear all men in this matter, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book that is undone. Ye see that I am yet but at the letter *L*. beginning now at *M*. and take out what word ye will of that letter, and so in every letter following, and give me the words in a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bring you not the right words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other.

The Bishop
of *Salisbury*
and *Hereford*
like well the
order of *Mar-*
beck.

By my truth, *Marbeck*, quoth the Bishop of *Ely*, that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspicion. That he shall, quoth they all. Then they bade *Doctor Oking* draw out such words as he thought best in a piece of paper, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with *Marbeck* (as the Bishop of *Ely* and *Hereford* were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, so far as they durst) who perceiving the Bishops so pleasantly disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. I shall tell thee *Marbeck*, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*. Thou art in a better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some would give forty pound to be in no worse case than thou art, whose sayings the other affirmed. Then came *Doctor Oking* with the words he had written, and while the Bishops were perusing them over, *Doctor Oking* said to *Marbeck*, very friendly, on this wise: Good Master *Marbeck* make halt, for the sooner ye have done, the sooner ye shall be delivered. And as the Bishops were going away, the Bishop of *Hereford* took *Marbeck* a little aside, and informed him a word which *Doctor Oking* had written false, and also to comfort him, said, Fear not, there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done, for if you had written a thousand Heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the Law cannot hurt you. And so went they all with the Bishop of *Salisbury* to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the Hall at the Stewards board; and besides that had Wine and Meat sent down from the Bishops Table.

D. *Bishop*
confortable
words unto
Marbeck.

When Dinner was done, the Bishop of *Salisbury* came down into the Hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to *Marbeck*, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the Bishop, what time his Lordship would appoint him to do it in? Against to morrow this time, quoth the Bishop, which was about two of the Clock, and so departed.

Marbeck, now being in his Prison-Chamber, fell to his business, and so applied the thing, that by the next day when the Bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as contained three sheets of paper and more. The which when he had delivered to the Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Doctor Oking* standing by, he marvelled and said, Well *Marbeck*, thou hast now put me out of all doubt. I assure thee, quoth he, (putting up the paper into his bosom) the King shall see this ere I be 24. hours older; but he dissembled every word, and thought nothing less than so. For afterward, the matter being come to light, and known to his Grace what a Book the poor man had begun, which the Bishops would not suffer him to finish, the King said he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So *Marbeck* departed from the Bishop of *Salisbury* to Prison again, and heard no more of his Book.

A false dis-
sembling
Bishop.

The fifth Examination of *Marbeck*, before *Doctor Oking* and *Master Knight*, Secretary to the Bishop of Winchester in *S. Mary Overies Church*.

Upon *Whitsunday* following at afternoon, was *Marbeck* sent for once again to *Saint Mary Overies*, where he found *Doctor Oking* with an other Gentleman in a Gown of *Damask*, with a Chain of Gold about his Neck (no more in all the Church but they two) sitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the Church door, looking upon an Epistle of *M. John Calvin*, which *Marbeck* had written out; and when they saw the Prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side Altar, leaving his Keeper in the body of the Church alone. Now as soon as *Marbeck* saw the face of a Gentleman (which before he knew not by reason of his apparel) he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the *Marshallsey*, and did also cause him to write in the Bishops Gallery, but never knew his name, till now he heard *Doctor Oking* call him *Master Knight*. This *Master Knight* held forth the Paper to *Marbeck*, and said, Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is. When *Marbeck* had taken the Paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saying the first leaf and the Notes in the Margent. Then I perceive, quoth *Knight*, thou wilt not go from thine own hand. No Sir, quoth he, I will deny nothing that I have done. Thou dost well in that, quoth *Knight*, for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough besides to try out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me, whose hand is the first leaf? That I cannot tell you, quoth *Marbeck*. Then how camest thou by it, quoth *Knight*? Forsooth I will tell you, quoth he.

This Gen-
tleman of
Winchester
was *M.*
Knight.

There was a Priest dwelling with us upon five or six years ago, called *Marshall*, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written, desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared past an hour or twain, and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again.

And how came this hand in the Margent, quoth he, which is a contrary hand to both the other? That I will tell you, quoth *Marbeck*: When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste of it, that I understood not the matter, whereof I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation, and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the Margent as ye see. And shortly after this it was his chance to go beyond the Seas (where he lived not long) by reason whereof the Epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf, or the Notes in the Margent were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell. Tush, quoth *Doctor Oking* to *Master Knight*, he knoweth well enough that the Notes be *Heynes* own hand. If you know so much, quoth *Marbeck*, ye know more than I do, for I tell you truly I know it not. By my Faith, *Marbeck*, quoth *Knight*, if thou wilt not tell by fair means, these fingers of thine

some a-
gainst
Doctor
Heynes.

thine shall be made to tell. By my truth Sir, quoth Marbeck, if ye do tear the whole Body in pieces (I trust in God) you shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully. If thou be so stubborn, quoth Doctor Oking, thou wilt dye for it. Dye, Master Oking, quoth he? Wherefore should I dye? You told me the last day before the Bishops, That as soon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took me, should be delivered, and shall I now dye? this is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend, but I know the cause, ye have read the ballad I made of Moses Chair, and that hath set you against me; but whensoever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not but I shall dye. Gods true Man and the Kings. How so, quoth Knight? How canst thou dye a true Man unto the King, when thou hast offended his Laws? Is not this Epistle, and most of thy Notes thou hast written, directly against the fix Articles? No Sir; quoth Marbeck, I have not offended the Kings Laws therein; for since the first time I began with the Concordance (which is almost fix years ago) I have been occupied in nothing else. So that both this Epistle, and all the Notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the fix Articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the Kings General Pardon. Trust not to that, quoth Knight, for it will not help thee. No I warrant him, quoth Doctor Oking; and so going down to the Body of the Church, they committed him to his Keeper, who had him away to Prison again.

The Kings General Pardon claimed.

The sute of Filmers Wife to the Bishops which sate in Commission, for her Husband.

IN like manner the Wife of Filmer, knowing her Husbands trouble to be only procured of malice by Simons his old enemy, made great sute and labour unto the Bishops which were Commissioners, desiring no more of them, but that it would please their goodness to examine her Husband before them, and to hear him make his purgation. This was her only request to every of the Bishops from day to day, wherefore she could find them. Insomuch that two of the Bishops (Ely and Hereford) were very fory (considering the importune and reasonable Sute of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus travelling long up and down from one to another, to have her Husband examined, it was her chance at last to find the Bishops all three together in the Bishop of Elys his Place: unto whom she said, O good my Lords, for the love of God, let now my poor Husband be brought forth before you, while you be here all together. For truly my Lords, there can nothing be justly laid against him, but that of malicious envy and spite Simons hath wrought him this trouble. And you my Lord of Salisbury, quoth the poor Woman, can testifie, (if it will please your Lordship to say the truth) what malice Simons bare to my Husband when they were both before you at Salisbury (little more than a year ago) for the Vicar of Windfors matter. For as your Lordship knoweth, when my Husband had certified you of the Priests Sermon, which you said was plain Heresie, then came Simons (after the Priest himself had confessed it) and would have defended the Priests error before your Lordship, and have had my Husband punished. At what time it pleased your Lordship to commend and praise my Husband for his honesty, and to rebuke Simons for maintaining the Priest in his error, and thereupon commanded the Priest to recant his Heresie, at his coming home to Windfor. This (my Lord) you know to be true. And now my Lord, quoth the Woman, it is most certain, that for this cause only did Simons evermore afterward threaten my Husband to be even with him. Therefore good my Lords, call my Husband before you, and hear him speak; and if you find any other matter against him than this that I have told you, let me suffer death. Is this so my Lord, quoth the Bishops of Ely and Hereford? And the other could not deny it. Then they spake Latin to the Bishop of Salisbury, and he to them, and so departed. For the matter was so wrought between Doctor London and Simons, that Filmer could never be suffered to come before the Commissioners to be examined.

The words of Filmers Wife to the Bishops.

Filmer could not come to his answer.

The manner of their Condemnations, and how they dyed.

When the time drew nigh that the Kings Majesty (who was newly married to that good and vertuous Lady Katherine Parre) should make his progress abroad, the foresaid Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester had so compassed his matters, that no man bore so great swelling about the King as he did. Wherewith the Gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked every hour to be clapt in the neck. For the saying went abroad, that the Bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head Deer. But in the mean time three or four of the poor Rascals were caught, that is to say, Anthony Pearson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, and sent to Windfor by the Sheriffs men, the Saturday before Saint James day, and laid fast in the Town Jayl; and Teltwood (who had kept his bed) brought out of his House upon Crutches, and laid with them; But as for Benet (which should have been the fifth man) his chance was to be sick of the Pestilence, and having a great fore upon him, he was left behind in the Bishop of Londons Jayl, whereby he escaped the fire. Now these men being brought to Windfor, there was a Sessions specially procured to be holden the Thursday following, which was Saint Annes day. Against the which Sessions (by the Counsell of Doctor London and Simons) were all the farmers belonging to the Colledge of Windfor, warned to appear, because they could not pick out Papists enough in the Town to go upon the Jury. The Judges that day were these:

- Doctor Capon, Bishop of Salisbury.
- Sir William Elfez, Knight.
- Sir Thomas Bridges, Knight.
- Sir Humphrey Foster, Knight.
- M. Franken, Dean of Windfor.
- And Facbel of Reding.

The Judges.

When these had taken their places, and the Prisoners brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam, occupying for that day the Clerk of the Peace his room; called Anthony Pearson, according to the manner of the Court, and read his Indictment, which was this:

First, That he should preach two years before in a place called Wingfield, and there should say, That like as Christ was hanged between two thieves, even so when the Priest is at Mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the Word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

Also that he said to the people in the Pulpit, Ye shall not eat the Body of Christ, as it did hang upon the Crofs; gnawing if with your teeth, that the blood run about your lips; but you shall eat him this day as ye eat him to morrow, the next day, and every day; for it refresheth not the Body but the Soul.

Also, after that he had Preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the Word of God, he said as followeth; This is the Word, this is the Bread, this is the Body of Christ.

Also he said, that Christ sitting with his Disciples, took Bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, Take and eat, this is my Body. What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to break it to the people?

To this Anthony answered and said, I will be tryed by God and his holy Word, and by the true Church of Christ, whether this be Heresie or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I Preached the Bishop of Rome and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his Gospel, ye have always fought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my Body, I trust it shall not lye in your powers to hurt my Soul. Thou callest us thieves, quoth the Bishop. I say, quoth Anthony, ye are not only thieves, but murderers; except ye preach and teach the Word of God purely and sincerely to the people, which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all Idolatry, Superstition, and Hypocritise, for your own lucre and glories sake; through

1544

The Kings Majesty

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through the which ye are become rather Bite-sheeps, than true Bifhops, biting and devouring the poor Sheep of Chrift, like ravening Wolves, never fatisfied with Blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not. Then fpake *Simons* his Accufer, ftanding within the Barr, faying; It is pity this fellow had not been burnt long ago, as he deferved. In Faith, quoth *Anthony*, if you had as you deferved, you were more worthy to ftand in this place than I: but I truft, in the laft day when we fhall both appear before the Tribunal feat of Chrift, that then it will be known which of us two hath belt deferved this place. Shall I have fo long a day, quoth *Simons*, holding up his finger? Nay then I care not; and fo the matter was jefted out.

Wil. Simons
replifh a-
gainft Pear-
fon.

The Papifts
felt at Gods
Judgment.

Robert Teftwood.

Teftwood's In-
dicement.

Teftwood an-
fwerech to
his Indirec-
ment.

Then was *Teftwood* called, and his Inditement read, which was that he fhould fay in the time that the Prieft was lifting up the Sacrament; What wilt thou lift up fo high? what yet higher? take heed, let him not fall. To this *Teftwood* answered, faying, it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth the Bifhop) thou haft been feeny, that when the Prieft fhould lift up the Sacrament over his head, then wouldft thou look down upon thy Book or fome other way, becaufe thou wouldft not abide to look upon the bleffed Sacrament. I befeech you my Lord, quoth *Teftwood*, whereon did he look that marked me fo well? Mary, quoth *Bucklayer* the Kings Attorney, he could not be better occupied, than to mark fuch Hereticks that fo defpifed the bleffed Sacrament.

Henry Filmer.

Filmers In-
dicement.

Then *Filmer* was called, and his Inditement read; that he fhould fay that the Sacrament of the Altar is nothing elfe but a fimilitude and a ceremony; and alfo if God be in the Sacrament of the Altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.

Here you muft underftand, that thefe words were gathered of certain communication which fhould be between *Filmer*, and his Brother. The tale went thus.

This *Henry Filmer* coming upon a Sunday from *Cleaver* his Parifh Church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced in the way to meet his Brother (which was a very poor labouring man) and asked him whither he went. To the Church, faid he. And what to do, quoth *Filmer*? To do, quoth he as other men do. Nay, quoth *Filmer*, you go to hear Mafs, and to fee your God. What if I do fo, quoth he? If that be God (fhould *Filmer* fay) I have eaten twenty Gods in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a Chapter out of the Bible, that fhall be better than all that thou fhalt fee or hear there.

D. London
fetteth Bro-
ther againft
Brother.

This Tale was no fooner brought to Doctor *London* (by *William Simons*, *Filmers* utter enemy) but he fent for the poor man home to his houfe, where he cherifhed him with meat and money, telling him he fhould never lack fo long as he lived; that the filly poor man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Doctor *London*, was content to do and fay whatsoever he and *Simons* would have him fay or do againft his own Brother. And when Doctor *London* had thus won, the poor man, he retained him as one of his houfhould men, until the Court day was come, and then fent him up to witnefs this forefaid Tale againft his Brother. Which tale *Filmer* denied utterly, faying, That Doctor *London*, for a little meat and drink fake, had fet him on and made him fay what his pleafure was: wherefore my Lord (quoth *Filmer* to the Bifhop) I befeech your Lordfhip weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man in all this Town, that can or will teftify with him, that ever he heard any fuch talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will teftify the fame with him, I refufe not to dye. But fay what he could it would not prevail.

Filmer call
away by his
own brother.

Then *Filmer* faying no remedy but that his Brothers accufement fhould take place, he faid, Ah Brother, what caufe haft thou to fhev me this unkindnefs? I have always been a natural Brother unto thee and thine, and

he ped you all, to my power, from time to time as thou thy felf knowelt; and is this a Brotherly part, thus to reward me now for thy kindnefs? God forgive it thee my Brother, and give thee Grace to repent. Then *Filmer* looking over his fhoulder, defired fome good body to let him fee the Book of Statutes. His Wife being at the end of the Hall, and hearing her Husband call for the Book of Statutes, ran down to the Keeper, and brought up the Book, and gat it conveyed to her Husband.

The Bifhop, fceing the book in his hand, ftart him up from the Bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the Prifoner that book, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make fearch who had brought it, fwearing by the Faith of his Body, he fhould go to Prifon. Some faid it was his Wife, fome faid the Keeper; like enough (my Lord) quoth *Simons*, for he is one of the fame fort, and as worthy to be here as the beft, if he were rightly ferved. But whofever it was, the truth would not be known and fo the Bifhop fate him down again.

Then faid *Filmer*, O my Lord, I am this day judged by a Law, and why fhould I not fee the Law that I am judged by? The Law is, I fhould have two lawful witnefs, and here is but one, which would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the fuggestion of mine enemies. Nay, quoth *Bucklayer* the Kings Attorney, thine Herefies fo hainous, and abhorreth thine own Brother fo much, that it forceth him to witnefs againft thee, which is more than two other witnefs.

Thus (as you fee) was *Filmer* brought unjuftly to his death by the malice of *Simons* and Doctor *London*, who had incited that wretched caufif his Brother, to be their minifter to work his confufion. But God, Example of Go de juft Punifhment upon a Popifh accufer accusing his own Brother, And fo were thefe words of *Solomon* fulfilled, A falfe witnefs fhall not remain unpunifhed.

John Marbeck.

Then was *Marbeck* called, and his Inditement read, which was that he fhould fay; that the holy Mafs, when the Prieft doth confecrate the Body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, finfull, and open robbery of the Glory of God, from the which a Chriftian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the Sacrament is the fimilitude of fetting up of Images, of the Calves in the Temple builded by *Jeroboam*; and that it is more abomination than the Sacrifices done by the Jews in *Jeroboams* Temple to thofe Calves. And that certain and fure it is, that Chrift himfelf is made in the Mafs mans laughing-ftock.

The Indite-
ment of
Marbeck.

To this he answered and faid, That thefe words whereof they had indicted him were not his, but the words of a learned man called *John Calvaine*, drawn out of a certain Epiftle which the faid *Calvaine* had made, which Epiftle he had but only written out, and that long before the fix Articles came forth; fo that now he was difcharged of that offence by the Kings General Pardon, defiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

Then was the Jury called, which were all Farmers belonging to the Colledge of *Windfor*, whereof few or none had ever feen thofe men before, upon whofe life and death they went. Wherefore the Prifoners (counting the Farmers as partial) defired to have the Townfmen, or fuch as did know them, and had feen their daily converfations, in the place of the Farmers, or elfe to be equally joyned with them, but that would not befor the matter was otherwife forefeen and determined.

Now when the Jury had taken their Oath and all, *Bucklayer* the Kings Attorney began to fpeak; and firft he alleged many reasons againft *Anthony Pearfon*, to prove him an Heretic. Which when *Anthony* would have difproved, the Bifhop faid; Let him alone Sir, he fpeaketh for the King; and fo went *Bucklayer* forth with his matter, making every mans caufe as hainous to the hearers as he could devife. And when he had done, and faid what he would, then Sir *Hampfrey Joffey* fpake, and to the Queft in the favour of *Marbeck* on this wife.

Marbeck an-
fwerech to
his Indite-
ment.

Patricial deal-
ing in cal-
ling the
Jury.

Sir Hamfrey
Joffey fpake
for fpeak-
ing
Matters,

Marbeck, quoth he, *you see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man Marbeck, saving he hath writ certain things of other mens sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the Kings general Pardon; therefore ye ought to have a Conscience therein.* Then started up *Rachel* at the lower end of the Bench, and said, *What can we tell whether they were written before the Pardon or after? They may as well be written since as afore, for any thing that we know.* These words of *Rachel* (as every man said) were the cause of *Marbecks* casting that day.

Then went the Jury up to the Chamber over the place where the Judges sat, and in the mean time went all the Knights and Gentlemen abroad, saving the Bishop, Sir *William Essex*, and *Rachel*, which three fate still upon the Bench till all was done. And when the Jury had been together above in the Chamber about the space of a quarter of an hour, up goeth *Simons* (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the Jury down to the Bishop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while: Whereby many conjectured that the Jury could not agree of *Marbeck*. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, ere that they came down to give their Verdict: and being required according to the form of the Law to say their minds, one called *Elide*, dwelling beside *Abington* in a Lordship belonging to the Colledge of *Windsor*, speaking as the Mouth of the rest, said they were all Guilty.

Then the Judges beholding the Prisoners a good while (some with watery eyes) made curtesie who should give Judgment. *Rachel* requiring the Bishop to do it, he said *He might not.* The other also being required, said *They would not.* Then said *Rachel*, *It must be done, one must do it, and if no man will, then will I.* And so *Rachel*, being lowest of all the Bench, gave Judgment. Then *Marbeck*, being the last upon whom Sentence was given, cried unto the Bishop, saying, *Ah my Lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two Bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my Fellows, and is your saying come to this? Ah, my Lord, you have deceived me.* Then the Bishop, casting up his hand, said, *He could not do with all.*

Now the Prisoners being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to dye on the morrow, comforting one another in the Death and Passion of their Master Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, which had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them stedfast Faith and Power to overcome those fiery Torments, and of his free mercy and goodness (without their deserts) for his promise sake, receive their Souls. Thus lay they all the night long till very dead sleep took them, calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their Persecutors, which of blind zeal and ignorance had done they wist not what, that God of his merciful goodness would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy Word: yes, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers watching the Prison without, whereof the Sheriff himself was one, with divers Gentlemen more, were constrained to shed out plenty of tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the next morrow, which was *Friday*, as the Prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not dye that day. The cause was this, The Bishop of *Sarum*, and they among them had sent a Letter by one of the Sheriffs Gentlemen, called *Mr. Fraff*, to the Bishop of *Winchester* (the Court being then at *Oking*) in the favour of *Marbeck*. At the sight of which Letter the Bishop straightway went to the King, and obtained his Pardon.

Which being granted, he caused a Warrant to be made out of hand for the Sheriffs discharge, delivering the same to the Messenger, who with speed returned with great joy (for the love he bare to the party) bringing good news to the Town, of *Marbecks* Pardon; whereat many rejoiced. Of this Pardon were divers conjectures made. Some said, It was by the fute of the good Sheriff *Sir William Barrington*, and *Sir Humphrey Foster*, with other Gentlemen more that favoured *Marbeck*, to the Bishop of *Sarum* and the other Commissioners, that the Letter was sent.

Some said again, That it came of the Bishop of *Sarum* and *Rachels* first motion, being pricked in Conscience for that they had so slenderly cast him away. Other thought again that it was a Policy purposed afore, by the Bishop of *Winchester*, of *Sarum*, and of *Dr. London*, because they should seem to be merciful. Which conjecture rose upon this occasion: There was one *Sadock* dwelling in the Town which was great with *Dr. London* and *Simons*: and he should say four days before the Sessions began, that the Prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but *Marbeck* should have his Pardon.

Other there were that thought the foresaid Bishops, with *Dr. London*, had done it for this purpose; that he now, having his life, would rather utter such men as they would have him to do, than to come in like danger again. Which conjecture rose upon this; *Simons* meeting with *Marbecks* Wife, said thus unto her; *Your Husband may thank God and good Friends: my Lord of Winchester is a good Lord to him, which hath got his Pardon. But shall I tell you, quoth he? his Pardon will be to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord, and other of the Council, when he shall be demanded; for unto that purpose only is he reserved. Alas Sir, quoth she, what can be tell? Well woman, quoth *Simons*, I tell thee plain, if he do not so, never look to have thy Husband out of Prison; and so departed from her.*

The like meaning did *Mr. Arch* make to *Marbeck* himself on the *Saturday* in the morning, that the men should be burnt, when he came to confest them. *I have nothing*, quoth he, *to say unto you, Marbeck, at this time, but hereafter you must be content to do as shall be enjoyned you*; meaning he should be forced to do some unlawful thing, or else to lye in perpetual Prison. And this was most likely to have been attempted, if they had proceeded in their purpose; whose intent was to have gone through the whole Realm, in like sort as they had begun at *Windsor*, as the Bishop of *Sarum* confessed openly, and said, *That he trusted ere Christmas-day following to visit and cleanse a good part thereof.* But most commonly God fendeth a shrewd Cow short horns, or else many a thousand in *England* had starved.

The *Saturday* in the morning that the Prisoners should go to Execution, came in to the Prison two of the Canons of the Colledge, the one called *Dr. Blithe*, and the other *Mr. Arch*, which two were sent to be their Confessors: *Mr. Arch* asked them if they would be confest; and they said, *Yea*. Then he demanded if they would receive the Sacrament: *Yea*, said they, *with all our hearts. I am glad, quoth Arch, to hear you say so; but the Law is, quoth he, that it may not be ministered to any that are condemned of Heresie. But it is enough for you that ye desire it.* And so he had them up to the Hall to hear their Confessions, because the Prison was full of people. *Dr. Blithe* took *Anthony Pearson* to him to confest, and *Mr. Arch* the other two. But howsoever the matter went between the Doctor and *Anthony*, he tarried not long with him, but came down again, saying, *He would no more of his Doctrine. Do you call him Dr. Blithe, quoth Anthony? He may be called Dr. Blind for his learning, as far as I see.* And soon after the other two came down also. Then *Anthony* seeing much people in the Prison, began to say the Lords Prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the Officers came to fetch them away, and so made an end. And taking their leave of *Marbeck* (their Prison-fellow) they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godliness and virtue, and last of all besought him heartily to help them with his Prayer unto God, to make them strong in their Afflictions, and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

Now as the Prisoners passed through the people in the Prison Streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the Truth of the Gospel, and death. not to be moved at their Afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And ever as Doctor *Blithe* and *Arch* (who rode on each side the Prisoners) would persuade them to turn to their Mother holy Church; *Away, would Anthony cry, away with your Romish Doctrine and all your trimperies, for we will no more of it.* When

Marbeck reserved to utter others.

The petition of the Bishop.

The Popes Law is, that they that be condemned of Heresie, must not receive the Sacrament.

Dr. Blithe, of his Doctrine.

Rachel a Persecutor.

Marbeck cast by the Jury.

The Knights and Gentlemen refuse to be at their Condemnation.

Elide a Farmer of *Windsor* Colledge a Persecutor.

Rachel given judgment against them.

Pearson, *Teitwood*, *Filmer*, and *Marbeck* condemned for Heresies.

The godly Prayers of the condemned Martyrs almost all night.

A Letter sent by certain of the Commissioners to *George* *Marbeck*.

Marbeck pardon obtained.

Divers conjectures made. Some why others, was pardoned.

Filmer was come to his Brothers door, he stayed and called for his Brother, but he could not be seen, for Dr. London had kept him out of fight the same day, for the nonce.

And when he had called for him three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, and will he not come? Then God forgive him and make him a good man. And so going forth they came to the place of Execution, where *Anthony Pearson* with a cheerful countenance embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, *Now welcome mine own sweet Wife; for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God.*

And being all three bound to the post, a certain young man of *Filmer's* acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink. Yea, quoth *Filmer*, I thank you. And now my Brother, quoth he, I shall desire you in the Name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received; and so taking the pot at his hand asked his Brother *Anthony*, if he would drink. Yea Brother *Filmer*, quoth he, I pledge you in the Lord.

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to *Ant.* and *Ant.* likewise gave it to *Testwood*. Of which drinking their Adversaries made a jesting stock, reporting abroad that they were all drunk, and wist not what they said; when as they were none otherwise drunk than as the Apostles were, when the people said they were full of new Wine, as their deeds declared; for when *Anthony* and *Testwood* had both drunken, and given the pot from them, *Filmer* rejoicing in the Lord, said, Be merry, my Brethren, and lift up your hands unto God, for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the Kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer. At the which words *Testwood* lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his Spirit. And *Anthony Pearson*, pulling the straw unto him, laid a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, This is Gods Hat; now am I dressed like a true Soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy. And so yielded up their Souls to the Father of Heaven, in the Faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and steadfastness, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts (at that present) to have died with them.

How all their Conspiracies were known

YE have heard before of one *Robert Bennet*, how he was at the first apprehended with the other four persons afore said, and committed to the Bishop of London Prison, and about the time he should have gone to *Windsor*, he fell sick of the Pestilence, by means whereof he remained still in Prison.

This *Bennet* and *Symons* (ye shall understand) were the greatest familiars and company keepers that were in all *Windsor*, and never lightly swerved the one from the other, saving in matters of Religion, wherein they could never agree. For *Bennet* the one Lawyer was an earnest Gospel'er, and *Symons* the other Lawyer a cankered Papist, but in all other Worldly matters they cleaved together like burrs.

This *Bennet* had spoken, certain words against their little round God, for the which he was as far in as the best, and had suffered death with the other if he had gone to *Windsor* when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the Bishop of Salisbury, that *Robert Ockam*, on the Monday after the men were burnt, should go to the Bishop of Winchester, with the whole process done at the Sessions the Thursday before.

Then *Symons*, at *Bennets* Wives request, procured the Bishop of Salisbury his favourable Letter to the Bishop of Winchester, for *Bennets* deliverance. Which Letter *Bennets* Wife (forasmuch as her own man was not at home which should have gone with the Letter) desired *Robert Ockam* to deliver to the Bishop, and to bring her word again; who said he would. So forth went *Ockam* toward the Bishop of Winchester, with his budget full of writings, to declare and open all things unto him that were done at *Windsor* Sessions. But all their wicked intents, as God would have it,

were soon cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the Queens men (Named *Fulk*) which had lien at the *Windsor* all the time of the business, and had got knowledge what a number were privily indicted, and of *Ockams* going to the Bishop of Winchester, gat to the Court before *Ockam*, and told Sir *Thomas Cardine* and other of the Privy Chamber, how all the matter stood. Whereupon *Ockam* was laid, for and had by the back as soon as he came to *Ockam*, and so kept from the Bishop.

On the next morrow very early, *Bennets* Wife sent her man to the Court after *Ockam*, to see how he sped with her Husbands Letter. And when he came there, he found Sir *Thomas Cardine* walking with *Ockam* up and down the green before the Court gate. Whereat he marvelled to see *Ockam* with him so early, mistrusting the matter; whereupon he kept himself out of sight till they had broken off their communication.

And as soon as he saw Master *Cardine* gone (leaving *Ockam* behind) he went to *Ockam* and asked him if he had delivered his Masters Letter to the Bishop. No, said *Ockam*, the King removeth this day to *Gilford*, and I must go thither, and will deliver it there. Marry, quoth he, and I will go with you, to see what answer you shall have, and to carry word to my Mistress, and so they rode to *Gilford* together: where *Bennets* man (being better acquainted in the Town than *Ockam* was) got a lodging for them both in a Knights house of his.

That done, he asked *Ockam*, if he would go and deliver his Mistress Letter to the Bishop. Nay, said *Ockam*, you shall go and deliver it your self, and took him the Letter. And as they were going in the Street together, and coming by the Earl of *Bedford's* lodging (then Lord Privy Seal) *Ockam* was pulled in by the sleeve, and no more seen of *Bennets* man, till he saw him in the *Marybushy*. Then went *Bennets* man to the Bishops lodging, and delivered his Letter. And when the Bishop had read the contents thereof, he called for the man that brought it. Come sirrah, quoth he, you can tell me more by mouth than the Letter specifies, and had him into a little Garden. Now, quoth the Bishop, what say you to me? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, I have nothing to say unto your Lordship, for I did not bring the Letter to the Town. No, quoth the Bishop, where is he that brought it? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, I left him busie at his lodging. Then he will come, quoth the Bishop, bid him be with me betimes in the morning. I will, quoth he, do your Lordships commandment, and so he departed home to his lodging. And when his Kinsfolks saw him come in, Alas Cousin, quoth they, we are all undone. Why so, quoth he, what is the matter? O, said they, here hath been since you went, Master *Pagitt* the Kings Secretary, with Sir *Thomas Cardine* of the Privy Chamber, and searched all our house for one that should come to the Town with *Ockam*; therefore make thift for your self as soon as you can. Is that all the matter, quoth he? then content your selves, for I will never see one foot, hap what hap will. As they were thus reasoning together, in came the fore said searchers again; and when Master *Cardine* saw *Bennets* man, he knew him very well, and said, Was it thou that came to the Town with *Ockam*? Yea Sir, quoth he. Now who the Devil (quoth Master *Cardine*) brought thee in company with that false knave? Then he told them his business, and the cause of his coming: which being known, they were satisfied, and so departed. The next day had *Bennets* man a discharge for his Master (procured by certain of the Privy Chamber) and so went home.

Now was *Ockam* all this while at my Lord Privy Seals, where he was kept secret, till certain of the Privy Council had perused all his writings; among the which they found certain of the Privy Chamber indicted, with other the Kings Officers, with their Wives; that is to say, Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, with both their Ladies, Master *Edmund Harriman*, Master *Thomas Walden*, with *Sarveball* and his Wife. All these they had indicted by the force of the six Articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of *Anthony Pearson*. And beside them, they had indicted of Heretic (some for one thing, and some for another) a great number more of the Kings true and faithful Subjects. Whereof the Kings Majesty being certified, his grace of his special goodness

The words of *Anthony Pearson* at the Stake.

The words of *Henry Filmer* at his death.

The slanderous mouth of the Papists. *Filmer* comfortable words to his fellows.

Gods Hat. The constant death of these Martyrs.

Bennet a Lawyer sick of the pestilence.

Bennet and *Symons* joyne companions; but contrary in Religion.

Rob. Ockam sent up by the Bishop of Salisbury and by others to *Cardine* with Letters.

The conspiracy of the Adversaries. Many good men and citizens of the Privy Chamber indicted by the Bishop.

Bennet man goes with his Mistress Letter to the Bishop of Winchester.

Bennet man searched for at *Ockam*.

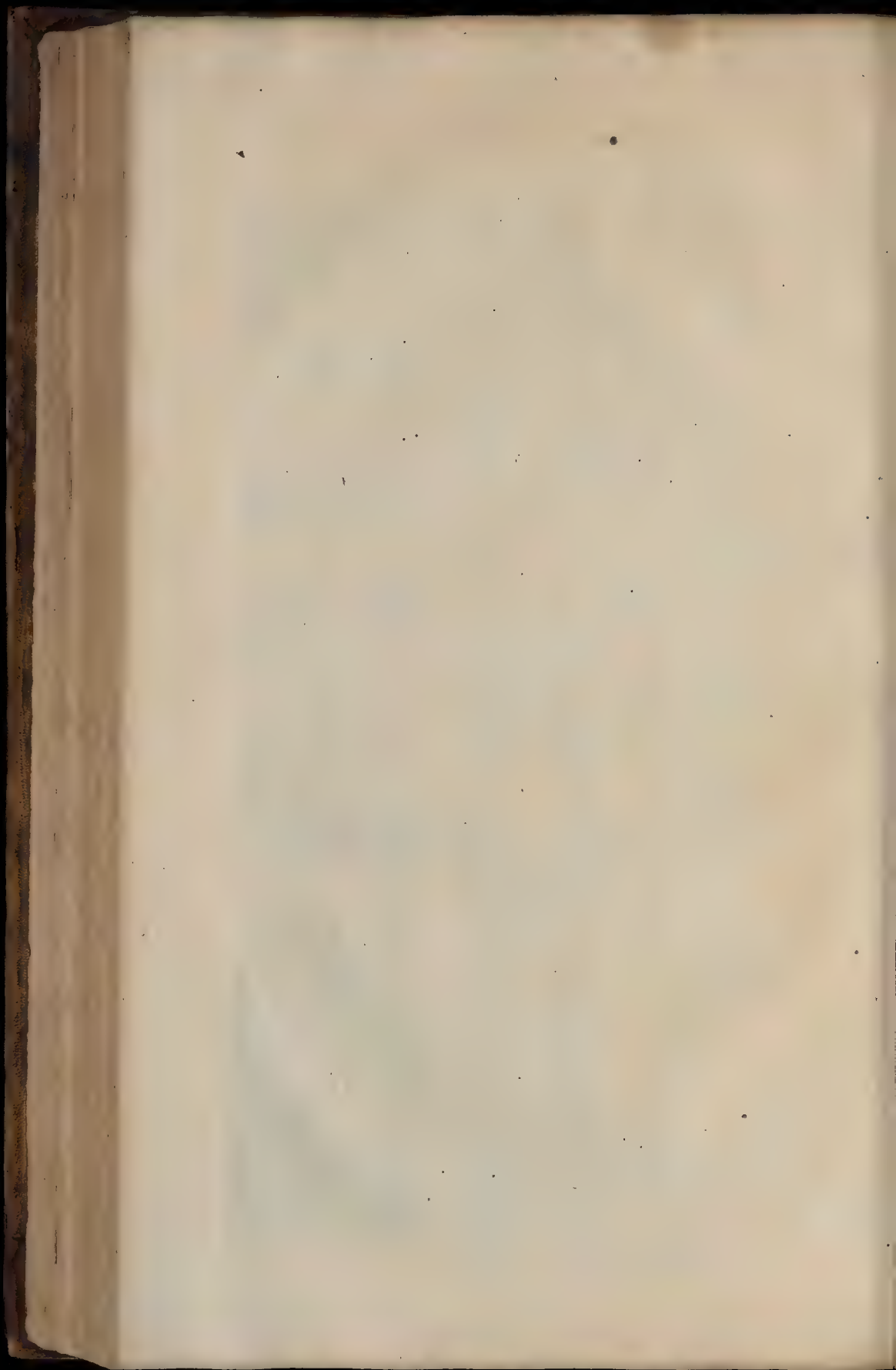
Bennet discharged out of Prison by good men of the Privy Chamber.

Certain of the Privy Chamber indicted. Sir *Thomas Cardine*, and his Wife. Sir *Philip Hobby* and his Wife. Master *Edmund Harriman*. Master *Thomas Walden*. Master *Sarveball* and his Wife. All these were indicted for the six Articles, with a great number more.

The condemnings of Anthony and of Burke's judgment and their wish to bring in the said Person, Esqwerd and Filmer, under the Title of a new book, as described. Burke's judgment by the King's Word.

The condemnings of Anthony and of Burke's judgment and their wish of forming the said Person, Esqwerd and Filmer, under the title of a new book, described. Burke's judgment by the King's Burden.





ness (without the suit of any man) gave to the foresaid Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, and other his Servants with their Wives, his gracious Pardon. And as God would have the matter further known unto his Majesty, as he rode one day a hunting in *Gilford-park*, and saw the Sheriff with *Sir Hamfrey Foster* sitting on their horse-backs together, he called them unto him, and asked of them, how his Laws were executed at *Windfor*. Then they beseeching his Grace of Pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never fate on matter under his Graces Authority, that went so much against their Consciences, as the death of these men did, and up and told his Grace so pitiful a Tale of the casting away of these poor men, that the King turning his Horse head to depart from them, said, Alas poor innocents.

After this the King withdrew his favour from the Bishop of *Winchester*, and being more and more informed of the Conspiracy of Doctor *London* and *Simons*, he commanded certain of his Councel to search out the ground thereof.

Whereupon Doctor *London* and *Simons* were apprehended and brought before the Councel, and examined upon their Oath of Allegiance: And for denying their malicious and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured persons, to wear Papers in *Windfor*; and *Ockam* to stand upon the Pillory in the Town of *Newbery* where he was born.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about *Windfor*, *Reading*, and *Newbery*, with Papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the Horse tails, and so to stand upon the Pillory in every of these Towns, for false accusation of the forenamed Martyrs, and for Perjury.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good Saints of *Windfor*, according to the Copy of their own Acts, received and written by *John Marbeck*, who is yet alive both a present witness, and also was then a yet of the said doings, and can testify the Truth thereof.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good Saints of *Windfor*, according to the Copy of their own Acts, received and written by *John Marbeck*, who is yet alive both a present witness, and also was then a yet of the said doings, and can testify the Truth thereof.

An Answer to the cavilling Adversaries soucking John Marbeck.

Wherefore against these crooked Cavillers, which make so much ado against my former Book, because in a certain place I changed to say that *Bennet* and *Filmer* had their Pardon (when indeed it was *Bennet* and *Marbeck*) be it therefore known, protested, denounced, and notified to all and singular such Carpers, Wranglers, Exclamers, Depravers, with the whole Brood of all such whisperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and spider-catchers, or by what name else soever they are to be tituled, that here I openly say and affirm, profess, hold, maintain; and write the same as I said and wrote before in the latter castigations of my Book: that is, That *John Marbeck* was with the other condemned, but not burned; cast by the Law, but by Pardon saved: appointed with the rest to die, and yet not dead, but liveth, God be praised, and yet to this present singeth merrily, and plaith on the Organs, not as a dead man amongst *Foxes* Martyrs (as it hath pleased some in the Court to encounter against me) but as one witness and testified truly in the Book *Foxes* Martyrs to be alive. And therefore such manner of Persons, if the disposition of their nature be such that they must needs find faults, then let them find them where they are, and where those faults by their finding may be corrected. But whereas they be corrected already and found to their hands, and also amended before, let then these Legend-liers look on their own Legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find enow and cease their biting there where they have no just cause to bark.

And admit that I had not foreseen and corrected this escape before, touching the matter of *John Marbeck*, but that that place still had remained in the Book as it was, that is, that the said *John Marbeck*, which is yet alive, had then died and suffered with the other three, the same time at *Windfor*: yet what gentle or courteous Reader could have therein any just matter to triumph and insult against me, seeing the judicial Acts, the Records and

Registers, yea and the Bishops Certificate, and also the Wit of execution remaining yet on Record, sent to the King, did lead me so to say and think? For what man writing Histories, who cannot be in all places to see all things but following his Records, and Registers, wherein he seeth the said *Marbeck* to be judged and condemned with the rest, would otherwise write or think, but that he also was Executed and burned in the same Company.

But now I correct and reform the same again, and first of all other, I find the fault, and yet I am found fault withal. I correct my self, and yet I am corrected of others. I warn the reader of the Truth, and yet am a lyar. The Book it self sheweth the escape, and biddeth in stead of four, to read three burned, and yet is the Book made a Legend of lies.

Briefly, where I prevent all occasion of cavilling, to the uttermost of my diligence, yet cannot I have that Law which all other Books have, that is, to recognize and reform mine own Errata.

Wherefore to conclude, these men whosoever they are, if they will be satisfied, I have said enough; if they will not, whatsoever I can say, it will not serve, and so I leave them: I would I could better satisfy them. God himself amend them.

The Persecution in Calice, with the Martyrdom of George Buckler, otherwise called Adam Damlip and others.

At what time *John Marbeck* was in the Marshalsey, which was about the year of our Lord, 1544, there was in the said Prison with him one *George Buckler*, named otherwise *Adam Damlip*, who having continued in the said Prison three or four years, at the last, by the commandment of *Winchester*, was had to *Calice* by *John Mafie*, the Keeper of the *Marshalsey*, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for Treason pretended, which was a little before the Condemnation of the *Windfor* men aforesaid, as is by the Letters of the said *John Marbeck* to me signified.

Touching which Story of *Adam Damlip*, so far as it includeth matter of much trouble and Persecution that happened in *Calice*, to digest therefore and comprise the whole narration thereof in order, first I will enter (the Lord willing) the Story of *Damlip*, and so proceed in order to such as by the said occasion were afflicted and persecuted in the Town of *Calice*.

Persecution in the Town of Calice.

Persecutori.	Persons Persecuted.
<i>John Dove</i> Prior of the Gray-Friers in Calice.	<i>George Buckler</i> , or else called <i>Adam Damlip</i> . A poor Labouring-man. <i>W. Stevens</i> . <i>Thomas Lancaster</i> . <i>John Butler</i> Commissary. <i>W. Smith</i> Priest. <i>Ralph Hare</i> . <i>Jacob a</i> Chirurgeon. <i>A Fleming</i> . <i>Clement Philpot</i> Servant. <i>Jeffery Loveday</i> . <i>Dodde</i> . <i>Sir Edmund Prielt</i> . <i>William Toucher</i> , Postmaster. <i>Peter Beckes</i> . <i>Anthony Pickering</i> Gentleman.
<i>Sir Gregory Rustoll</i> , Priest.	<i>Henry Tournay</i> Gentleman. <i>George Darby</i> Priest. <i>John Shepard</i> . <i>W. Pellam</i> . <i>W. Keverdal</i> . <i>John Whitwood</i> . <i>John Boore</i> . <i>Ro. Clodder</i> . <i>Ceppen de Hane</i> , alias <i>Jamies Cock</i> . <i>Matthew Hownd</i> . <i>W. Croshawmaker</i> .
<i>Steven Gaidiner</i> Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> .	
<i>Dr. Sampson</i> Bishop of <i>Chichester</i> .	
<i>Dr. Clerk</i> Bishop of <i>Bath</i> .	

Their Causes.

IN the Year of our Lord 1539. the Lord *Cromwel* being yet alive, there came to *Calice* one *George Buckler*, alias *Adam Damlip*, who had been in time

The death of *John Marbeck* in the former Book amended.

Ex libris Joas. 1544.

Persecutors.	Persons persecuted and their Causes.	Persecutors.	Persons Persecuted and their Causes.
Dr. Repse Bishop of Norwich.	past a great Papist and Chaplain to Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and after the death of the Bishop his Master had travelled through France, Dutchland, and Italy, and as he went conferred with Learned men concerning matters of controversie in Religion, and so proceeding in his Journey to Rome, whereas he thought to have found all godliness and sincere Religion, in the end, he found there, (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christs true Religion, looseness of Life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that it abhorred his Heart and Conscience any longer there to remain; although he was greatly requested by Cardinal Poole, there to continue, and to read three Lectures in the week in his House, for the which he offered him great entertainment, which he re- fused, and so returning homeward, having a piece of Money given him of the Cardinal at his departure, to the value of a French Crown towards his charges, came to Calice, as is aforesaid. Who as he was there waiting without the Gate for passage into England, and being there perceived by certain Calice men, namely William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, through conference of talk, to be a Learned man and also well affected; and moreover how that he being of late a zealous Papist, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true Religion, was by them heartily intreated to stay at Calice a certain space, and to read there a day or two, to the intent he might do some good there, after his painful travel, unto the People. To this request Adam gladly consented, so as he might be licensed by such as were in Authority so to do.	Sir Ralph Ellerker Knight.	him to be only so good unto him, as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the Town where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have op- portunity to give himself to his Book, and he would daily once in the forenoon, and again by one a Clock in the after- noon, by the grace of God, preach a- mong them according unto that Talent that God had lent him. At which an- swer the Lord Deputy greatly rejoiced, and thereupon sent for the foresaid William Stevens, whom he earnestly required to receive and lodge the said Damlip in his house, promising what- soever he should demand, to see it paid with the most; and moreover would send every meal from his own melf a dish of the best unto them; and indeed so did, albeit the said Damlip refused that offer, shewing his Lordship that thin diet was most convenient for stu- dents. Yet could not that restrain him, but that every meal he sent it.
Harvey, Commisary in Calice.	Lady Ho- nor, Wife to L. Lisle Deputy of Calice.	Sir John Gage.	once every day at seven of the Clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the Truth of the blessed Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, mightily inveigh- ing against all Papistry, and confuting the same, but especially those two most pernicious Errors or Heresies trifling Transubstantiation, and the pestilent Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Romish Mass, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient Doctors, ear- nestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the People to return from their Popery, declaring how Popish he him- self had been, and how by the detestable wickedness that he did see universally in Rome, he was returned so far homeward, and now became an enemy, through Gods grace, to all Papistry, shewing therewith that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of Cardinal Poole (as you have heard before,) but for very Conscience sake joynd with true knowledge, grounded on Gods most holy Word, he now utterly abhorred all Papistry, and willed them most earnestly to do the same.
Adam Dam- lip requested by Cardinal Poole to tarry at Rome.	This French Crown was dearly bought, for by the same he was preached of Treason W. Stevens T. Lancaster.		And thus he continued a while reading in the Chapter- house of the white Friars; but the place being not big enough, he was desired to read in the Pulpit, and so proceeding in his Lectures (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman Bishops, which had set forth the damnable Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Real presence in the Sacrament, as is aforesaid) he came at length to speak against the Pageant or Picture set forth of the Resurrection which was in St. Nicholas Church, declaring the same to be but meer Idolatry, and an Illusion of the French-men before Calice was English.
	Sir Thomas Palmer, Knight.		Upon which Sermon or Lecture there came a Com- mission from the King to the Lord Deputy, Master Green- field, Sir John Butler Commisary, the Kings Mason and Smith, with others, that they should search whether there were (as was put in writing and under Bull and Par- don) three Hosts lying upon a Marble Stone—besprinkled with Blood; and if they found it not so, that immedi- ately it should be plucked down, and so it was. For in searching thereof, as they brake up a Stone in a Corner of the Tomb, they, instead of three Hosts, found the souldered, in the Cross of Marble lying under the Se- pulchre, three plain white Counters, which they had painted like unto Hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a Three painted sheeps Tail. All which trumpety Damlip shewed unto the People the next day following, which was, Sunday, out three Hosts of the Pulpit, and after that they were sent by the Lord Deputy to the King.
	In. Rook- wood, Es- quire.		Notwithstanding, the Devil stirred up a Dove (he might well be called a Cormorant) the Prior of the white Friars, Who with Sir G. Buttolph, Chaplain to the L. Lisle, began to bark against him. Yet after the said Adam had in 3. or 4. Sermons confuted the said Friars Erroneous Doctrine of Transub-
	Adam well liked of the Deputy and Council of Calice.		J. Drove Pri- or, Peache of Damlip.
	Richard Long, Sould- ier of Ca- lice.		
	Francis Hastings Souldier.		
	Hugh Com- fel, Servant.		

Damlip
seen
for to ap-
pear before
the Council
in England.

Damlip
threatened
by the Bi-
shop.

Damlip
dreadfully
warned
to void.

D. Champion
and M. Gar-
ret sent to
preach at
Calice.

Sir William
Smith Curate
and a ze-
alous preach-
er at Calice.

Transubstantiation, and of the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass; the said Prier outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, and secretly practised to peach him by Letters sent unto the Clergy here in England: so that, within eight or ten days after, the said Damlip was sent for to appear before the Bishop of Canterbury, with whom was assistant Steven Gardiner, Bp. of Winchester, Dr. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and divers others, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the Doctrine which he had taught, in such sort answering, confuting, and solving the Objections, as his Adversaries, yea even among the other, the learned, godly and blessed Martyr Crammer, then yet but a Lutherane, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the Scriptures knew not such term of Transubstantiation. Then began the other Bishops to threaten him, shortly to confute him with their accustomed Argument, I mean Fire and Fagot, if he would still stand to the defence of that he had spoken. Whereunto he constantly answered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand, and so was dismissed.

The next day at the hour appointed to appear, when they looked surely to have apprehended him, in the mean season he had secret intimation from the Bishop of Canterbury, that if he did any more personally appear, he should be committed unto Ward, not like to escape cruel death. Whereupon he playing indeed then somewhat old Adams part, for such is man, left in his own hands) had him commended unto them, and sent them four sheets of Paper learnedly written in the Latin Tongue, containing his Faith with his Arguments, conferences of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctors, by a Messenger or Friend of his. Which done, he, having a little money given him in his purse by his Friends, stepped aside, and went into the West-Country, and there kept all the time, while great trouble kindled against Gods People in Calice upon the same; as ye shall hear, the Lord permitting.

After his departure, the Kings Majesty was advertised, that there was great diffention and diversity of Pernicious Opinions in his said Town of Calice, greatly tending to the danger of the same. Whereupon, during yet the days of the Lord Cromwel, were sent over Doctor Champion, Doctor of Divinity, and Mr. Garret, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and instruct the People, and to confute all Pernicious Errors, who in effect preached and maintained the same true Doctrine which Adam Damlip had before set forth, and by reason thereof they left the Town at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the slander that had run on it.

After the departure of the said Champion and Garret, one Sir William Smith Curate of our Ladies Parish in Calice (a man very zealous, though but meanly learned) did begin to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against Papistry and wilful ignorance, exhorting men obediently to receive the word, and no longer to condemn the same, lest Gods heavy plagues and wrath should fall upon them, which always followeth the contempt of his holy word. Which Sir William Smith, for that sometime he would be very fervent and zealous, sharply inveighing against the despisers of the Word, was moved by some of the Council there, who would seem to favour Gods Word that he should not be so earnest against them that yet could not away with the same, willing him to bear with such, for by bearing with them they might hap to be won.

Well, well, said the same Smith, (openly in the Pulpit one day as he preached) some say I am too earnest, and will me to bear with such as continue open Enemies against Christs holy Gospel, and refuse, say forbid that one should read the Bible or holy Scripture within their house; but let all such take heed, for before God, I fear that God for their contemning of his word will not long bear with them, but make them in such Case as some of them shall not have a Head left them upon their shoulders to bear up their Cap withal; which also after came to pass.

This Smith continued in the diligent bestowing of his Talent there, till shortly after the Devil got such

hold in the hearts of a number of Gods Enemies, that he with divers other godly men were called over into England, and charged with erroneous Opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

First the Lord Lisle the Kings Deputy there, whom we shewed to be the maintainer of Damlip (albeit he were himself of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble Blood, the base Son of that Noble Prince K. Edw.) being fiercely set on and incessantly enticed by the wicked Lady Honor his Wife, who was an utter Enemy to Gods honor, and in Idolatry, Hypocrisie, and Pride incomparably evil, she being daily and hourly thereunto incited and provoked by Sir Thomas Palmer Knight, and John Rockwood Esquire, two Enemies to Gods Word, beginning now to flourish at Calice: these I say, with certain other of the Council of the said town of Calice, to the number of 7. more belides themselves, seeking occasion or rather a quarrel where no just cause was given, began to write very heinous Letters and grievous complaints unto the Lords of the privy Council, against divers of the Town of Calice, affirming that they were horribly infected with Heresies and Pernicious Opinions: As first the foresaid Adam Damlip, who, though he were for a time escaped their hands, yet stuck still in their remembrance from time to time, until at last the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a Traitor, as hereafter shall appear.

Also besides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Brook, R. Hare likewise of Sir J. Butler, then Commissary, Sir W. Smith, J. Cooke, alias Coppen de Hane, J. Barber, and other, and the names of all them sent over. Of the which Persons, first the said T. Brook, and Ralph Hare, Coppen de Hane and James Barber, were apprehended and sent over, and committed to Prison in Westminster Gate, and then commanded to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Chichester, and ten other appointed by the Kings Majesties Commission for the Examination of them: and their accusers were sent over with Letters from the Council there unto his Privy Council here, in the furtherance of their malicious sutes against those honest men, with certain special Letters directed unto the Lord Fitzwilliams then Earl of Southampton, great Admiral of England, to the Lord Sande, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, likewise also to Sir William Kingstone Knight, Controller of the Household, and to Doctor Sampson then Bp. of Chichester, and other tending all to one effect, that is to say, the utter destruction of these godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, had not mightily preserved them, and as it were overshadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

That the same may the better appear, you shall understand, that first Ralph Hare, a man rude and so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet through Gods grace was very Zealous, and therewith lead so godly and temperate a life, as not one of his Enemies could accuse or blame the same his sober life and conversation. This Ralph Hare was charged to be one that had spoken against auricular Confession, against holy Bread and holy Water: yea, and beside that, he was one which would not lightly swear an Oath, nor use almost any manner of pastime, nor good fellowship, as they term it, but was always in a corner by himself, looking on his Book. This poor simple man being charged by the Commissioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwise, coming out of a Town so infected with pernicious Errors and Sects, as that was, was willed by them to take good heed to himself, lest through obstinacy he turned his erroneous Opinions into plain Heresie: for an Error defended is Heresie.

My good Lords, said the poor man, I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any Error, or Heresie. Wherefore I beseech you let my Accusers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be Truth, I will stand unto it; and otherwise, if it be an Error, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it, I mean if it be against Gods holy Word for the Lord is my witness, I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the Truth, and flee from all Errors, and I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from them.

The Lord
Lisle safe
Son to King
Edward the
fourth.

Sir T. Pal-
mer, Master
Rockwood.

The Council
of Calice
Letters a-
gainst the
Protestants.

The trouble
of R. Hare
Souldier of
Calice.

Ralph Hare
charged.

The answer
of R. Hare.

were of the Town all. Then inferred he, that he was sure Pool could as well remember some of their names which then were present, as freely to keep in mind (for so by Oath upon a Book he had affirmed) every word of the whole matter which he objected; but that the matter was utterly untrue. Whereupon the said Brook desired their Honours to consider the slenderness of his Tale.

To be short, he with the rest of his fellows, to wit, *Ralf Hare*, *Coppen*, and *James* the Barber, were for that time dismissed.

The trouble and examination of Sir William Smith and John Butler Commisary. The accusation of John Butler.

Answer, digest the blood and roots of the Scurme.

During the time while these four were thus in examination at London, the other two, to wit, Sir William Smith preacher, and John Butler, by commandment were apprehended in Calice, and bound by Surety not to pass the Gates of the Town of Calice. In the which Town, the said John Butler Commisary was accused by Richard Thorpe and John Ford Souldiers of Calice, saying, That he should say, that if the Sacrament of the Altar be Flesh, Blood, and Bone, then there is good Aquavitae at John Spicers. Upon which accusation the said Thorpe and Ford brought for records before the Council of Calice, *Marrawis*, *Haynes*, *John Luckes*, *Henry Haffson* and *Henry Troff*, all of the Parish of Oye beside Calice. Whereupon shortly after, the said John Butler and Sir William Smith were sent for, and by one Swallow a Pursivant, which fetch up the other aforesaid, brought into England, unto the House of the said Swallow dwelling by St. James, where the Kings Majesty lay at that time, and the next day being Thursday after dinner, Butler and Smith were brought to the Star Chamber before the Privy Council, where both Sedition and Heresie was objected against them. And after much talk it was said unto them by the Lord Cromwell, that they should make their Purgation by the Law: and from thence by the fore said Swallow they were sent to the Fleet.

The next day being Friday after dinner, Butler and Smith were sent for to come to Bath place, where they were brought into the Chappel, there sitting Doctor Clarke, Bishop of Bath, Doctor Sampson, then Bishop of Chichester, Doctor Repsh, the Bishop of Norwich, who was a Monk, being fast asleep. Then was objected unto Butler with great reverence the opprobrious words spoken again the blessed Sacrament (rehearsing as is aforesaid) the Articles. Butler required to have them in writing, and so he would make answer in writing. The which they would not grant him; and upon that answer he stood. Then choler gathered in the Bishop of Chichester. The story were too long to write, yet part ye shall understand.

Chichester found great fault that Butler made not low curtesie, being stubborn and arrogant, as he said, and in fine, found fault with his shirt. Then turning him about he called to his Brother Banefier being present (that time dwelling in Paternoster-Row) to make answer for the shirt. He said, I can make answer for the shirt. No good answer, said Chichester. Forsooth, said he, the shirt is mine, I lent it him, because he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to have any Servant. A good answer, said the Bishop of Bath. Then Butler made low curtesie, and said, The shirt is answered. Then Chichester said, Thou mockest us. But he said no. And thus much concerning that time.

The Story of William Smith.

The trouble and examination of Sir William Smith Curate.

Then after Butler was Sir William Smith, Curate of our Lady Parish in Calice, called before them, and charged in a manner with the same heinous errors and pernicious opinions that were objected against the said Ralf Hare; and thereto was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady, against praying to Saints, against doing of good works, and many other such like things; and therewithal one Richard Long, a Man at Arms at Calice, proved against the said Sir Smith, and the said Brooke, by an Oath taken upon a Book, that the said Smith and Brooke did eat Flesh together in Lent in the said Brookes Houfe. For a Millers Boy, said he came into Brookes Kitchen, and saw halfe a Lamb lie rolling at the fire. Whereas the truth is, that the said Sir William Smith, during all the Lent, came never

once within the said Brookes Houfe. And it is as true also, that the said Richard Long, upon a displeasure taken with his Wife, went shortly after out of his own Houfe; to the Jury end of the Haven at Calice, where deliberately he drowned himself, not one Boy, but many Men, Women, Girls and Boys seeing him miserably taken up again stark dead; all which lamented his pitiful ruine. A terrible example unto all such as are ready to forswear themselves on a Book upon malice, or whatsoever other cause it be, a thing in these days over rife every where, and almost no where regarded as it ought to be.

The Trouble of John Butler.

There was also called before them Sir John Butler, then Commisary at Calice, whom they would have burdened with the maintenance or (at the least wife) sustenance of the fore said Adam Dampl, which preached so long time there, and was not by him punished. Who for his defence answered, that the Lord Deputy and the whole Council there so highly entertained, and so friendly used the said Dampl, and with their own presence and high commendations outwardly so allowed and commended his Doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwise than he did; and therefore humbly besought their Lordships and other the Commissioners to be good unto him. At whose Hands, after long attendance given, he was discharged, and so returned home again, being also dismissed of his Commisarihip.

The trouble of John Butler Commisary.

The Recantation of certain Calice Men.

Now to declare what order was taken with these fore said Calice Men, it was appointed that Sir William Smith, Ralf Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber, should be sent to Calice, there to abjure and to do Penance. Where Sir William Smith was enjoined to make the Sermon, Ralf Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber standing with Fagots upon their Shoulders. The Sermon was made in the Market of Calice, Which being done, they went with their Fagots about the market place, the Drum and Fife going before them, and then returning to the Commissioners with the Testimonial of the same, they departed. Albeit in this Recantation, the said William Smith Curate of our Ladies Church handled his Sermon after that sort, as in effect he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, yet it satisfied somewhat his Adversaries malicious Hearts, in that it bare the name of a Recantation, according to the Commissioners order, appointing him thus openly to preach, and so to depart the Town and Marches.

As touching James Barber aforesaid, so much as his dwelling was not at Calice, but four miles off from the Town, it was therefore enjoined him to bear his Fagot, not at Calice, but on the Saturday next following to stand in the Market there, where he dwelled, with his Fagot upon his Shoulder, and the said Sir William Smith likewise there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the first Commission sent over to Calice to enquire upon the Hereticks there.

The recantation and presence of Sir William Smith, Ralf Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber of Calice.

James Barber

Another Commission sent over to Calice.

After all these things done and past, the grudging minds of the Adversaries yet were not satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the Kings eares against the Town of Calice, making the King believe, that through new opinions the Town was so divided, that it was in great danger of the Adversary to be overcome.

Whereupon shortly after, the week before Easter next following, other new Commissioners were sent over by the King to Calice, to wit, the Earle of Suffex Lord great Chamberlain, the Lord Saint John, Sir John Gage Knight, John Baker Knight, Master Layton Clerk of the Closet, and Doctor Curwin, with special instructions besides signed by the Kings Majestys own Hand: for his highness had been incensed once again from the Council of Calice, that the Town was in peril through dissension and diversity of opinions. Upon their arrival, Master Doctor Curwin preached a notable Sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but charity, charity. But as it seemed afterward, such a burning charity was in him and the rest of the Commissioners, that had not God pitied the

A new Commission sent down to Calice. Felle accusation against the Town of Calice.

The Commissioners appointed.

innocency of mens causes, there had an hundred been burnt or hanged shortly after.

But it hapned far otherwise, for of the number of those Accusers, four were by those Commissioners sent over into England, to wit, *Clement Philper*, Servant to the Lord *Lisle*, *Sir Edmund* Curate of our Ladies Church, *W. Houchet* a Post-master, *Peter Bequet* Of the which four, *Houchet* and *Bequet* were sent to their places again; the other two were drawn, hanged and quartered at London. But contrary, of all them that were accused, there was not one that lost one hair of his head.

Example of Gods punishment upon false Accusers.

After the Sermon was done, on the Morrow, to wit, on *Sher Thursday*, all the Commissioners solemnly received the Sacrament: and at Afternoon the Council were with the Commissioners; and after their consultation, Tipped-Staffs warned above the number of fourscore, so perverse Persons, as the like was not in the Town or Marches, to appear on the Morrow at eight of the Clock before the Council at the *Staple-Inne*: who at their appearance were commanded upon their Allegiance to present all such Hereticks, Schismatics, and Seditious Persons, as they did know, and in no wise to doubt or dread to do so, for they should have great advantage thereby, yea, they should either have their livings or their goods; and besides that, they should have great thanks at the Kings Majesties hand, and his honourable Council, and what friendship they of the Kings Council there could shew them. All that *Good-Friday*, even till ten of the Clock at Night, those wicked and malicious persons occupied their time in answering to sundry and divers questions.

Great persecution at Calice.

These things were not so secretly done, but they were betrayed and came to honest mens knowledge. Whereupon such fear and distrust assailed all men, that Neighbour distrusted Neighbour, the Master the Servant, the Servant the Master, the Husband the Wife, the Wife the Husband, and almost every one the other, that lamentable it was to see how mourningly Men and Women went in the Streets, hanging down their heads, shewing evident tokens of the anguish of their hearts.

The second Trouble of Thomas Brook.

UPON *Easter Monday*, one *Hugh Cuncell* an honest man, Servant to the said *Brook*, was convented before them, and by the space of fourteen days not suffered to return to his Masters House, but kept in custody, and many times examined upon Articles and Interrogatories, in hope to have found worthy matter, either of Heresie or Treason against the said *Brook*, and the same day that *Brook* was committed to Ward, the said *Hugh Cuncell* was discharged.

The *Wednesday* in the *Easter Week*, sundry Quests were charged by their Oaths to make Inquisition for all manner of Heresies, erroneous Opinions and Seditions: as a Quest of Aldermen, another of Men at Arms, and another of Constables and Vintners, another of common Souldiers, and another of Commoners.

23 Calice Men imprisoned for their Faith.

And shortly after their Presentments, on *Good-Friday* there were convented before the Commissioners, and straight were sent to close Prison, *Anthony Pickering* Gentleman, *Henry Turner* Gentleman, *Sir George Darby* Priest, *John Shepheard*, *William Pellam*, *William Keverdale*, *Jo. Whitwood*, *Jo. Boore*, *Robert Clodder*, *Coppen de Hane*, and *Matthew de Hound*. Upon whom ran sundry bruises: some said they should be hanged, some said burnt, some said hanged, drawn and quartered, some said nailed to the Pillory: so that pitiful it was to see the lamentation that their Wives, their Children, Servants and Friends made secretly where they durst, for that they found every where words of discomfort, and no where of comfort, but still Inquisition was made.

The second Trouble of William Stevens.

False Crimes forged against W. Stevens.

THE forefaid *William Stevens*, after his return from London above-mentioned, besides many other Articles laid to him for Religion to the number of forty or well-nigh, was by the Lord Deputy charged that he had flaid the forefaid *Adam Damisp*, hired him to preach, and gave him meat, drink and lodging, coming from the arrant Traitor Cardinal *Pool*, and suborned by him, and that he had received mony of him, to the intent he should

preach in *Calice* false and erroneous Doctrine, whereby the Town being divided and at contention within it self might easily be overcome and won by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the said *Stevens* answered, that whatsoever he had done unto the said *Adam Damisp*, he had done it at the earnest request and commandment of the said Lord Deputy. Whereupon, if it had been Treason indeed, he must have been more faulty.

Then the said *William Stevens* was again the second time by the said Commissioners sent over into England, and clapt in the Tower, and afterward, to wit, immediately after the said Commissioners repair unto the Kings Highness, the said *L. Deputy* was sent for over, and likewise put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And when the Kings Majesty minded to have been gracious unto him, and to have let him come forth, God took him out of this World, whose Body relict in the Tower, and his Soul with God, I trust, in Heaven, for he died very repentant. But the wicked Lady his Wife, immediately upon his apprehension, fell distracted of mind, and so continued many years after. God for his mercy, if she yet live, give her his Grace to repent.

W. Stevens committed to the Tower.

L. Lisle Deputy of Calice committed to the Tower.

Example of Gods punishment upon his Persecutors.

The second *Monday* after *Easter*, the forefaid *Brook* was convented before the Commissioners, and committed to close Prison in the Mayors Gaol. Then the Council of *Calice*, doubting lest there should be any Sedition or Heresie proved against him, did call one *George Bradway* before them, who occupied the Controllers Office in the Custom-House. This man was kept in close Prison, so as neither his Wife, then great with Child, nor any other his Friends might repair unto him. Where, after that he had oftentimes been born in hand, that there were divers concealments come to light that were made by *Brook* in the Office of Custom, and that the said *Bradway* should be grievously punished if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the said *Brook* with some kind of concealment: the poor simple man, hoping thereby to get release of his imprisonment, accused the said *Brook*, that he had for a long time concealed four Groats every day for his Clerks wages, and to that Accusation they caused the simple man to set his own hand before witnesses.

Whereupon, after a day or two, the said *Bradway*, grieved in his Conscience for the same his most untrue Accusation, did with a Knife enterprize to cut his own throat: but God of his mercy so directed his wicked purpose, that the back of his Knife was towards his Wefand. Whereby though the wound were broad, yet he escaped with life. And as he gave a groan with the sudden pain that he felt, the Gaoler came up and bereft him of the Knife. But through the guiltness of the false Accusation, and shame of the World, the man lost his wits, who then flaring and dismayed was dismissed out of Prison, and a long time after went in pitious case so dismayed about the Street, to the great impoverishing of him, his poor Wife and Family.

Gods mercy in punishing.

This kind of handling of the said *Brook* made all his Friends, but especially his Wife, to be greatly afraid of the malice of his Enemies: the rather also, for that all his Goods and Lands were seized, and his Wife thrust into the meanest place of all his house, with her Children and Family, the Keys of all the Doors and Chests also taken from her. Who for that she was rigorously intreated at *Sir Edw. Kingley*'s hand, Controller of the Town (an Office of no small charge, though he knew not a B. from a Battle-dore, nor ever a letter of the Book) saying unto her, that if she liked not the Room, he would thrust her quite out of the doors: Well Sir, said she, well, the Kings Slaughter-house had wrong when you were made a Gentleman; and with all speed she wrought a Letter to the Lord *Cromwel*, therein discouraging how hardly and sore those poor men were handled, that were committed to Ward and close Prison, and that all men feared (what through the malice of the Papistical Enemies, and the great rigor and ignorant zeal of those that were in Authority) they should shortly for their Faith and Consciences, being true men, and such as reverently feared God, be put to death, but chiefly her Husband who was yet more extremely handled than any other: So that unless his Honour vouchsafed to be a means to the Kings Majesty, that they with their Causes might be sent over into England, they were but dead men.

Letters sent to the Lord Cromwel from Calice.

Where-

The Lord
Cromwell
Letter to
the Council-
lors at
Calice.

Whereupon the said Lord Cromwell wrote speedily his Letters unto the Commissioners, declaring, that the Kings Majesties pleasure and commandment was, that the errant Traitor and Heretick Brooke, with a dozen or twenty Complices, should with their Accusers be immediately sent oyers, that here in England they might receive their judgment, and there at Calice, to the great terror of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits.

Now by the time that the said Commissioners had received these Letters, they had made out precepts for eight or nine score honest men more to be cast in Prison. But these Letters so appalled them, that they stayed, and afterward sent no more to ward. But making then as diligent Inquisition as was possible, to have found some worthy matter against those before named, whereby there might have been some colour both of the Councils grievous complaints, and of the Commissioners rigorous dealing; when no such thing could fall out, because they would be assured that they should not go unpunished, they first banished them the Town and Marches of Calice with a Trumpet blown, under pain of death, for an hundred years and a day (if that one day had been left out, all had been marred) and then sent them back to Prison, slaying them there upon hope that the L. Cromwell should come into Captivity sooner than he did. But at last, to wit on May day, they sent the thirteen Prisoners through the Market, the said Brook going before with Irons on his Legs, as the chief Captain, the rest following him two and two without Irons, unto shipboard, and then were they all coupled in Irons, two and two together. Where because they were loath to go under the Hatches, Sir John Gage with a Staff smote some of them cruelly. Whereupon Amb. Pickering said unto him, Sir, I beseech you yet be as good to us as ye would be to your Horses or Dogs, let us have a little air that we be not smothered. Yet that request could not be obtained, but the Hatches were put down close, and they guarded and kept with a great Company of men; and so sailing forward, by Gods merciful providence, were within four and twenty hours at Anchor before the Tower of London.

And when the Lord Cromwell understood they were come, he commanded their Irons to be smit off at the Tower Wharf, and the Prisoners to be brought unto him.

When he law them, he smiled upon them, steadfastly beholding each of them, and then said, Sirs, you must take pains for a time, and go your way to the Fleet, and submit your selves Prisoners there, and shortly you shall know more. So indeed they did; and that evening he sent them word they should be of good cheer, for if God sent him life, they should shortly go home with as much honesty as they came with shame.

Whilst these thirteen persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, to wit, the nineteenth day of July, Anno 1541. the fore-said Lord Cromwell, for Treason laid against him, was at Tower-Hill beheaded, as is before specified in his Story, who made there a very Christian end. Then had the poor Calice men great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But ye in the midst of their deep troubles and miseries so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise did their consolation and joy in him; so far forth as Matthew de Houard, one of these thirteen, who was in trouble only for that he heard Copen de Hall read a Chapter of the New Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his Wife, Children, and Country, as the rest, got in short time such instruction, that having therewith a Soul and Conscience fraught full of godly Zeal unto Gods glory, and the true Doctrine of Christ, within a few months after his deliverance out of the Fleet, for inveigling constantly against the wicked honouring of Images, and praying to Saints departed, he was cruelly, in a most constant Faith and Patience, burned in Flanders.

Now therefore when all hope in man was past, the right honourable Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged first the said thirteen that were in the Fleet, and at length, two

years after, he delivered William Stevens also by the Kings own motion, out of the Tower, slaying at the discharging of those thirteen; Sirs, pray for the Kings Majesty, his pleasure is that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your Livings betaken from you, yet dispair not, God will not see you lack. But for Gods sake, Sirs, beware how you deal with Popish Priests; for, so God save my Soul, some of them be Knaves all. Sirs, said he, I am commanded by the Council to tell you, that you are discharged by virtue of the Kings general Pardon, but that Pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all Sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you are called Sacramentaries: therefore I cannot see how that Pardon doth you any pleasure. But pray for the Kings Highness, for his Graces pleasure is that I should dismiss you, and so I do, and pity you all. Farewel Sirs.

So giving God most hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed dismissed as you have heard, being indeed in very poor estate; but not in so miserable estate as all those eight Councilors of Calice were within one year and a half after. For whereas the other three Councilors which seemed more favourable unto them (to wit, the Lord Gray, Sir George Carew, and Sir Richard Greenfield) which purged the Town of those slanders that untruly were raised upon it, were therefore for a time in their Printes high displeasure; within that year they were all three in greater favour with his Majesty than ever they were before, and that not without the reward of twenty pounds by year to him and to his heirs, who had least. The other eight Councilors, unjustly charging them and the Town of Sedition and Heresie, (that is to say, the Lord Lisle, the Lord Sands, Sir John Wallop, Sir Edward Knies, Robert Fowler Esquire, Vice-Treasurer, Sir Thomas Palmer Knight, called long Palmer, William Simpson, Esquire, Under-marshal, and John Rockwood) were either greatly out of their Princes favour, and in the Tower, or else were Prisoners, or else by very desperate deaths, in outward appearance, taken out of this world. For tediousness I will rehearse but only the horrible end of the said Rockwood, the chief stirrer up of all the afflictions afore spoken of: who even to his last breath, staring and raging, cried, he was utterly damned. And being willed to ask God mercy, who was ready to forgive all that asked mercy of him, he brayed and cried out, All too late, for I have fought maliciously the deaths of a number of the honest men in the Town; and though I so thought them in my heart, yet I did that lay in me to bring them to an evil death: all too late therefore, all too late. Which same words he answered to one, that at the departure of the thirteen in Irons towards England, said; Sir, I never saw men of such honesty so sharply corrected, and taking it so patiently and joyfully. Rockwood then fetching a frisk or two, scoffingly answered, All too late. The Under-Marshal suddenly fell down in the Council Chamber, and never spake word after, nor shewed any token of repentance. The Plagues of the other also, as I am credibly informed, were little better.

Example how God prospereth the iusticers and Friends to his Gospel.

Example how God turneth the malice of their Enemies upon their own heads.

The second Apprehension and Martyrdom of Adam Damlip.

Concerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, how he being converted before the Bishops at Lambeth, and afterward secretly admonished, and having money given him by his Friends to avoid, and not to appear again before the Bishops; after he had sent his Allegations in writing unto them, departed into the West-Country and there continued teaching a School a certain space, about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miserable inquisition of the six Articles, and brought up to London, where he was by Steven Gardiner commanded into the Marshalsey, and there lay the space of other two years or thereabout.

During the imprisonment of this George in the Marshalsey, John Marbeck (as partly ye heard before) also was committed unto the same Prison, which was the morrow after Palm-Sunday. The manner of that time so required, that at Easter every Person must needs come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the

The com-
mon saying
of the Lord
Audley con-
cerning Po-
pish Priests

Calice men
dismissed.

Example
how God
prospereth
the iusticers
and Friends
to his Gospel.

Example
how God
turneth the
malice of
their Enemies
upon their own
heads.

The Exam-
ple of Gods
judgment
upon a cruel
Persecutor.

Adam then
up again ap-
prehended.

The 13 Pri-
soners of
Calice sent
to London.

The cruelty
of a Popish
Persecutor.

The 13 Pri-
soners put
in the Fleet.

Matthew de
Houard a
blessed Mar-
tyr of God
but sent in
Flanders.

The Lord
Audley opposed
to the perse-
cuted mem-
bers of
Christ.

*Our Bucke
Confessor
to the Pri-
soners in the
Marshalsey.*

*Acquies-
cence be-
tween John
Marbeck and
Our Bucke,
otherwise
called Adam
Damlip.*

the Prisoners there, was enforced to come upon *Easter-day* to Sir *George* aforesaid, to be confessed, who was then Confessor to the whole House. By this occasion *John Marbeck*, which had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long he had lain there in Prison, by whom and wherefore, who declared moreover his mind to *Marbeck*, to the effect as followeth: And now because, said he, I think

they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the Bishop of *Winchester*, in an Epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to Examination. I know the worst: I can but lose my life present, which I had rather do, than here to remain, and not to be suffered to use my Talent to Gods glory. Wherefore (God willing) I will surely put it in proof.



Adam Damlip well beloved among the Prisoners, specially of the Keeper, Master of the Marshalsey.

This *Damlip* for honest and godly behaviour was beloved of all the whole House, but especially of the Keeper himself, whose Name was *Massy*, whom he always called *Master*, and being suffered to go at liberty within the House whither he would, he did much good among the common and rascal sort of Prisoners, in rebuking Vice and Sin, and kept them in such good order and awe, that the Keeper thought himself to have a great Treasure of him. And no less also *Marbeck* himself confesseth, to have found great comfort by him. For notwithstanding the straight Precept given by the Bishop of *Winchester*, that no man should come to him, nor he to speak with any man; yet the said *Adam* many times would find the means to come and comfort him.

Ad. Damlip writeth to the Bishop of Winchester.

Now when he had made and drawn out his Epistle, he delivered the same to his Master the Keeper, upon *Saturday* in the Morning, which was about the second Week before *Whitsunday* following, desiring him to deliver it at the Court to the Bishop of *Winchester*. The Keeper said, he would, and so did. The Bishop, what quick speed he made for his dispatch I know not, but thus it fell out as ye shall hear.

The Keeper came home at night very late, and when the Prisoners (which had tarried Supper for his coming) saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the Keeper casting up his eyes upon Sir *George*, said, O *George*, I can tell thee tidings. What is that *Master*, quoth he? Upon *Monday* next thou and I must go to *Calice*. To *Calice* *Master*? What to do? I know not, quoth the Keeper, and pulled out of his Purse a piece of Wax with a little label of Parchment hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a Precept. And when Sir *George* saw it, he said, Well, well, *Master*, now I know what the matter is. What, quoth the Keeper? truly *Master* I shall die in *Calice*. Nay, quoth the Keeper, I trust it to be not so. Yes yes, *Master*, it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness therein. And so the Keeper and they went together to Supper, with heavy cheer for Sir *George*, as they there called him. Who notwith-

standing was merry himself, and did eat his Meat as well as ever he did in all his life: inasmuch that some of the Board said unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his Meat so well, knowing he was to near his death. Ah *Masters*, quoth he, do you think that I have been Gods Prisoner so long in the *Marshalsey*, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein. *Ex Literis Joham. Marbecki.*

And so upon *Monday* early in the Morning before day, the Keeper with three other of the Knight *Marshals* Servants, setting out of *London*, conveyed the said *Adam Damlip* to *Calice* upon the *Ascension* Even, and there committed him to the Mayors Prison. Upon which day *John Butler* the Commissary aforesaid, and Sir *Daniel* his Curate of *St. Peters* were also committed to the same Prison, and commandment given no man to speak with *Butler*.

Upon *Saturday* next was the day of Execution for *Damlip*. The cause which first they laid to his charge, was for Heresie. But because by an Act of Parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned (through which Act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before) yet for the receiving of the foresaid French Crown of Cardinal *Pool* (as you heard before) he was condemned of Treason, and in *Calice* cruelly put to death, being drawn, hanged and quartered.

The day before his Execution came unto him one Mr. *Mote*, then Parson of our Lady Church in *Calice*, saying, Your four Quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the Town. And where shall my Head be, said *Damlip*? Upon the *Lantern-Gate*, said *Mote*. Then *Damlip* answered, Then shall I not need to provide for my burial. At his death, Sir *R. Ellerker* Knight, then Knight Marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his Faith, or the Cause he died for, but said to the Executioner, Dispatch the Knave, have done. For Sir *W. Mote*, appointed there to preach declared

*The cheerful
contrary of
Ad. Damlip.*

*Ad. Damlip
brought to
Calice to
suffer.*

*The con-
stant cou-
rage of
Ad. Damlip,
not caring
for his
death.*

Damip falls by accident of Treason, and innocently put to death.

An example of Gods just revengement.

Another example of J. Butler, and Sir D. Mel his Curate.

Ex scriptis testimonio Calceatium W. Stevens an earnest Protestant fully condemned for Popery. W. Stevens with the rest pardoned by the King.

A poor man burned at Calce for the right Faith of the Sacrament.

A notable example of Gods judgment upon a bloody Persecutor.

One Dod burned in Calce.

declared to the People, how he had been a fower of seditious Doctrine; and albeit he was for that pardoned by the General Pardon, yet he was condemned for being a Traitor against the King. To the which when *Adam Damip* would have replied and purged himself, the said Sir *R. Ellerker* would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away: And so most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent Martyr took his death, Sir *R. Ellerker* saying, that he would not away before he saw the Traitors heart out. But shortly after, the said Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, in askmish or road between the French men and us at *Bulleine*, was among other slain. Whose only death sufficed not his Enemies, but after they had stripped him stark naked, they cut off his Privy Members, and cut the heart out of his Body, and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men. For no cause was known why they shewed such indignation against the said Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, more than against the rest, but that it is written, *Faciens Justitias Domus & judicia omnibus injuria pressis.*

As touching *John Butler* and Sir *Daniel* his Curate, imprisoned (as ye heard) the same day with *Damip*, upon Sunday next following they were committed to *John Masly* afore said, Keeper of the *Marshalsey*, and his Company, and brought to the *Marshalsey*, where he and his Curate continued nine months and more. At last, being fore layed out by Sir *George Gage*, Sir *John Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel* Knights, but especially by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, for the retaining of *Adam Damip*, yet by Friends soliciting the Kings Highness for him (namely Sir *Leonard Malsgrave*, and his Brother *Baumfer*, who were bound for his appearance in a thousand pounds,) he at length by great labour and long time was discharged, and at last by licence permitted to return to *Calce* again: *Ex scriptis testimonio Calceatium.*

Furthermore, as touching *William Stevens* above mentioned, who remained all this while Prisoner in the *Tower*, the same was also condemned with *Adam Damip* of Treason, which was for Note and Crime of Popery, in lodging *Adam Damip*, which came from *Cardinal Pool* the Traitor, in his House, at the Lord *Deputies* commandment. Notwithstanding the King afterward understanding more of the said *William Stevens*, how innocent he was from that Crime, being known to all men to be an earnest and zealous Protestant, gave him his Pardon, and sent him home again to *Calce*, and so likewise all the other thirteen above mentioned.

The Story of a poor Labouring-man in Calce.

BY the credible information and writing of the said *Calce* men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of *Calce*, that after the preaching of *Adam Damip*, being in a certain Company, he said that he would never believe that a Priest could make the Lords Body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one *Harvey* Commissary there. Which *Harvey* in time of his Judgment inveighing against him with opprobrious words, said that he was an Heretick, and should die a vile death. The poor man (whose name yet I have not certainly learned) answering for himself again, said that he was no Heretick, but was in the Faith of Christ. And whereas thou saiest (said he) that I shall die a vile death, thou thy self shalt die a vile death, and that shortly; and so it came to pass, for within half a year after, the said *Harvey* was hanged, drawn, and quartered for Treason in the said Town of *Calce*.

Another History of one Dod a Scottish-man, burned in Calce.

AFTER the burning of this poor man, there was also another certain Scholar, counted to be a Scottish-man, named *Dod*, who coming out of *Germany*, was taken with certain German Books about him, and being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to the Truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the said Town of *Calce*, within the space of a year or thereabout after the other godly Martyr above mentioned.

And forasmuch as I am presently in hand with matters of *Calce*, I cannot pass from thence without the memory of another certain honest man of the same To wnship, named *Burton*, alias *Crosbow-maker*, although the time of this Story is a little more ancient in years; which Story is this.

William Crosbow-maker, a Souldier of *Calce*, and the Kings Servant, being a man (as some natures be) some-what pleasantly disposed, used when he met with Priests, to demand of them certain merry questions of pastime; as these: Whether if a man were suddenly taken, and wanted another thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the Popes Pardons in stead of a broken Papper.

Another Question was, Whether in the world might better be wanting, Dogs or Priests. And if it were answered that Dogs might rather be spared; to that he would reply again and infer, that if there were no Dogs we could make no more, but if there lacked ignorant Priests, we might soon and too soon make too many of them.

It happened in the time of Doctor *Darby*, Parson of our Ladies Church in *Calce*, being Commissary there for Archbishop *Warham*, there came a black Frier to *Calce* with the Popes pardons, who for four pence would deliver a Soul out of Purgatory. The Frier was full of Romish virtues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no Land with it at night. This foresaid *William Burton* alias *Crosbow-maker*, coming to the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his Father and Friends Souls, asked if the holy Father the Pope could deliver Souls out of Purgatory? The Frier said, there is no doubt of that. Why then, quoth *Burton*, doth not he of Charity deliver all the Souls thereof? Of which words he was accused to the Commissary: who at his appearing before the said Commissary, confessed to have asked such questions. The Commissary being angry thereat, said, Doubtest thou thereof thou Heretick? There was standing by a Black Frier, named *Capel*, an English man, who said to the Commissary, There be ten thousand of these Hereticks between *Graveling* and *Trere*.

Burton answered, Master Frier, This Answer of all men you may keep silence: for your Coat hath been twice cut off from the Faith; the first time your Order was enjoyed to have your black Coat shorter than your white, and for the second time your Order must go to the furthest part of their Church, and there sing in praise of Anthem of our Lady. The Commissary chafed at these words, calling *Burton* Heretick, with many other opprobrious words. Then said *Burton* to the Commissary; If your Holy Father the Pope may deliver Souls out of Purgatory, and will not of Charity deliver them, then I would to God the King would make me Pope, and I would surely deliver all out without money. At these words the Commissary raged, and reviled *Burton* exceedingly causing him to bear a Billet, and procured his wages (which was six pence a day) to be taken from him. Then went *Burton* to the Kings Majesty, declaring all the whole matter to his Grace: Who sent him to *Calce* again, and gave him after that eight pence a day.

A notable example, wherein may appear as well the despite of Doctor London and other Papists against the Gospellers, as also the Fidelity of a Maïron towards her Husband.

FORasmuch as mention was made a little before of Doctor *London*, we will somewhat more add of him, because the matter seemeth neither impertinent nor unfruitful, to the intent it may more evidently appear, what Truth and trust it to be looked for of this cruel kind of Papists. This Doctor *London* was Warden of the New Colledge in *Oxford*, where it happened that certain Plate was stolen, and conveyed and brought up to *London*, and sold to a Gold-Smith named *William Callaway*. This *Callaway* was a man of good and honest name and reputation among his Neighbours, but especially earnest and zealous towards the Gospel, and a great maintainer thereof. He had oftentimes before bought much Plate of the same man without any peril or danger, wherefore he doubted the less of his Fidelity.

The Story of W. Crosbow-maker being a Billet in Calce, W. Cryf-ten-sig question.

Heretick to doubt of the Popes cure; then the black Frier ed to sing every eight to our Lady her concep- tion.

W. Cryf-ten-sig maker pardoned of the King.

The cruel malice of Dr London against the Gospel.

Ex Ed Hall's W. Callaway Gold-Smith of London.

At

This Principal was a Chaplain of the said Colledge.

At the last the principal of the Theft being taken, and the Goldsmith also that was the Buyer being known; Dr. London, when he understood him to be a favourer of the Gospel (whereof he was an extream Adversary) began straightways to be in a rage, and to swear great and deep Oaths, that he would spare neither labour nor cost, but would bring the Goldsmith to the Gallows, although it should cost him five hundred pounds. To be short, this good Goldsmith was arraigned as Accessary, and an Action of Felony brought against him. He contrariwise alledged, That they ought not to proceed against him, the Principal being alive. Dr. London on the contrary part affirmed that the Principal was hanged; which was most false, for he was one of the same Colledge, and was alive, and but lately set at liberty. To be brief, he being found guilty, the Judge asked him what he could alledge why he should not die? He required to have the privilege of his Book, according to the ancient custom and manner. But here it was objected against him that he was *Bigamus*, and therefore he might not have his Book by the Law; notwithstanding that he never had two Wives, but because his Wife had two Husband, it was imputed to him for *Bigamia*.

Colledge's claimeth the privilege of his Book. *Bigamus*, that is, a man that hath had two Wives.

A singular example of a faithful Wife toward her husband.

True love between Man and Wife.

Thus this good Goldsmith being secluded from all hope of life, by the crafty spite of his malignant Adversaries; his Wife, being a Woman of proved honesty and good fame, came in before the Judges, and perceiving her former Marriage to be hurtful unto her Husband, to save her Husband's life, she took an Oath before the Judges that she was not *Bigama*, and that she was never married to more men than to the said Goldsmith; and although she had Children by her other Husband, and continued divers years with him, yet she swore that she was never married unto him. Thus this Woman by defaming of her self, to her great praise and singular example of love, delivered her innocent Husband, thinking it better for her to live with ignominy and reproach, than for her Husband to die, lest esteeming the loss of her good name, than of his life. *Ex Ed. Hallio.*

As touching the quality of this Fact or Perjury, I intermeddle not here to discuss, but leave it at large to the judgment of Lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that Perjury neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought it to be defended. But yet the true heart and faithful love between this Man and his Wife, counterpoising again as much or more on the other side, the more rare and strange I see it in many Couples nowadays, the more I think it worthy, not only to be praised, but also for Examples sake to be notified. But in the mean time, what shall we say to these Priests and Adversaries, who in such sort violently do press, and force the poor Sheep of Christ with peril of their Conscience unto such Perjury, and that in such cases, where no such truth is sought, but innocency oppressed, true Religion persecuted, and only their spite and wrath against Gods Word wreaked.

Lost Priest of Chelsey, Giovanni Gardiner, Traytors against the Kings Supremacy.

During the time of these six Articles aforesaid, which brought many good men unto death; yet so it hapned by another contrary Act set forth before for the Kings Supremacy (as ye have heard) that the contrary Sect also of the Papists was not all in quiet. For besides the death of *More*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*, and the other *Charter-House* Monks, Friars and Priests above specified, about this year also was condemned and executed by the same Law two other, of whom one was a Priest of *Chelsey*, named *Lark*, which was put to death at London for defending the Bishop of *Rome's* Supremacy, above the Kings Authority: The other was *Germaine Gardiner* (near Kinsman to *Steven Gardiner*, and yet more near to his secret counsel, as it is supposed) who likewise in practising for the Pope against the Kings Jurisdiction, was taken with the manner, and so brought unto the Gibbet.

Upon the detection of that *Germaine Gardiner*, being Secretary to *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* his Kinsman, it seemed to some, and so was also insinuated unto the King not to be unlike; but that the said *Germaine* neither would nor durst ever attempt any such matter of Popery, without some setting on, or consent of the Bishop, he being so near unto him, and to all secrets as he was. Whereby the King began somewhat more to smell

and misdoubt the doings of the Bishop; but yet he so covertly and cleanly conveyed his matters, playing under the Board, after his wonted fetches, in such sort as (I cannot tell how) still he kept in with the King, to the great iniquitation of the publick State of the Realm, and especially of Christs Church.

In declaring the dreadful Law before set forth of the six Articles, which was, *An. 1540.* ye heard what Penalty was appointed for the breach of the same, in like case as in Treason and Felony, so that no remedy of any Recantation would serve. This severity was a little mitigated by another Parliament, holden afterward, *An. 1544.* by the which Parliament it was decreed, that such Offenders, which were convicted in the said Articles, for the first time should be admitted to recant and renounce their Opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid unto him by his Ordinary, or after his Recantation if he effrons offended again, then for the second time he should be admitted to abjure and bear a Fagot. Which if he denied to do, or else being abjured if he the third time offended, then he to sustain punishment according to the Law, &c. Although the strictness and rigor of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this present Parliament, yet notwithstanding the venom and poison of the Errors and mischief of those Articles remained still behind not removed, but rather confirmed by this Parliament aforesaid. By the which Parliament moreover many things were provided for the advancement of Popery, under the colour of Religion; so that all manner of Books of the old and new Testament, bearing the name of *William Tyndal*, or any other having Prologues, or containing any Matters, Annotations, Preambles, Words or Sentences contrary to the Six Articles, were debared. In like manner all Songs, Plays and Interludes, with all other Books in English, containing matter of Religion, tending any way against the said Articles were abolished.

In the which Parliament furthermore it was provided, that the Text of the New Testament or of the Bible, being prohibited to all Women, Artificers, Prentices, Journey-men, Serving-men, Yeomen, Husbandmen and Labourers; yet was permitted notwithstanding to Noblemen, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to read and peruse, to their edifying, so that they did it quietly without arguing, discussing or expounding upon the Scripture.

Over and besides, whereas before the Offender or Defendant might not be suffered to bring in any Witnesses to purge and try himself: In this Parliament it was permitted to the party detected, or complained on, to try his Cause by Witnesses, as many, or more in number, as the other which deposed against him, &c.

Other qualifications of the Act of the Six Articles.

After this Parliament moreover followed another Parliament the year following, *Anno 1545.* where in other qualifications more special of the Six Articles were provided; that whereas before the cruel Statute of the Six Articles was so straight, that if any of the Kings Subjects had been complained of by any manner of person, as well being his Enemy as otherwise, he should be indicted presently upon the same, without any further examination or knowledge given to the party so accused, and so thereupon attached, committed, and in fine condemned; it was therefore by this Parliament provided, that all such Presentments and Indictments should not be brought before the Commissioners, otherwise than by the Oaths of Twelve men or more, of honesty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

Item, That no such Indictments or Presentments should be taken, but within one year after the offences committed, or else the said Indictments to stand void in the law.

Item, That no person accused upon any such offence against the Six Articles, should be attached, or committed to Ward before he were thereof indicted, unless by special warrants from the King.

Item, By the Authority of the said Parliament it was considered and enacted, that if any Preacher or Reader, for any word spoken, supposed to be against the Six Articles, should

Suspicion against the Gardiner.

Stat. An. 31. Reg. Hen. 8.

The rigour of the Six Articles a little softened.

Qualification of the Act of the Six Articles.

should be accused, not within the space of forty days of the said his reading or preaching, then the party accused to be acquitted.

Item, That the Justices or Inquirers of such presentments should have full power to alter and reform all pannels of inquiry, returned before them, in like manner as the Justices of Peace may do in their Sessions upon any other Inquiries.

Item, That the party so accused or indicted, upon his trial, may have all manner of challenges (peremptory only excepted) as other persons arraigned for felony may have by the Laws of this Realm.

Statute 1545
K. Hen. 8.

By the qualifications and moderations of the six Articles it may appear that the King began somewhat to grow out of favour with *St. Gardiner*, and to deservy his doings, whereby he was the more forward to incline somewhat in furthering the desolate cause of Religion, as may appear both by the premises, and also by other provisions and determinations of the foresaid Parliament to appoint two and thirty persons, to wit, sixteen of the Clergy, and sixteen of the Temporality, to peruse, oversee, and examine the Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances of the Canon Law, as well Provincial as Synodal, and so, according to their discretions, to set and establish an order of the Ecclesiastical Laws, such as should be thought by the King and them convenient to be received and used within this Realm. Which Statute as it is most needful for the Government of the Church of England so would God it had been brought to perfection.

John Asher
recanteth.

A 1545

In this year, touching matters of History, we read no great thing worthy of Memory, but only of two Persons *John Asher*, and *John Haywood*. Of which two, we read first *John Asher* to be indicted by the Kings Writ for certain words against the Sacrament, which words in the Indictment are specified to be these; That he would not believe in the thing which the *Knaave Priest* made, neither in that which *Longe Wife* selleth; but only in God that is in Heaven. And when it was told him that God through his word could make it Fleish and Blood, he answered; to he might, if he would, turn it into a Chickens leg, meaning the Sacrament of the Altar.

The recantation
of John Haywood

The same year also followed the Recantation of *John Haywood*; who although he was tached for Treason, for denying the Kings Supremacy, yet using the clemency of the King, upon his better reformation and amendment, made an open and Solemn Recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the Popes usurped supremacy, and confessing of the King to be chief suprem Head and Governour of this Church of England, all forein Authority and Jurisdiction being excluded. The tenour and effect of whose Recantation here followeth.

The Recantation of John Haywood.

I Am come hither at this time (good people) willing, and of mine own desirous will, to shew, and declare unto you briefly; First of all the great and inestimable clemency and mercifulness of our most sovereign and redoubted Prince the Kings Majesty, the which his highness hath most graciously used towards me a wretch, most justly and worthily condemned to dye for my manifold and outrageous offences, heynously and traitorously committed against his Majesty and his Laws. For whereas his Majesties Supremacy hath so often been opened unto me both by writing and speaking (if I had Grace, either to open mine eyes to see it, or mine ears to hear it) to be surely and certainly grounded, and established upon the very true Word of God: yet for lack of Grace I have most wilfully and obstinately suffered my self to fall to such blindness, that I have not only thought that the Bishop of Rome hath been and ought to be taken the chief and Supreme Head of the Universal Church of Christ here in earth, but also, like no true Subject, concealed and favoured such as I have known or thought to be of that opinion. For the which most detestable Treasons and untruths, I here most humbly and with all my heart first of all ask of the Kings Majesty forgiveness, and secondarily of the world, beseeching all these that either now do, or

hereafter shall hear of these my great transgressions, to take this mine example for an instruction for them to call for grace, that they thereby be saved from falling at any time into such miserable blindness and folly.

Moreover, here afore God and you (good Christian people) I do utterly and with all my heart recant and revoke all mine aforeaid erroneous and traitorous opinions. And (as my Conscience now doth force) I protest that even with my heart I firmly think and undoubtedly believe, that the Bishop of Rome neither now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can have by any Law of God or Man, any more Authority, without the precinct of his own Countrey about him, than any other Bishop hath within his Diocesi. Whereby I assuredly take the abolishing of the pretended and usurped Power or Authority of the Bishop of Rome out of this Realm, to be done justly and truly by the Law of God. And also I take our Sovereign Lord the Kings Highness to be Supreme Head, immediately next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, and all other his Graces Dominions, both of the Spirituality and Temporality. And I confess not only that his Majesty is so by the Law of God; but also his Progenitors, Kings of this Realm hath been, and his Highness Heirs and Successors Kings of this Realm shall so be.

Thus have I shewed you my mind as well as I can, but neither so well as I would, nor so fully as I should, namely concerning the multitude of mercy which my most gracious Prince hath shewed toward me, not only for saving my Body after worthy condemnation to death, as is aforeaid, but also for saving my Soul from perishing, if my Body had perished before the receiving of such wholesome Counsel, as I had at his Highness most charitable assignment. And of this Confession declared unto you (I say as far forth as I can) I heartily pray you all to bear me record, and most entirely pray Almighty God for the long and most prosperous estate of our Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesty in all his affairs and proceedings.

By me John Haywood.

Memorandum, quod supra scripta Assertio five Recantatio fuit facta & publice emissae per prenomminatum Johannem Haywood die dominica, Sexto vix. die Julii, Anno millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto, apud Crucem Paulinam, tempore Concionis ibidem.

In this year of our Lord God 1545, as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, so years the order of story here requireth by the course of years, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in Scotland, against Master *George Wisehart* and divers other good Men of the same Countrey, about the same year of our Lord, 1545, and somewhat before. But because now we are come to the latter end almost of King *Henry*'s Reign, we will make an end (the Lord willing) with a few other English stories pertaining to that time; and that finished, we will set upon those matters of Scotland, joining them all together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see (good Reader) in the latter end and closing up of this Kings Reign.

Kerby, and Roger Clarke of Suffolk, Martyrs.

Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546. first passing over the Priest, whose name was *Saxey*, which was hanged in the Porters Lodge of *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Whinchester*; and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the said Bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; to pass over also one *Henry* with his Servant burned at *Colchester*; I will now proceed to the story of *Kerby* and *Roger Clarke* of *Mendelsham*, who were apprehended at *Ipswich*, An. 1546. the Saturday before *Gang Monday*, and brought before the Lord *Wentworth* with other Commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations; judgments, and causes. The night before they were arraigned, a Bill was set upon the Town House Door (by whom it was unknown) and brought the next day unto the Lord

Anno
1546.

Saxey a Priest
hanged in
the Porters
Lodge.

brought to
the Lord
Wentworth,
at the arraignment
of Kerby &
Clarke.

Lord Wentworth; who answered, That it was good Counsel. Which Bill in the Latter end shall appear.

In the mean time Kerby and Rogers being in the *Gaols-House*, named *John Bird*, an honest and a good Man (who had checks divers times at the Barr, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a Keeper) came in Master Robert Wingfield, Son and Heir of *Humphrey Wingfield* Knight: with Master *Bruest* of *Wenslesham*; who then having Conference with Kerby; being then in a several Chamber separate from the other) Master Wingfield said to Kerby, Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betime to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink; with such like words of persuasion. To whom he answered again, Ah, Master Wingfield, be at my burning and you shall say, there standeth a Christian Soldier in the fire; for I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things are in the Hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give strength to bear. Ah Kerby, said Master Wingfield, if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn. And so both the Gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook Hands with them, and so departed.

Now first touching the behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they came to the Judgment-seat, the Lord Wentworth with all the rest of the Justices there ready, the Commissary also, by virtue of the Statute *ex Officio*, sitting next to the Lord Wentworth, but one between; Kerby and Roger lifted up their Eyes and Hands to Heaven with great devotion in all mens eyes, making their prayers secretly to God for a space of time, whilst they might say the Lords prayer five or six times.

That done, their Articles were declared unto them with all Circumstances of the Law: and then it was demanded and required of them, Whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a Priest (as Christ spake them to his Apostles) there were not the very Body and Blood of Christ, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no Bread after.

Unto the which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the Sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last Supper, on *Maunday Thursday* at night to his Disciples, was only to put all Men in Remembrance of his Precious Death and Blood shedding for the Remission of Sins, and that there was neither Flesh nor Blood to be eaten with the teeth, but Bread and Wine, and yet more than Bread and Wine, for that it is Consecrated to an Holy use. Then with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats beside (if it would have served) were these two poor men hardly layed to; but most at the Hands of *Pfister* an inferior Justice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both faithful and constant, chusing rather to die than to live, and so continued unto the end.

Then Sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the said Town on the next *Saturday*, and Roger to be burned at *Bury* the *Gang Monday* after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the Lord Wentworth, with most humble Reverence holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, said, Praised be Almighty God, and so stood still without any more words.

Then did the Lord Wentworth talke secretly, putting his hand behind another Justice that sat between them. The said Roger perceiving that, said with a loud voice, speak out my Lord, and if you have any thing contrary to your Conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts do forgive you; and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a judge, and then make answer openly, even before him that shall judge all men; with other like words.

The Lord Wentworth somewhat blushing, and changing his countenance, through remorse as it was thought, said, I did speak dothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the Law is. Then was Kerby and Roger sent forth; Kerby to Prison there, and Roger to *Saint Edmunds Bury*. The one of the two burling

out with a loud voice/ Roger it is supposed, thus spake with a vehemency, *Fight, said he, for your God, for he hath not long to continue.*

The next day, which was *Saturday*, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the Market place, where the Stake was ready, Wood, Broom, and Straw, and did off his cloths unto his shirt, having a night cap upon his head, and so was fastened to the Stake with Irons, there being in the Gallery the Lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the Justices of those Quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what Kerby did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the Gallery by the Lord Wentworth, Doctor *Rugham*, which was before a Monk of *Bury*; and Sexton of the House, having on a Surple and a Stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the Doctor began to disfile himself, as not meet to declare the Holy Scriptures being unprovided because the time was so short, but that he hoped in Gods Assistance it should come well to pass.

All this while Kerby was trimming with Irons and Pagots, Broom, and Straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek Spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then Mr. Doctor at last entered into the fixt chapter of *St. John*. Who in handling that matter so oft as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bad the people believe him. But when he did otherwise, he told him again, You say not true, believe him not good people. Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Doctor *Rugham* a false Prophet. So when Mr. Doctor had ended his collation, he said unto Kerby, Thou good Man, dost not thou believe that the blessed Sacrament of the Altar is the very Flesh and Blood of Christ, and no Bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary; Kerby answering boldly, said, I do not so believe. How dost thou believe? said the Doctor. Kerby said, I do believe that in the Sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper on *Maunday Thursday* to his Disciples (which ought of us likewise to be done) is his death and passion and his bloodshedding for the Redemption of the world, to be remembered, and (as I said before) yet Bread, and more than Bread, for that it is consecrated to a holy use. Then was Master Doctor in his dumps, and spake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then said the underheriff to Kerby, hast thou any thing more to say? Yea Sir, said he, if you will give me leave. Say on, said the Sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his night cap from his head, put it under his Arms as though it should have done him service again: but remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his Hands, he said the Hymn, *Te Deum*, and the belief, with other prayers in the English Tongue. The Lord Wentworth, whilst Kerby was thus doing, did shroud himself behind one of the Posts of the Gallery, and wept, and so did many other. Then said Kerby, I have done: you may execute your office good Mr. Sheriff. Then fire was fet to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his Breast, and holding up his Hands so long as his remembrance would serve, and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

On the *Gang Monday*, *An. 1546.* about ten of the clock, Roger Clarke of *Mendelsham* was brought out of Prison, and went on foot to the Gate, called *Southgate*, in *Bury*, and by the way the Profection met with them, but he went on, and would not bow, cap, nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that Idolatry and Superstition, the Officers being much offended. And without the Gate, where was the place of execution, the Stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and knelled down, and said *Magnificat* in the English Tongue, making as it were a Paraphrase unto the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness, as any other, yet humbled her self to our Saviour. And what sayest thou *John Baptist*, said he, the greatest of all Mens Children?

Behold

The words of Mr. Wingfield to Kerby and Roger in Prison.

The answer of Kerby to Mr. Wingfield.

The behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they were brought before the Judges.

Questions propounded to Kerby and Roger.

Their answer.

The Sacrament more then bare bread and wine.

Refuse to fore an inferior Justice to Gods people.

Sentence given against Kerby and Roger.

Rogers word to the Lord Wentworth.

Roger fear to Bury to be burned.

A prophecy.

Kerby brought to the Stake as he wished.

Dr. Rugham Monk of Bury, preached at the burning of Kerby.

The cheerful countenance and courage of Kerby.

Kerby confession of the Sacrament.

The Lord Wentworth at Kerby burning.

The constant death and Martyrdom of Kerby.

The burning and Martyrdome of Kerby.



John 5: Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the World. And thus with a loud voice he cried unto the People, while he was in fastening unto the Stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the Wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choaked with smoke: and moreover, being fet in a Pitch-barrel, with some Pitch sticking still by the sides, he was therewith fore pained, till he had got his feet out of the Barrel. And at length one standing by took a Faggot-stick, and striking at the Ring of Iron about his neck, so pashed him, and strook him belike upon the Head, that he shrunk down on the one side into the fire, and so was dissolved.

In the beginning of this story of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certain Bill put upon the Townshouse Door, and brought to the next day to the Lord Wentworth, the words of which Bill were these.

The Bill set upon the Town-house Door in Ipswich.

The words of the Bill set upon the Town-house Door.

JUSTE iudicare filii hominum; yet when ye shall judge, minister your Justice with Mercy.
A fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God: he learned therefore in true knowledge, ye that judge the Earth, lest the Lord be angry with you.

The blood of the righteous shall be required at your hands. What though the evil hangd before Moses face; yet at Christs death it fell down.

The Stones will speak, if these should hold their peace; therefore harden not your hearts against the Verity.

For fearfully shall the Lord appear in the day of Vengeance to the troubled in Conscience. No excuse shall there be of ignorance, but every Fat shall stand on his own bottom. Therefore have remorse in your Conscience; fear him that may kill both Body and Soul.

Beware of innocent Blood-shedding, take heed of Justice ignorantly misbred; work discretely as the Scripture doth command; look to it, that you make not the Truth to be forsaken.

We beseech God to save our King, King Henry the Eighth that he be not led into Temptation. So be it.

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in Proclamation by the King's Name and Authority, and his Council, that the English Proce-

sion should be used throughout all England, according as it was set forth by his said Council, and none other, to be used throughout the whole Realm.

About the latter end of this year 1545, in the month of November, after that the King had subdued the Scots, and afterward, joyning together with the Emperour, had invaded France, and had got from them the Town of Bullain, he summoned his High Court of Parliament. In the which was granted unto him, besides other Subsidies of Money, all Colledges, Chanceries, free Chappels, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds and Perpetuities of stipendary Priests, to be disposed at his will and pleasure. Whereupon in the Month of December following, the King after his wonted manner, came into the Parliament-House to give his Royal assent to such Acts as were there passed: where after an eloquent Oration made to him by the Speaker, he answering again unto the same, not by the Lord Chancellor (as the manner was) but by himself, uttered this Oration word for word, as it is reported and left in story.

In the Contents of which Oration, first eloquently and lovingly he declared his grateful heart to his loving Subjects for their Grants and Subventions; offered unto him. In the second part, with no less vehemency he exhorted them to concord, peace and unity. Whereunto if he had also joynd the third part, that is, as in words he exhorted to unity, so he had begun indeed first himself to take away the occasion of division, disobedience and disturbance from his Subjects, that is, had removed the Stumbling-block of the Six Articles out of the Peoples way, which set Brother against Brother, Neighbour against Neighbour, the Superiour against the Subject, and the Wolves to devour the poor Flock of Christ: then he had not only spoken, but also done like a worthy Prince. But of this more shall be said in the sequel hereof, God willing.

The Kings Oration in the Parliament-House.

Although my Chancellor for the time being hath before this time used very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such Orations as have been set forth in this High Court of Parliaments; yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning; and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner, as I my self am and can do. Wherefore I taking upon me to answer your eloquent Oration, Master Speaker, say,

The King's Oration made in the Parliament House.

That

That where you in the Name of our well-beloved Commons have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that you put me in remembrance of my duty, which is, to endeavour my self to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary virtues, as a Prince or Governour should or ought to have; of which gifts I recognize my self both bare and barren.

But for such small qualities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me such Notable virtues and Princely qualities, as you have alleaded to be incorporate in my person.

The Kings
Thanks to
his Com-
mons.

These Thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembered, I oftsoons thank you again, because that you considering our great charges (not for our pleasure but for your defence, not for our gain but to our great cost) which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against our and your Enemies, as for the conquest of that Forrest, which was to this Realm most displeasing and noysome, and shall be by Gods Grace hereafter to our Nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely of your own mind granted to us a certain Subsidy here in an Act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindness than the profit thereof; as be that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this heavy kindness, I cannot a little rejoice, when I consider the perfect trust and sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief in my good doing and just proceedings, for that you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all Chanceries, Collages, Hospitals, and other places specified in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of our Commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectations, should suffer the Ministers of the Church to decay, or Learning, which is so great a Jewel, to be diminished; or poor and miserable People to be unbelieved; you might say that I, being put in so special a trust as I am in this case, were no trusty Friend to you, nor charitable Man to mine even Christian, neither a lover of the Publick wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not I pray you but your expectation shall be served more gently and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

The Kings
Promises
for the well
behaviour
of Chanceries
and Col-
leges.

Now since I find such kindness on your part toward me, I cannot chafe but love and favour you, affirming that no Prince in the World more favourably his Subjects than I do you, nor any Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my Treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessity require, shall my Person be unadventured. Yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity cannot continue, except you my Lords Temporal and you my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects, study and take pains to amend one thing, which is surely amiss and far out of order, to the which I most heartily require you; which is, that Charity and Concord is not among you, but Discord and Dissension beareth rule in every place. St. Paul saith to the Corinthians, in the 13th Chapter, Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is not proud, and so forth in the said Chapter. Behold then what love and charity is amongst you, when the one calleth the other Heretick, and Anabaptist; and he calleth him again Papist, Hypocrite, and Pharisee. Be these tokens of Charity amongst you? Are these the signs of Fraternal Love between you? No, no, I assure you that this lack of Charity amongst your selves will be the hindrance and asswaging of the fervent Love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this Discord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of the Spirituality. For if I know a man which liveth in Adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal person. If I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and bear daily, that you of the Clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too

* Charity
and Concord
in the Com-
monwealths
be things most
necessary;
but in mat-
ters of Re-
ligion, Cha-
rity and Con-
cord is not en-
ough;
without verity
and true wor-
ship of God.
If true Re-
ligion had
been main-
tained and
Error re-
formed,
these terms
of variance
had not need
now to be
reproved.

stiff in their old Mumpimus, other be too buisie and curious in their new Sumpimus.

And wherein else conflict all this variance, but only because God's Word hath not his free course, but they which sit forth are condemned and therefore burned?

This can touch none but only the Papists, who will needs be both Accusers, and also Judges in their own Opinions and Causes; How are they permitted to hear Gods Word when none is permitted to contradict it? To read it under degree of a Gentleman, or a S. Hierome with the Scriptures not only to be read of all men, but also to be sung of Women at their Rocks, of 'Vivandals' the Plow, and of Weavers at their Looms; Acc'd Godly living through the Gospel to increase the well compare time with time, we shall find the Books at the old Warsnes Quests of Whores and Wicked Livers, thus presented to one now, besides Priests and the common Street.

Although (as I say) the Spiritual men be in some fault, that Charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the Temporality be not clean and unpurged of malice and envy; for you rail on Bishops, speak slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian Fraternity. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher erreth or teacheth perverse Doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Council, or to Us, to whom is committed by God, the Authority to reform and order such Causes and Behaviours, and be not Judges of your selves of your own phantastical Opinions, and coin Expositions, for in such high Causes ye may lightly err. And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the Word of God in your Member Tongues, you must understand, that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own Conscience, and to instruct your Children and Family, and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and a taunting Stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light Persons do. I am very sorry to know and to hear how unreverently that most precious Jewel the Word of God is disputed, rimed, sung, and jangled in every Ale-house and Tavern, contrary to the true meaning and Doctrine of the same. And yet I am even as much sorry that the Readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that Charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and godly Living was never less used, nor was God himself amongst Christians ever less revered, honoured, or to the God served. Therefore (as I said before) be in charity one with another like Brother and Brother: Love, dread, and fear God (to the which I, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you); and then I doubt not but that Love and League that I spoke of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved nor broken between Us. And as touching the Laws which be now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the same, or else your labour shall be in vain, and your Commonwealth nothing relieved.

Notes upon the foresaid Exhortation.

Princes which exhort to Concord and Charity do well; but Princes which seek out the causes of discord, and reform the same, do much better. The Papist and Protestant, Heretick and Pharisee, the old Mumpimus and the new Sumpimus, be terms of variance and dissension, and be, I grant, Symptomata of a sore wound in the Commonwealth: but he that will amend this wound, must first begin to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof; otherwise, to cure the Sore outwardly, which inwardly doth fester and rankle still, it is but vain.

The root and ground of all this grievance riseth here of the Prelates and Clergy of Rome, seeking as it seemeth altogether after riches, pomp and honour of this World; who (to maintain the same under pretence of Religion) do in very deed subvert Religion: under that title of the Church, they bring into the Church manifold Errors and Absurdities intolerable, who pretending to be Fathers of the Church, if they transgressed but in manners and lightness of Life, or negligence of Government, they might be born withal for Peace and Concords sake, and here modesty, civility, quietness, unity, and charity,

The Kings
Oration ex-
pounded with
Notes upon
the same.

Charity might have place amongst modest natures. But now they obscure the glory of the Son of God, which in no cause ought to be suffered; they extinguish the light and grace of the Gospel; they clog men's Consciences; they set up Idolatry, and maintain Idols: they bring in false invocation, and restrain lawful Matrimony, whereby growth filthy pollution, Adultery, and Whoredom in the Church unspeakable; they corrupt the Sacraments; they wrest the Scripture to worldly purposes; they kill and persecute God's People. Briefly, their Doctrine is damnable, their Laws be impious, their doings are detestable. And yet after all this, the crept craftily into the hearts of Princes, under the Title of the Church, and colour of concord; making King and Princes believe that all be Hereticks and Schismatics, which will not be subject to their ordinary Power. Now Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffering the glory of his Son to be defaced, nor his Truth to be trodden under foot, stirreth up again the hearts of his People to understand his Truth, and to defend his cause. Whereupon of those two parts, as two mighty flints thus smiting together, cometh out the sparkle of this division, which by no wife can be quenched, but that one part multiplies, yield and give over. There is no neutrality nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two contrary Doctrines, but either the Popes errors must give place to Gods Word, or else the verity of God must give place unto them.

Wherefore as the good intent, and plausible Oration of the King in this behalf, was not to be discommended in exhorting his Subjects to Charity, so had he much more deferred commendation, if he had fought the right way to work Charity, and to help innocency amongst his Subjects, by taking away the Impious Law of the Six Articles, the Mother of all division and manslaughter. For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in words never so much to Charity, and indeed to give a Knife to the murderers hand to run upon his naked Brother, which never in Conscience can leave his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himself? as by experience here followeth to be seen, what Charity ensued after this exhortation of the King to Charity, by the racking and burning of good *Anne Askew*, with three other poor Subjects of the King, within half a year after; whereof shortly you shall hear more declared.

When these Chaurties and Colledges thus by Act of Parliament were given into the Kings hands as above remembered: which was about the month of December, Anno 1545. the next Lent following, Doctor *Creme* preaching in the Mercers Chappell, among other reasons and persuasions to rouse the People from the vain Opinion of Purgatory, inferred this, grounding upon the said Act of Parliament: That if Trentals and Chaurtry Masses could avail the Souls in Purgatory, then did the Parliament not well in giving away Monasteries, Colledges, and Chaunteries, which served principally to that purpose. But if the Parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the King, then is it a plain case, that such Chaunteries and private Masses do nothing to confer and relieve them in Purgatory. This *Dilemma* of Dr. *Creme*, no doubt, was insoluble. But notwithstanding, the charitable Prelates, for all the Kings late exhortation unto Charity, were so charitable unto him, that on *Essex* next they brought him *Ceram Nobis*, where they so handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his Argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their Charity, according as they burned *Anne Askew* and her fellows in the month of July the year following. Whose Tragical Story and cruel handling now consequently, the Lord willings, you shall hear.

The first examination of Mrs. Anne Askew, before the Inquisitors, Anno, 1545.

To satisfy your expectation, good People (said she) this was my first examination in the year of our Lord, 1545; and in the month of March.

First *Christopher Dare* examined me at *Sadlers-Hall*, being one of the Quest, and asked, If I did not believe that the Sacrament hanging over the Altar was the very Body of Christ really. Then I demanded this question of him; Wherefore was Saint *Stephen* stoned to death? and he said, He could not tell. Then I answered, That no more would I assail his vain Question.

Secondly, he said, that there was a Woman, which did testify that I should read, how God was not in Temples made with hands. Then I shewed him the seventh and seventeenth Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, what *Stephen* and *Paul* had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took those Sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearls amongst Swine, for Acorns were good enough.

Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I said, I had rather read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five Masses in the Temple: I confessed that I said no less: not for the dislike of either the Epistle or the Gospel, but because the one did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. As Saint *Paul* doth witness in the 14. Chapter of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, whereas he saith, If the *Tramper* groweth an *uncertain* found, who will prepare himself to the *Battel*? *1 Cor. 14*

Fourthly, he layed unto my charge, that I should say, if an ill Priest ministered, it was the Devil and not God.

My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying, That whosoever he were that ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my Faith, but in Spirit I received nevertheless the Body and Blood of Christ.

Fifthly, he asked me what I said concerning Confession: I answered him my meaning, which was as Saint *James* saith, that every man ought to knowlege his faults to other, and the one pray for the other.

Sixthly, he asked me what I said to the Kings Book? I answered him that I could say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me: I answered, I had not: I was but a Reprobate or cast-away. Then he said he had sent for a Priest to examin me, which was here at hand.

The Priest asked me what I said to the Sacrament of the Altar, and required much to know my meaning therein. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: none other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a Papist.

Eightly, he asked me, if I did not think, that private Masses did help the Souls departed: I said, It was great Idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

Then they had methence unto my Lord Mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things as I answered the Quest before. Besides this, my Lord Mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but of them; and that was, whether a mouse eating the Host, received God or no? This Question did I never ask, but indeed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer but smiled.

Then the Bishops Chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For *S. Paul* he said forbade Women to speak or to talk of the Word of God. I answered him that I knew *Pauls* meaning as well as he, which is in the 1 *Corinth. 14*. that a Woman ought not to speak in the Congregation by the way of teaching: And then I asked him how many Women he had seen go into the Pulpit and preach? he said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor Women, except they had offended the Law.

Then the Lord Mayor commanded me to ward, I asked him if Sureties would not serve me; and he made me short answer, that he would take none. Then was I had to the Counter; and there remained eleven days, no Friend admitted to speak with me. But in the mean time there was a Priest sent unto me; which said that he was commanded of the Bishop to examin me, and to give me good counsel, which he did not. But first he asked me for what cause I was put in the Counter, and I told him the

S f 2

Christopher Dare Inquisitor
The first Article as *Askew* answers.

The second Article.

The third Article.

The fourth Article.

The fifth Article.

The sixth Article.

The seventh Article.

A Priest brought to examin *Anne Askew*.
Private Masses, Idolatry.

Anne Askew brought to the Lord Mayor.

Women forbidden to speak in the Congregation, and how?

Talk between *Anne Askew* and a Priest sent to her in Prison.

The *Dilemma* of Dr. *Creme* against private Masses.

Dr. *Creme* driven to recant.

Anno 1545

The Charity of the Bishops.

could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded that he was very sorry for me.

Secondly he said, it was told him that I should deny the Sacrament of the Altar. And I answered again, That that I have said I have said.

Thirdly he asked me, If I were content to be thriven. I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. Crome, Sir Guiliam, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom. As for you, or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know you not. Then said he, I would not have you think but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the King would not suffer us to preach. Then I answered with the saying of Solomon, *By communing with the wife I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scath.* Prov. 1.

Prov. 1.

Whether a
Moult may
en Chrifts
Body in the
Sacrament,
or no.

Fourthly he asked, If the Host should fall, and a Beast did eat it, whether the Beast did receive God or no? I answered, Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to answer it your self: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me. And he said it was against the order of Schools, that he which asked the Question should answer it. I told him I was but a Woman, and knew not the course of Schools.

Fifthly he asked me, If I intended to receive the Sacrament at Easter, or no? I answered, that else I were no Christian Woman; and thereat I did rejoyce that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

The 23. day of March, my Cousin Britain, came into the Counter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to Bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my Lord Mayor, desiring him to be so good unto me, that I might be bailed. My Lord answered him, and said that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay. Howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a Spiritual Officer; requiring him to go and speak with the Chancellor of London. For he said, like as he could not commit me to Prison without the consent of a Spiritual Officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

Mr. Britain
seeketh to
bail Anne
Askew his
Cousin.
Mr. Britain
for the bail-
ing of Anne
Askew test-
ifies from the
Mayor to the
Chancellor,
from the
Chancellor to the
Bishop.

So upon that he went to the Chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Mayor. He answered him that the matter was so hainous, that he durst not of himself do it, without my Lord of London were made privy therunto. But he said he would speak unto my Lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next Morrow, and he should well know my Lords pleasure. And upon the Morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the Chancellor and with the Bishop of London. The Bishop declared unto him that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication, and appointed me to appear before him the next day after, at three of the Clock at Afternoon. Moreover he said unto him, that he would there should be at the Examination such Learned men, as I was affectioned to, that they might see, and also make report that I was handled with no rigor. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to other. Then said the Bishop, Yes, as I understand, she is affectioned to Dr. Crome, Sir Guiliam Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for he did know them to be learned and of a godly Judgment. Also he required my Cousin Britain, that he should earnestly persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and beware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there speak; but if I said any manner of thing amiss, he with other more would be glad to reform me therein, with most godly counsel.

Thomas Pro-
mote to Mr.
Britain.

On the Morrow after, the Bishop of London sent for me at one of the Clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my Opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also in any wile, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in

Anne Askew
brought
forth to com-
munion
before
Thomas.

his Houe, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, forso much as your Lordship appointed three of the Clock, and my Friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come. Then said he, that he thought it meet to send for those four men which were aforementioned and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to pain, for it should not need, because the two Gentlemen which were my Friends, were able enough to testify what I should say. Anon after he went into his Gallery with Mr. Spilman, and willed him in any wile that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his Archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me, Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the Bishop? To whom I answered again and said; Sir, ask, I pray you, my Accusers, for I know not as yet. Then took he my Book out of my hand, and said, Such Books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware, said he, beware, for he that made this Book, and was the Author thereof, was an Hereticke I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield. And then I asked him if he were certain and sure that it was true that he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the Book was of John Friths making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the Book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened the Book and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in Judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth, and so he departed from me. Immediately after came my Cousin Britain in, with divers others, as Mr. Hall of Grays-Inne, and such other like. Then my Lord of London persuaded my Cousin Britain, as he had done oft before, which was, That I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wile. My Lord said after that unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my Friends and Well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burdened my Conscience; for he ensured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For like as he promised them (he said) he promised me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage of any word that I should speak, and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had naught to say, for my Conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

his Houe, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, forso much as your Lordship appointed three of the Clock, and my Friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come. Then said he, that he thought it meet to send for those four men which were aforementioned and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to pain, for it should not need, because the two Gentlemen which were my Friends, were able enough to testify what I should say. Anon after he went into his Gallery with Mr. Spilman, and willed him in any wile that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his Archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me, Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the Bishop? To whom I answered again and said; Sir, ask, I pray you, my Accusers, for I know not as yet. Then took he my Book out of my hand, and said, Such Books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware, said he, beware, for he that made this Book, and was the Author thereof, was an Hereticke I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield. And then I asked him if he were certain and sure that it was true that he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the Book was of John Friths making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the Book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened the Book and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in Judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth, and so he departed from me. Immediately after came my Cousin Britain in, with divers others, as Mr. Hall of Grays-Inne, and such other like. Then my Lord of London persuaded my Cousin Britain, as he had done oft before, which was, That I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wile. My Lord said after that unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my Friends and Well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burdened my Conscience; for he ensured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For like as he promised them (he said) he promised me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage of any word that I should speak, and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had naught to say, for my Conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Talk be-
tween the
Archdeacon
and Anne
Askew.

Rath judg-
ment re-
proved.

Good coun-
sel given
to the Arch-
deacon.
Mr. Britain,
Edw. Hall,
Talk be-
tween Anne
Askew and
Britain.

Then brought he forth this unfavoury similitude; that if a man had a wound; no wile Chirurgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. In like case, said he, can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your Conscience is burdened. I answered, That my Conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a Plaster unto the whole skin, it might appear much folly.

Thomas simi-
litude.

Then you drive me (said he) to lay to your charge your own report, which is this; You did say, He that doth receive the Sacrament by the hands of an ill Priest, or a Sinner, receiveth the Devil, and not God. To that I answered, that I never spake such words. But, as I said before, both to the Quest and to my Lord Mayor, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the Priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the Body and Blood of Christ. Then said the Bishop unto me, what saying is this in Spirit? I will not take you at the advantage. Then I answered, My Lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily.

Then he said unto me, that I should say that the Sacrament remaining in the Pix, was but Bread. I answered, that I never said so, but indeed the Quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer, I said, till such a time as they had afforded me this question of mine, Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

Thomas first
Objection.
against
Anne Askew.

Then said my Lord unto me, that I had alleaged a certain Text of the Scripture, a answered that I alleaged none other but St. Pauls own saying to the Athenians, in the eighteenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, That God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands.

The 2. Ar-
ticle.

Then said my Lord unto me, that I had alleaged a certain Text of the Scripture, a answered that I alleaged none other but St. Pauls own saying to the Athenians, in the eighteenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, That God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands.

Then

Then asked he me what my Faith and Belief was in that matter? I answered him, I believe as the Scripture doth teach me.

The 4. Article.

Then enquired he of me, what if the Scripture doth say, that it is the Body of Christ? I believe, said I, as the Scripture doth teach me. Then asked he again, what if the Scripture doth say that it is not the Body of Christ? My answer was still, I believe as the Scripture informeth me. And upon this Argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind. Howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believe therein and in all other things, as Christ and his Apostles did leave them.

Anne Askew charged with few words.

Then he asked me why I had so few words? And I answered, God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon saith, *That a Woman of few words is the gift of God*, Prov. 19.

The 5. Article.

Fifthly, my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the Mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than Idolatry. I answered him, no, I said not so. Howbeit I say the Quest did ask me whether private Mass did relieve Souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, O Lord, what Idolatry is this, that we should believe in private Masses than in the healthful death of the dear Son of God? Then said my Lord again, what an answer is that? Though it be but mean, said I, yet is it good enough for the question.

Then I told my Lord, that there was a Priest which did hear what I said there before my Lord Mayor and them. With that the Chancellor answered, which was the same Priest? So she spake it in very deed, said he, before my Lord Mayor and me.

Dr. Standish his demand.

Then were there certain Priests, as Dr. Standish and other, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus; that I said to my Lord of London, I have said. Then Dr. Standish desired my Lord to bid me say my mind concerning the same Text of St. Pauls learnings, that I being a Woman should interpret the Scriptures, specially where so many wise learned men were.

Then my Lord of London said, he was informed that one should ask me if I would receive the Sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.

Anne Askew could not have her Accuser.

Then I desired that mine Accuser might come forth, which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me, I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him Papist. That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet made I him none answer unto it.

The Priests all London against Anne Askew.

Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me threescore Priests at Lincoln. Indeed, quoth I, I said so. For my Friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the Priests would assault me and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the Minister reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without words speaking.

Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him yes, that there was one of them at the last which did speak to me indeed. And my Lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then said my Lord, there are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereunto: I said again, my Lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure my self this hour that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth. Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstance. But what it was, I have not in my memory: for he would not suffer me to have the Copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it.

Anne Askew standeth upon her honesty.

Be it known, said he, of all men, that I Anne Askew do confess this to be my Faith and Belief, notwithstanding many Reports made afore to the contrary. I believe

that they which are bawled at the hands of a Priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the Body and Blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the Consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very Body and Blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and in all other Sacraments of holy Church in all points, according to the old Catholic Faith of the same. In witness whereof, I the said Anne have subscribed my Name.

There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the Copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I did agree to it. And I said again, I believe so much thereof, as the holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that you will add that therunto. Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great Chamber and read the same Bill before the Audience, which invigiled and willed me to sit to my hand, saying also, that I had favour shewed me. Then said the Bishop, I might thank other, and not my self for the favour that I found at his hand: for he considered, he said, that I had good Friends, and also that I came of a worshipful Stock.

Then answered one Christopher, a Servant unto Mr. Denny: Rather ought you, my Lord, to have done it in such case for Gods sake than for mans. Then my Lord sat down, and took me the Writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: I Anne Askew do believe all manner of things contained in the Faith of the Catholic Church.

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the Writing of Boner, which this goodly Woman said before she had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to infer the same, both with the whole circumstance of Boner, and with the Title therunto prefixed by the Register, and also with her own Subscription: to the intent the Reader seeing the same Subscription, neither to agree with the time of the Title above prefixed, nor with the Subscription after the Writing annexed, might the better understand thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such Bishops, and to such Registers. The tenour of Boners Writing proceedeth thus.

The true Copy of the Confession and Belief of Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, made before the Bishop of London the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1545. and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said Bishop and other, whose Names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present, to the intent the World may see what credence is to be given unto the same Woman, who in so short a time hath so damnably altered and changed her Opinion and Belief, and therefore rightly in open Court arraigned and condemned. Ex Regis.

There is the report of Anne Askew's Confession.

The tenour of D. Tenors Writing, whereunto Anne Askew subscribed.

The words of the Registers.

Ex Regis.

Be it known to all faithful People, that as touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe, that after the words of Consecration be spoken by the Priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, there is present really the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the Minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also whensoever the said Sacrament is received, whether the Receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And moreover, I do believe, that whether the said Sacrament be then received of the Minister, or else reserved to be put into the Pix, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very Body and Blood of our said Saviour: so that whether the Minister or the Receiver be good or bad, yet, whether the Sacrament be received or reserved, always there is the blessed Body of Christ really.

And this thing, with all other things touching the Sacrament and other Sacraments of the Church, and all things else touching the Christian Belief, which are taught and declared in the Kings Majesty's Book, lately set forth for the erudition of the Christian People, I Anne Askew, otherwise called A. Kyme, do truly and perfectly believe, and so here presently confess and acknowledge.

And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never say nor do any thing against the premises, or against any of them. In witness whereof, I the said Anne have subscribed my Name unto these presents.

Written the 20th day of March, in the year of our Lord God 1545. Ex Regif.

Ex Regif.
Load.

By me Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme.

Witnesses.

Edmund Bishop of London.
John Bishop of Bath.
Owen Ogletborp Doctor of Divinity.
Richard Smith Doctor of Divinity.
John Ruddle Bachelor of Divinity.
William Pie Bachelor of Divinity.
John Wimsley Archdeacon of London.
John Cook.
Robert John.
Francis Spilman.
Edward Hall.
Alexander Bret.
Edmund But.

With divers other more being then present.

Then and his Register reproved with an untruth.

Here maist thou note, gentle Reader, in this Confession, both in the Bishop and his Register, a double sleight of false conveyance. For although the Confession purport the words of the Bishops writing, whereunto I did set her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, maist thou see that both she was arraigned and condemned before this was Registered, and also that she is falsely reported to have put to her Hand, which indeed by this her own Book appeareth not so to be but after this manner and condition; I Anne Askew do believe all manner of things contained in the Faith of the Catholick Church, and not otherwise. It followeth more in the story.

Then Bishop of London in a chafe against Anne Askew.

Then because I did add unto it the Catholick Church, he flang into his Chamber in a great fury. With that, my Cousin Britain followed, desiring him for Gods sake to be a good Lord unto me. He answered, that I was a Woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my Cousin Britain desired him to take me as a Woman, and not to set my weak Womens wit to his Lordships great wisdom.

Dr. Weston.

Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, That the cause why I did write there the Catholick Church, was, that I understood not the Church written afore. So with much ado they perswaded my Lord to come out again, and to take my Name, with the Names of my Sureties, which were my Cousin Britain and Master Spilman of Grays-Inne.

Anne Askew brought to the Guild-Hall.

This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the Law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to Prison again until the next Morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guild-Hall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the Bishops Writing unto me, as before, and so commanded me again to Prison. Then were my Sureties appointed to come before them on the next Morrow in Pauls Church, which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another Woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a Bond of them of Recognizance for my forth coming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

Anne Askew bailed as left under Sureties, with much ado.

Written by me Anne Askew.

The latter Apprehension and Examination of the worthy Martyr of God Mrs. Anne Askew, Anno 1546.

Anne Askew, Martyr.

Anno 1546.

I Do perceive (dear Friend in the Lord) that thou art not yet perswaded thoroughly in the Truth, concerning the Lords Supper, because Christ said unto his Apostles, Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you.

In giving forth the Bread as an outward sign or token to be received with the mouth, he minded them in perfect belief to receive that Body of his which should die for the People, and to think the death thereof to be the only health and salvation of their Souls. The Bread and the Wine were left us for a Sacramental Communion, or a mutual participation of the ineffable benefits of his most precious death and bloodshedding, and that we should in the end thereof be thankful together for that most necessary grace of our Redemption. For in the closing up thereof he said thus, *This do ye in remembrance of me. Yea, so oft as ye shall eat it or drink it,* Luke 11. and 1 Cor. 11. Else should we have been forgetful of that we ought to have in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it; therefore it is meet that in our Prayers we call unto God to graft in our Foreheads the true meaning of the Holy Ghost concerning this Communion. For St. Paul saith, *The Letter killeth; the Spirit is it only that giveth life,* 2 Cor. 3. Mark well the sixth Chapter of John, where all is applied unto Faith: note also the fourth Chapter of St. Pauls second Epistle to the Corinthians; and in the end thereof ye shall find, that the things which are seen are temporal, but they that are not seen are everlasting. Yea, look in the third Chapter to the Hebrews, and ye shall find that Christ as a Son (and no Servant) ruleth over his House, whose House are we, and not the dead Temple, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of that hope to the end. Wherefore, as said the Holy Ghost, *To day if ye shall hear his voice harden not your hearts,* &c. Psal. 95.

A declaration of Anne Askew of these words of our Saviour, This is my Body.

Luke 11: 2 Cor. 11.

2 Cor. 3.

2 Cor. 4.

Heb. 3.

Psal. 95.

The sum of my Examination before the Kings Council at Greenwich.

Our Request as concerning my Prison-fellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their Examinations. But the effect of mine was this. I being before the Council, was asked of Mr. Kyme. I answered, that my Lord Chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the Kings pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not so do; but if it were the Kings pleasure to hear me, I would shew him the truth. Then they said it was not meet for the King to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest King that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common Women, much more his Grace a simple Woman and his faithful Subject. So in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my Lord Chancellor asked of me my Opinion in the Sacrament. My Answer was this, I believe that so oft as I in a Christian Congregation do receive the Bread in remembrance of Christs death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy Institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious Passion. The Bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said I would not sing a new Song of the Lord in a strange Land. Then the Bishop said I spake in Parables. I answered, it was best for him, for if I shew the open truth (quoth I) ye will not accept it. Then he said I was a Parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.

Concerning that which they here demanded of as touching Mr. Kyme, read in the nature of John Bale writing upon this place.

This Lord Chancellor of mine was Wylsh.

Parables best for Winchester, Wylsh, beguileth to fool.

Then had I divers rebukes of the Council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five hours. Then the Clerk of the Council conveyed me from thence to my Lady Garnish.

The next day I was brought again before the Council. Then would they needs know of me what I said to the Sacrament. I answered, That I already had said what I could say. Then after divers words they bade me go by. Then came my Lord Lisle, my Lord of Essex, and the Bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the Sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then said I to my Lord Perre and my Lord Lisle, that

Anne Askew brought again before the Council.

Witcher
answered
home

Math. 18.
2 Cor. 13.

2 Reg. 18.
The Lord
Chancellor
mutter.

Psal. 2.

Doctor Cox
Dr. Rastyn

Anne Askew
desired to
M. Laines

As Christ
Body is cal-
the Temple
in the
Scripture,
is the
Bread called
Christ's Bo-
dy.
Exod. 14.
2 Cor. 13.

Dan. 14.
Ald. 7.

Luke 21.
Amos 6.
Isa. 59.

Hof. 14.

that it was a great shame for them to Counsel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto in few words they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

Then the Bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ. Then desired the Bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me why; I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christs and Pauls Doctrin. *Matth. 18. 2 Cor. 13.*

Then my Lord Chancellor began to examin me again of the Sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both sides. Then would he needs know where I found that. I said in the Scripture, 3. Reg. 18. Then he went his way. Then the Bishop said I should be burnt. I answered, That I had searched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his Apostles put any creature to death. Well, well said I, God will laugh your threatnings to scorn, *Psal. 2.* Then was I commanded to stand aside. Then came to me Doctor Cox, and Dr. Robinson. In conclusion, we could not agree.

Then they made me a Bill of the Sacrament, willing me to set my hand therunto, but I would not. Then on the Sunday I was fore sick, thinking no less than to die. Therefore I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but it would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremity of sickness; for in all my life afore I was never in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen us in the Truth. Pray, pray, pray.

The Confession of me Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my Belief.

I Find in the Scripture (said she) that Christ took the Bread and gave it to his Disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body which shall be broken for you, meaning in Substance, his own very Body, the Bread being there of an only sign or Sacrament. For after like manner of speaking, he said he would break down the Temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying his own Body by the Temple, as Saint John declareth it, *John. 2.* and not the stony Temple it self. So that the Bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a Sacrament of thanksgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a Communion of Christian love, although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof, for the Veil that Moses put over his face before the Children of Israel, that they should not see the clearness thereof, *Exod. 24.* and 2. Corinth. 3. I perceive the same Veil remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blind men see. For it is plainly expressed in the History of Bell in the Bible, that God dwelleth in nothing material. O King (saith Daniel) be not deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men, *Dan. 14.* Oh, what stiff-necked People are these, that will always reject the Holy Ghost? But as their Fathers have done, so do they, because they have stony hearts.

Written by me Anne Askew,
that neither wiltheth death,
nor feareth his might, and as
merry as one that is bound
towards Heaven.

Truth is laid in Prison, *Luke 21.* The law is turned to wormwood, *Amos 6.* And there can no right judgment go forth, *Isa. 59.*

Ob forgive us all our sins, and receive us graciously, As for the works of our hands, we will no more call upon them. For it is thou Lord that art our God. Thou shewest ever mercy unto the fatherless.

Oh if they would do this (saith the Lord) I should heal their sores, yea wishal my heart would I love thee.

O Ephraim, what have I to do with Idols any more? who is wise, shall understand this: And he that is rightly instructed will regard it, for the ways of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly will walk in them, and as for the wicked, they will stumble at them, *Hof. 14.*

Solomon (saith St. Stephen) builded an House for the God of Jacob. Howbeit, the bighest of all dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, as saith the Prophet, Heaven is my Seat, and Earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me, saith the Lord? or what place is it that I shall rest in? Have not my hands made all things? *Acts 7.*

Woman believe me, (saith Christ to the Samaritane) *Acts 7.* the time is at hand, that ye shall neither in this Mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father. Ye worship ye wot not what, but we know what we worship. For salvation cometh of the Jews: But the hour cometh, and is now, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and verity, *John. 4.*

Labour not (saith Christ) for the meat that perisheth, but for that that endureth unto life everlasting, which the Son of Man shall give you: for him hath God the Father Sealed. *John 6.*

The sum of the Condemnation of me Anne Askew at the Guild-Hall

They said to me there, That I was an Heretic, and condemned by the Law, if I would stand in mine Opinion. I answered, That I was no Heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the Law of God. But as concerning the Faith which I uttered and wrote to the Council, I would not (I said) deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny the Sacrament to be Christs Body and Blood I said, yea. For the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary is now glorious in Heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up. *Acts 1.* And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of Bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you lift, let it but lie in the Box three months, and it will be mouldy and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.

After that, they willed me to have a Priest. And then I failed. Then they asked me if it were not good; I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favour. And so we were condemned with a Quest.

My belief which I wrote to the Council was this, That the Sacramental Bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christs death, the only remedy of our Souls recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious Passion. Then would they needs know whether the Bread in the Box were God or no: I said, God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in Spirit and Truth. *John 4.* Then they demanded, Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the Sacrament? I answered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witness whereof I recited again the History of Bell, and the nineteenth Chapter of Daniels, the seventh and seventeenth of the *Acts*, and the four and twentieth of Matthew: concluding thus; I neither with death, nor yet fear his might, God have the praise thereof with thanks.

My Letter sent to the Lord Chancellor.

The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, blest you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

My duty to your Lordship remembreth, &c. It might please you to accept this my bold suite, as the sure of one which upon due consideration is moved to the same, and hopeth to obtain. My request to your Lordship is only that it may please the same to be a mean for me to the Kings Majesty, that his Grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief, which when it shall be truly conferred with the hard judgment given me for the same, I think his Grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of Balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, which rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus I commend your Lordship to the governance of him, and fellowship of all Saints, Amen.

By your Handmaid, Anne Askew.
My

Another
Examination
of Anne Askew
at Guild
Hall.

The Sub-
stance of the Sacra-
ment denied
to be God,

Anne Askew
with her
fellows con-
demned by
a Quest.

The belief
of Anne Askew
concerning the
Sacrament,
written to the
council,

Dan. 19.
Acts 7. 17
Matth. 24.

The Letter
of Anne Askew
to the
L. Chancellor,
1570.

My Faith briefly written to the Kings Grace.

The belief of
Anne Askew
touching the
Sacrament
written to
the King.

I Anne Askew, of good Memory, although God hath given me the Bread of Adversity, and the Water of trouble, yet not so much as my Sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your Grace, That forasmuch as I am by the Law condemned for an evil Doer; here I take Heaven and Earth to Record, that I shall die in my Innocency. And according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all Heresies. And as concerning the Supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed Blood. I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as the Catholick Church of him doth teach. For I will not forsake the Commandment of his Holy Lips. But look what God hath charged me with his Mouth, that have I put up in my heart. And thus briefly I end for lack of learning.

Anne Askew.

The effect of my Examination and handling since my departure from Newgate.

The cruel
handling
and racking
of Anne Askew
after
her condemnation.

ON Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Master Rich, and the Bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words went about to persuade me from God; but I did not esteem their glazing pretences.

Then came there to me Nicolas Shaxton, and Counsellor me to recant as he had done. I said to him, That it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

Then Mr. Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three of clock.

This Counsellor was
Sir John Mordaunt.
Anne Askew
urged to
accuse others.

Then came Rich and one of the Council, charging me upon my Obedience to shew unto them if I knew any Man or Woman of my Sect. My answer was that I knew none. Then they asked me of my Lady of Suffolk, my Lady of Suffex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denny, and my Lady Fitzwilliams. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it. Then said they unto me, That the King was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my Sect. I answered, That the King was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was deceived with by them in other matters.

Then commanded they me to shew how I was maintained in the Counter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said that there was no creature therein did strengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the Counter, it was by the means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the Prentices, and they by her did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

Anne Askew
refuseth to
accuse any.

Then they said that there were divers Gentlewomen that gave me money. I said I knew not their names. Then they said that there were divers Ladies that had sent me money. I answered, That there was a Man in a blew coat which delivered me ten shillings, and said that my Lady of Hertford sent it me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denny sent it me. Whether it were true or no I cannot tell. For I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said there were of the Council that did maintain me. And I said, No.

Anne Askew
put on the
rack.
Whistling and
Rue racking
Anne Askew.

Then they did put me on the Rack, because I confessed no Ladies or Gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Master Rich took pains to Rack me with their own Hands till I was nigh dead.

Then the Lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the Rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sate two long hours reasoning with my Lord Chancellor upon the bare floor. Where he with many flattering words persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

Anne Askew
confesse in
her faith.

Then was I brought to an House, and laid in a bed with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job. I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my Lord Chancellor sent me word if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather dye than break my Faith.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell dear Friend, and pray, pray, pray.

The order of
the racking
of Anne Askew.

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower thus it was; first she was led down into a Dungeon, where Sir, Anth. Knevet the Lieutenant commanded his Gaoler to pinch her with the Rack. Which being done so much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Whistley the Chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soon, confessing nothing, commanded the Lieutenant to strain her one the Rack again. Which because he denied to do, tending the weakness of the Woman, he was threatened therefore grievously of the said Whistley, saying, That he would signify his Disobedience unto the King: and so consequently upon the same, he and Master Rich throw- ing off their gowns, would needs play the Tormentors themselves; first asking her if she were with Child. To whom the answering again, said, Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your will upon me; and so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joynts were almost plucked asunder, in such sort as she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, Whistley and his Fellow took their horse toward the Court.

The Lord
Whistley and
Mr. Rich
to play the
Tormentors.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good Lieutenant efforts taking Boar sped him to the Court in all haste to speak with the King before the other, and so did. Who there making his humble sute to the King, desired his pardon, and shewed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of Mistress Askew, and he was threatened by the Lord Chancellor, because at his commandment, not knowing his highness pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly desired his highness Pardon. Which when the King had understood, he seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handling of the Woman, and also granted to the Lieutenant his Pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge.

The Lieutenant
was pardoned
of the King.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the Wardens and Officers of the Tower, waiting for his return. Whom when they saw come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the King, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God therefore.

Anne Askew's answer unto John Lancel's Letter.

O Friend, most dearly beloved in God, I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a Faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire you not to believe of me such weakness. For I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the Council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now, That what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the Kings Majesty should have information thereof, wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well, their cruelty God forgive them.

The answer
of Anne Askew
to Mr. Lancel's Letter.

Your heart in Christ Jesus. Farewell and pray.

The purgation or answer of Anne Askew, against the false surmises of her Recantation.

I Have read the Process which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my Recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding this I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined of the Bishop of London about the

Anne Askew
inferring to
the title
of her recantation.

Come Anne
fully
sufficed
to recant, and
upon what
occasion.

the Sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my Mouth but this, That I believed therein as the Word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my Hand But I refused it. Then my two Sureries did will me in no wife to stick thereat, for it was no great matters, they said.

Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus; I Anne Askew do believe this, if Gods Word do agree to the same, and the true Catholick Church. Then the Bilhop being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to Prison, where I was a while, but afterwards by the means of Friends I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to the sixth of John, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well.

Anne Askew.

The Confession of the Faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate before the suffered.

The confession
of Anne
Askew going
to her execution.

I Anne Askew of good Memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the Bread of Adversity, and the Water of trouble, yet not so much as my Sins have deserved, do confess my self here a Sinner before the Throne of his Heavenly Majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the Law unrighteously condemned for an evil Doer concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, which hath made both Heaven and Earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy Word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, which is the Giver of all Grace, that he will graciously assise me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed Verity. For I take him to witness, that I have done, and will, unto my lives end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my Power.

The matter
and cause
why Anne
Askew suffered
death.

But this is the Heresie, which they report me to hold, that after the Priest hath spoken the Words of Consecration, there remaineth Bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary Article of Faith, that after these words be once spoken, there remaineth no Bread, but even the selfsame Body that hung upon the Croft on good-Friday, both Flesh, Blood, and Bone. To this belief of theirs say I nay. For then were our common Creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right Hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to Judge the Quick and the Dead. Lo, this is the Heresie that I hold, and for it must suffer the Death. But as touching the Holy and blessed Supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary Remembrance of his glorious sufferings and Death. Moreover I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

Scripture
sufficient to
our salvation

Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most Precious Blood. Yea, and as Saint Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and Salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his Church with. Therefore look what he hath said unto me with his own Mouth in his Holy Gospel, that I have with Gods Grace closed up in my Heart, and my full trust is (as David saith) that it shall be a Lantern to my Footstep, Psalme 28.

Psalm 28.
Anne Askew
fully re-
ported to
deny the
holy Eucha-
rist.
The Mass
an abomin-
able Idol.

There be some that do say I deny the Eucharist or Sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people do untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your Mass as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable Idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieted be again. And upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer Death.

The prayer
of Anne
Askew.

O Lord I have more Enemies now, than there be hairs on my head: yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou Lord in my Head; for on thee cast I my care. With all the sight

they can imagine, they fall upon me which are thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not yet be taken with are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence with thee do, and have done unto me. Open also thou their Blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy glory aright, without all vain fantastic of sinful Men. Solve it, O Lord, I beseech thee.

By me Anne Askew.

Hitherto we have intreated of this good Woman now it remaineth that we touch somewhat as concerning her end and Martyrdom. After that she, being born of such stock and kindred that she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity, if she would rather have followed the world than Christ, now had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, neither yet by her Adversaries be suffered to die in secret; the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a Chair, because she could not go on her Feet, by means of her great Torments. When she was brought to the Stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain that held up her Body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Doctor Shaxton, who was then appointed to preach, began his Sermon Anne Askew hearing, and answering again unto him, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, there, said she, he misseeth, and speaketh without the Book.

Anne Askew
brought
up to the
Stake.

Anne Askew
lamed up on
the rack.

Shaxton
preached
Anne Askew
burnt.

The Sermon being finished, the Martyr, standing there tyed at three several stakes ready to their Martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the People was exceeding, the place where they stood being raised about to keep out the press. Upon the Bench under St. Bartolomew Church stane Wrisley Chancellour of England, the old Duke of Norfolk, the old Earle of Bedford, the Lord Mayor, with divers other more. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the Bench hearing that they had Gunpowder about them, and being afraid lest the Fagots by strength of the Gunpowder would come flying about their Ears began to be afraid: but the Earle of Bedford declaring unto him how the Gunpowder was not layd under the Fagots, but only about their Bodies to rid them out of their pain which having vent there was no danger to them of the Fagots, so diminished that fear.

Anne Askew
relucted the
Kings par-
don.

Then Wrisley Lord Chancellour sent to Anne Askew Letters, offering to her the Kings Pardon if she would recant. Who, refusing once to look upon them, made this answer again, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then were the Letters likewise offered unto the other, who in like manner, following the constancy of the Woman, denied not onely to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the L. Mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cryed with a loud voice, Fiat justitia.

justitia
fiat.

And thus the good Anne Askew with these blessed Martyrs, being troubled so many manner of ways, and having passed through so many Torments, having now ended the long course of her Agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed Sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord Anno. 1546. leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

John Lacels, John Adams and Nicholas Belenian.

There was at the same time also burnt together with The Martyrdom of Anne Askew, John Lacels Gentleman, of the Court and household of King Henry.

The Mar-
tyrdom of
Anne Askew,
John Lacels
Gentleman,
John Adams,
Nicholas Be-
lenian.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew. For albeit that of themselves they were strong and stout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they being the more boldned received occasion of greater comfort in that so painful and doleful kind of Death: who beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, did set apart all kind of fear.

Thus

The manner of burning Anne Askew, John Lacels, John Adams, & Nicolas Beleman, with certaine of y^e counsell sitting in Smithfield.



Thus they confirming one another with mutual exhortations tarried looking for the Tormentor and fire, which, at the last flaming round about them, consumed their blessed Bodies in happy Martyrdom, in the year of our Salvation, 1546. about the Month of June.

There is also a certain Letter extant, which the said John Lacels briefly wrote, being in Prison, touching the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood; wherein he doth both confute the error of them, which being not contented with the spiritual receiving of the Sacrament, will leave no substance of Bread therein, and also confuteth the sinister Interpretation of many thereupon. The tenor of which Letter is as hereunder followeth.

The Copie of the Letter of John Lacels written out of Prison.

The Letter of Mr John Lacels written out of Prison.

Saint Paul because of Sects and dissension among the Corinthians, wrote the Epistle unto them; and in like case pertaining to my Conscience, I do protest my whole Heart touching the blessed Supper of the Lord, wherein I trust in God to bring nothing for me, but I shall be able with Gods Holy Word to declare and manifest the same. And herein I take occasion to recite the saying of Saint Paul in the said Epistle the eleventh Chapter, *That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took Bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and said, take ye, eat ye, this is my Body, which is broken for you.*

The blasphemy and wickedness of the Mass.

Approphecie.

St Paul did not take upon him to be a confessor of Christ to his Host corpus meum as our Fracts do.

Here, me seemeth, Saint Paul durst not take upon him his Lord and Masters Authority. Wherefore, as at Gods Hand the breaking of the most innocent and immaculate Body and Blood of Christ is the quietness of all mens Consciences, the onely remedy of our sins, and redemption of mankind which is called in the Scripture the daily Offering: so the Mass which is the Invention of Man (whose author is the Pope of Rome, as it doth appear in *Polydore Virgil* and many others) is the unquietness of all Christendom, a Blasphemy unto Christs Blood, and (as *Daniel* calleth it) the abominable defolation, as the Scripture shall hereafter more manifest it. St. Paul was belike to learn of the *Romans Church*, the manner of the Consecration as they call it, with the breathing over the Host, and other Ceremonies besides, that he durst not take upon him to say, *Hoc est corpus meum*. But this I will admit: it was the Lord Jesus that made the Supper, which also did finish it, and made an

end of the onely Act of our Salvation, not only here in this world, but with his Father in Heaven, as he declarerth himself, that he will drink no more of this bitter Cup, till he drink it new in his Fathers Kingdom, where all bitterness shall be taken away.

Now if any man be able to finish the Act of our Saviour, in breaking of his Body, and shedding of his Blood here, and also to finish it with the Father in Heaven, then let him say it. But I think that if men will look upon Saint Pauls Words well, they shall be forced to say, as St. Paul saith; the Lord Jesus said it, and once for all, which onely was the fulfiller of it. For these Words *Hoc est corpus meum*, were spoken of his natural presence (which no man is able to deny) because the Act was finished on the Cross, as the Story doth plainly manifest it to them that have eyes. Now this Bloody Sacrifice is made an end of, the Supper is finished, forasmuch as, Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God, and was killed as pertaining to the Flesh, and hath entered in by his own Blood once for all, into the holy place, and found eternal redemption.

Here now followeth the Administration of the Supper of the Lord, which I will take at Christs Hands after the resurrection, although other men will not be ashamed to bring the wicked Councils of foolish inventions for them. And it came to pass as Christ sat at meat with them, he took Bread, blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them, and their eyes were opened, and knew him, and he vanished out of their sight. And the Apostles did know him in breaking of Bread.

Here also it seemeth to me the Apostles to follow their Master Christ, and to take the right use of the Sacrament, and also to teach it to those that were converted to Christ. As mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, *They continued in the Apostles Doctrine and Fellowship, in breaking of Bread, and prayer, and they continued daily with one accord in the Temple, and brake Bread in every house, and did eat there with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and had favour with all the people.* And Saint Paul following the same Doctrine, doth plainly shew the duty of the Minister, and also of them that shall receive it; *As oft as ye shall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye shall shew the Lords Death until he come.* Here I do gather that the Minister hath no further Power and Authority than to preach, and pronounce the Lords Death, or else to say the Lord Jesus said it, which did fulfil it on the Cross.

Further.

None but Christ say, Hoc est corpus meum, and he said it once for all.

1 Pet 21

Heb. 9:

Luke 24:

The right use of the Lords Supper in the Apostles time. Acts 2.

1 Cor. 11.

How far the power of the Minister extendeth in consecrating the Supper

How the
Flesh of
Christ is
eaten in the
Supper.

Popish Priests
make upon
them to do
more than
ever Christ
did.

Bar. 11.
Mazim fig-
nifieth in
Hebrew, as
much as the
God of
divers Tem-
ples.

The God
Mazim in
Daniel, alle-
deth much
near to Ma-
zin, which
signifieth
Died.
Mark. 13.
Mark. 13.
Luke 21.
2 Thess. 2.

The faith-
ful and re-
verend con-
fession of
Lords touch-
ing the
Lords Sup-
per.

One Rogers
in North
Martyr.

The Mar-
tyrdom of
Rogers.

Furthermore, I do steadfastly believe, that where the Bread is broken according to the Ordinance of Christ, the blessed and Immaculate Lamb is present to the eyes of our Faith, and so we eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood, which is to dwell with God, and God with us. And in this we are sure we dwell with God, in that he giveth us his Holy Spirit, even as the Forefathers, that were before Christs coming, did presently see the Lords Death, and did eat his Body and drink his Blood.

In this I do differ from the Popes Church, that the Priests have Authority to make Christs natural presence in the Bread, for so doth he more than our Lord and Saviour did; As the example is manifest in Judas, which at Christs Hands received the same Wine and Bread, as the other Apostles did. But the Pope and his adherents are even they whom Daniel speaketh of, saying, *He shall set men to unallow the Sanctuary, and to put down the daily offering, and to set up the abominable desolation. Two, he (of Rome) shall speak marvellous things against the God of Heaven, and God of all Gods, wherein he shall prosper so long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the conclusion is devised already. He shall not regard the God of Heaven, nor the God of his Fathers, yea in his place shall he worship the mighty Idol, and the God whom his Fathers knew not, which is the God of Mazim.*

For lack of time I leave the Commemoration of the blessed Supper of the Lord, and the abominable Idol the Mass, which is it that Daniel meaneth by the God Mazim. Read the second and last Chapters of Daniel, the second to the Thessalonians, the second Epistle; where they recite the abomination of desolation, which, Matthew saith, standeth in the holy place, which is the Consciences of Men. Mark saith, where it ought not to stand, which is a plain denial of all the Inventions of Men. Further Luke saith, the time is at hand. Paul saith, the mystery of iniquity worketh already, yea, and shall continue until the appearance of Christ, which in my judgment is at hand.

Now for the Supper of the Lord, I do protest to take it as reverently as Christ left it, and as his Apostles did use it, according to the Testimonies of the Prophets, the Apostles, and our blessed Saviour Christ, which accordingly Saint Paul to the Ephesians doth recite.

Now with quietness I commit the whole world to their Pastor and Headman Jesus Christ the onely Saviour and true Messiah, and I commend my Sovereign Lord and Master, the Kings Majesty, King Henry the eighth to God the Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ; the Queen and my Lord the Prince, with this whole Realm, ever to the innocent and immaculate Lamb, that his Blood may wash and purifie their Hearts and Souls from all iniquity and sin, to Gods glory and to the Salvation of their Souls. I do protest, that the inward part of my Heart doth groan for this, and I doubt not but to enter into the holy Tabernacle which is above, yea, and there to be with God for ever. Farewell in Christs Jesus.

John Lacels, late Servant to the King, and now I trust to serve the everlasting King, with the Testimony of my Blood in Smithfield.

Rogers, Martyr, burned in Smithfield.

Like as Wincheſter and other Biſhops did ſet on King Henry againſt Anne Arkew and her Fellow Martyrs, ſo Doctour Reſſe, Biſhop of Norwich, did incite no leſſe the old Duke of Norfolk againſt one Rogers in the Countrey of Norfolk; who much about the ſame year and time, was there condemned and ſuffered Martyrdom for the fix Articles. After which time it was not long, but within an half year both the King himſelf and the Dukes Houſe decayed: albeit the Dukes Houſe by Gods Grace recovered again afterward, and he himſelf converted to a more moderation in this kind of dealing.

The Story of Queen Katharine Parre, late Queen, and Wiſe to King Henry the eighth. Wherein appeareth in what danger ſhe was for the Goſpel, by the means of Steven Gardiner and other of his Conſpiracy; and

how graciouſly ſhe was preferred by her kind and loving Husband the King.

After theſe ſtormy ſtories above recited, the courſe and order as well of the time as the matter of the ſtory doth require now ſomewhat to intreat likewiſe touching the troubles and afflictions of the vertuous and excellent Lady Queen Katharine Parre, the laſt Wiſe to King Henry: the ſtory whereof is this.

About the ſame time above noted, which was about the year after the King returned from Bullen, he was informed that Queen Katharine Parre, at that time his Wiſe, was very much given to the reading and ſtudy- ing of the Holy Scriptures; and that ſhe for that purpoſe had retained divers well learned and godly Per- ſons to inſtruct her thoroughly in the ſame; with whom as at all times convenient the uſed to have private Con- ference touching ſpiritual matters; ſo alſo of ordinary; but eſpecially in Lent every day in the afternoon for the ſpace of an hour, one of her ſaid Chaplains in her privie Chamber made ſome Collation to her and to her Ladies and Gentlewomen of her Privie Chamber, or other that were diſpoſed to hear: In which Sermons they oft times touched ſuch abuſes as in the Church were then riſe. Which things as they were not ſecretly done, ſo neither were their preachings unknown unto the King. Whereof at the firſt, and for a great time, he ſeemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold (being indeed become very zealous toward the Goſpel, and the Profeſſors thereof) frankly to debate with the King touching Religion, and therein ſtately to diſcover her ſelf; oftentimes wiſhing, exhorting, and perſwading the King, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eter- nal fame, begun a good and a godly work in baniſh- ing that monſtrous Idol of Rome, ſo he would thorough- ly perfect and finiſh the ſame, cleaning and purging his Church of England clean from the dregs thereof, where- in as yet remained great ſuperſtition.

And albeit the King grew towards his latter end very ſterne and opinionate, ſo that of few he could be content to be taught, but worſt of all to be contended withal by argument; notwithstanding, toward her he reſtrained his accuſtomed manner (unto others in like caſe uſed) as appeared by great reſpects, either for the reverence of the cauſe, whereunto of himſelf he ſeemed well in- clined, if ſome others could have ceaſed from ſeeking to pervert him, or elſe for the ſingular affection, which, until a very ſmall time before his death, he always bare unto her. For never handmaid fought with more care- ful diligence to pleaſe her Miſtreſſe, than he did with all painful endeavour apply her ſelf by all vertuous means in all things to pleaſe his humour.

Moreover beſides the virtues of the mind, ſhe was indued with very rare gifts of Nature, as ſingular beauty, favour, and comely perſonage, being things wherein the King was greatly delighted: and ſo enjoyed the Kings favor, to the great likelihood of the ſetting at large of the Goſpel within this Realm at that time; had not the malicious practice of certain profeſſed Enemies againſt the truth (which at that time alſo were very great) prevented the ſame, to the utter alienating of the Kings mind from Religion, and almoſt to the ex- treme ruin of the Queen and certain others with her, if God had not marvellouſly ſuccoured her in the diſtreſs. The Conſpirers and practiſers of her death were Gar- diner Biſhop of Wincheſter, Wiſſley then Lord Chan- cellour, and others more both of the Kings Privy Cham- ber, and of his Privy Council. Theſe ſeeking (for the furtherance of their ungodly purpoſe) to revive, ſtir up, and kindle evil and pernicious humours in their Prince and Sovereign Lord, to the intent to deprive her of this great favour which then ſhe ſtood in with the King (which they not a little feared would turn to the utter ruin of their Antichriſtian Sect, if it ſhould continue) and there- by to ſtop the paſſage of the Goſpel; and conſequently, having taken away her, who was the onely Patronneſs of the Profeſſors of the truth, openly without fear of check or controulment, with fire and ſword, after their accuſtomed manner, to invade the ſmall remainder, as they hoped, of that poor flock, made their wicked entry unto this their milchievous enterpriſe, after this manner follow- ing.

Anno
1546.

Q. Katharine
Parre.

The reli-
gious
Zeal of Q.
Katharine to-
ward Gods
Word.

The exhor-
tation of Q.
Katharine to
the King.

The King
toward his
latter end
waxed more
impatient.

The vertuous
inclination
of Q. Kathar-
ine toward
the King.

Enemies &
conſpirers
againſt the
Goſpel.

The

The Kings Majesty, as you have heard, misliked to be contended withal in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although the Queen would not cross in smaller matters, yet in cases of Religion as occasion served, she would not stick in Reverent Terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of Scripture now and then to contrary. The which the King was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her Hands he took all in good part, or at the least did never shew countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appeale her Adversaries to hear and see. During which time, perceiving her so thoroughly grounded in the Kings Favour, they durst not for their lives once open their Lips unto the King in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back. And so long the continued this her accustomed usage, not only of her hearing Private Sermons (as is said) but also of her free Conference with the King in matters of Religion, without all peril, until at the last by reason of his fore leggs (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase) he waxed fickle, and there-withal froward, and difficult to be pleased.

The King sometimes contrary to the Queens arguments.

The King waxeth fickle, and difficult to be pleased.

In the time of this his sickness he had left his accustomed manner of coming and visiting of the Queen: and therefore she, according as she understood him, by such assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to have her company, sometimes being sent for, either sometimes of her self would come to visit him, either at after dinner or after Supper, as was most fit for her purpose. At which time she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the Reformation of the Church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the Kings accustomed patience, so that he began to shew some tokens of milking; and contrary unto his manner, upon a day breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the Queen. To whom notwithstanding in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all Arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she for that time took her leave of his Majesty. Who after his manner bidding her farewell sweet heart (for that was his usual Term to the Queen) licenced her to depart.

The King beginneth to mislike of the Queen.

The Bishop of Winchester taketh his occasion to work his mischief.

At this visitation chanced the Bishop of Winchester aforementioned to be present, as also at the Queens taking her leave (who very well had printed in his Memory the Kings sudden interrupting of the Queen in her tale, and falling into other matter) and thought that if the Iron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the Kings humor were holpen, such milking might follow towards the Queen, as might both overthrow her and all her endeavours; and he only awaited some occasion to renew into the Kings memory the former milked Argument. His expectation in that behalf did nothing fail him; for the King at that time shewed himself no less prompt and ready to receive any information, than the Bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the Kings indignation against her. The King, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words: A good hearing, quoth he, it is when Women become such Clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my Wife.

The Bishop of Winchester words to the King.

The Bishop hearing this, seemed to mislike that the Queen should so much forget her self, as to take upon her to stand in any Argument with his Majesty, whom he to his Face extolled for his rare virtues, and specially for his learned Judgment in matters of Religion, above not only Princes of that and other ages, but also above Doctors professed in Divinity, and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his Majesties Subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him for his part, and other of his Majesties Counsellors and Servants, to hear the same; and that they all by proof knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any such matters; inferring moreover how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever hath been for a Prince to suffer such insolent words at his Subjects Hands: who as they take boldness to contrary their Sovereign in words, so want they no will, but only power and strength to overthrow them in deeds.

Besides this, that the Religion by the Queen so stiffly maintained did not only disallow and dissolve the policy and politique Government of Princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the Princes Estate so perilous, that (saving the reverence they bear unto her for his Majesties sake) they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest Subject in this Land, speaking those Words that he did speak, and defending likewise those Arguments that he did defend, had with indifferent justice by law deserved death.

Hobert for his part, he would not, nor durst not, without good Warrant from his Majesty, speak his knowledge in the Queens case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his Majesty, and the Zeal and preservation of his estate, would scarce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might through her, and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the Princes safety, without his Majesty would take upon him to be their Protector, and as it were their Buckler. Which if he would do (as in respect of his own safety he ought not to refuse) he with others of his faithful Counsellors could within short time disclose such treason, cloaked with this cloak of Heresie, that his Majesty should easily perceive how perilous a matter it is to cherish a Serpent in his own Bosom: Howbeit he would not for his part willingly deal in the matter both for reverend respect aforesaid, and also for fear lest the faction was grown already too great, to there with the Princes safety to discover the same. And therewithal, with heavy countenance, and whispering together with them that that Sect there present, held his Peace.

These and such other kinds of *Winchesters* flattering phrases marvellously whetted the King both to anger and displeasure toward the Queen, and also to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate. For the assurance whereof of Princes use not to be scrupulous to do any thing: Thus then *Winchester* with his flattering words, seeking to frame the Kings disposition after his own pleasure, so far crept into the King at that time, and with doubtful fears he, with other his Fellowes, so filled the Kings mistrustful mind: that before they departed the place, the King (to see belike what they would do) had given commandment, with Warrant to certain of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain Articles against the Queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the King, by their persuasions pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, having any rigor or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this Commission they departed for that time from the King, resolved to put their pernicious practise to as mischievous an execution.

During the time of Deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies, and malicious practises, as well to suborn Accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to understand what Books by law forbidden he had in her Closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass, because they would not upon the sudden but by means deal with her, they thought it best, at the first, to begin with some of those Ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her Blood. The chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and Privy to all her doings, were these; the Lady *Herbert*, afterward Countess of *Pembroke*, and Sister to the Queen, and chief of her Privy Chamber; the Lady *Lane*, being of her Privy Chamber, and also her Cousin german; the Lady *Tyrwit*, of her Privy Chamber, and for her virtuous disposition in very great favour and credit with her.

It was devised that these three above named should first of all have been accused and brought to answer unto the six Articles, and upon their Apprehension in the Court, their Closets and Coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have him found whereby the Queen might be charged; which being found, the Q. her self presently should have been taken, and likewise by Barge carried by night unto the Tower. This platform thus devised, but yet in the end coming to no effect; the King by those aforesaid was forthwith made Privie unto the device by *Winchester* and *Wrisley*, and his consent thereunto demanded. Who (belike to prove the Bishops

Winchester accusation against the Queen.

Winchester abuses the King with his flattering.

Winchester and his fellowes devise against the gospellers.

Lady Herbert.

Lady Lane.

Lady Tyrwit.

Winchesters platform.

Malice

malice, how far it would presume) like a wife politick Prince, was contented (dissembling) to give his consent, and to allow of every Circumstance (knowing notwithstanding in the end what he would do.) And thus the day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions afore-said was appointed; which device yet after was changed.

The King at that time lay at Whitehall, and used very seldom, being not well at ease, to stir out of his Chamber or privy Gallery; and few of his Counsel, but by especial commandment, resorted unto him; these only except, who by reason of this practise used oftner than ordinary to repair unto him. This purpose so finely was handled, that it grew now within few days of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor Queen neither knew nor suspected any thing at all, and therefore used after her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the King, still to deal with him touching Religion, as before she did.

The King all this while gave her leave to utter her mind at the full without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or milking (ye must conceive) to have her speedy dispatch, but rather closely dissembling with them, to try out the uttermost of *Winchesters* fetches. Thus after her accustomed Conference with the King, when she had taken her leave of him (the time and day of *Winchesters* final day approaching fast upon) it chanced that the King of himself, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in dislike of her Religion, brake the whole practise unto one of his Physicians, either *Dr.Wendy*, or else *Owen*, but rather *Wendy*, as is supposed: pretending unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a Doctors as she was; and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certain of her Enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any Creature living: and thereupon declared unto him the Parties above named, with all Circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

The Queen all this while, compassed about with Enemies and Persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what Traps were layed for her by *Winchester* and his Fellows; so closely was the matter conveyed. But see what the Lord God (who from his eternal Throne of Wisdom seeth and dispatcheth all the inventions of *Achitophel*, and comprehendeth the wily beguily themselves) did for his poor Handmaiden, in rescuing her from the Pit of Ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares.

For as the Lord would, so came it to pass, that the Bill of Articles drawn against the Queen, and subscribed with the Kings own hand (although dissemblingly you must understand) falling from the bosom of one of the foresaid Counsellors, was found and taken up of some godly person, and brought immediately unto the Queen. Who reading there the Articles comprised against her, and perceiving the Kings own hand unto the same, for the sudden fear thereof fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort, as was lamentable to see, as certain of her Ladies and Gentlewomen being yet alive, which were then present about her, can testify.

The King hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his Physicians unto her. Who travelling about her, and seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery. Then *Wendy*, who knew the cause better than the other, and perceiving by her words what the matter was, according to that the King before had told him, for the comforting of her heavy mind, began to break with her in secret manner, touching the said Articles devised against her, which he himself, he said, knew right-well to be true: although he stood in danger of his life, if ever he were known to utter the same to any living Creature. Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own Conscience, having remore to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of that mischief that hanged over her head, beseeching her most instantly to use all secrecy in that behalf, and exhorted her somewhat to frame and conform her self unto the Kings mind, say-

ing, he did not doubt, but if she would do so, and shew her humble Submission unto him; she should find him gracious and favourable unto her.

It was not long after this, but the King hearing of the dangerous state wherein she yet still remained, came unto her himself. Unto whom, after that she had uttered her grief, fearing least his Majesty, she said, had taken displeasure with her, and had utterly forsaken her, he like a loving Husband, with sweet and comfortable words, so refreshed and appeased her careful mind, that she upon the same began somewhat to recover; and so the King, after he had tarried there about the space of an hour, departed.

After this the Queen; remembering with her self the words that *Mr.Wendy* had said unto her; devised how by some good opportunity she might repair to the Kings presence. And so first commanding her Ladies to convey away their Books which were against the Law, the next night following after Supper, she (waited upon only by the Lady *Herbert* her Sister, and the Lady *Lane*, who carried the Candle before her) went unto the Kings Bed-chamber, whom she found sitting and talking with certain Gentlemen of his Chamber. Whom when the King did behold, very courteously he welcomed her, and breaking off the talk, which before her coming he had with the Gentlemen afore said, began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of Religion, seeming as it were desirous to be resolved by the Queen of certain Doubts which he propounded.

The Queen perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, not being unprovided in what sort to behave herself towards the King, with such Answers relieved his Questions as the time and opportunity present did require, mildly, and with reverent Countenance, answering again after this manner:

Your Majesty, quoth she, doth right-well know, neither I my self am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first Creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior and subject unto man as our Head, from which Head all our direction ought to proceed, and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being indued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his Commandments, even so also made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded and directed. Whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided and borne withal, so that by his wisdom such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

Since therefore that God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your Majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your Majesty, in such dissuade Causes of Religion, will seem to require my judgment? Which when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other Cases, to your Majesties wisdom, as my only Anchor, Supreme Head and Governour here in Earth, next under God, to lean unto.

Not so by *S. Mary*, quoth the King, you are become a Doctor, *Kate*, to instruct us (as we take it) and not to be instructed or directed by us.

If your Majesty take it so, quoth the Queen, then hath your Majesty very much mistaken, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly, and preposterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an Instructor or Teacher to her Lord and Husband, but rather to learn of her Husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have with your Majesties leave heretofore been bold to hold talk with your Majesty, wherein sometimes in Opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain Opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your Majesty might with less grief pass

The Kings coming to the Queens to comfort her.

The Queens politick submission to the King.

The wiles of this Achitophel, Winchester, dispatched.

The Articles drawn against the Queen, how they came to her hands.

The Queen in an agony.

Dr.Wendy the Kings Physician first to the Queen.

The exhortation of Dr. Wendy to the Queen.

pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being
intensive to our talk, and hoping that your Majesty
should reap some ease thereby; but also, that I hear-
ing your Majesties learned Discourse might receive to
myself some profit thereby. Wherein, I assure your Ma-
jesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that be-
half, always referring my self in all such matters unto
your Majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient
for me to do.

Perfect ac-
reement
between the
King and
the Queen.

And is it even so, sweet heart, quoth the King? And
tended your Arguments to no worse end? Then perfect
Friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore:
and as he sat in his Chair, embracing her in his arms,
and kissing her, he added this, saying, That it did him
more good at that time to hear those words of her own
mouth, than if he had heard present news of an hun-
dred thousand pounds in many faln unto him. And
with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and li-
king, with promises and assurances never again in any
fort more to mistake her, entering into other very plea-
sant Discourses with the Queen and the Lords, and Gen-
tlemen standing by, in the end (being very far in the
night) he gave her leave to depart. Whom in her ab-
sence the standers by, he gave as singular and as affec-
tuous commendations, as before time to the Bishop and
the Chancellor (who then were neither of them present)
he feared to mislike of her.

The King
discovered
the molli-
ous work-
ings of the
bloody Pa-
pists.

Now then, God be thanked, the Kings mind was clean
altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he
plainly shewed) this Tragical practise of those cruel *Caia-
phases*; who nothing understanding of the Kings well
reformed mind, and good disposition toward the Queen,
were busily occupied about thinking and providing for
their next days labour, which was the day determined
to have carried the Queen to the Tower.

This por-
pote being
altered, that
the Ladies
should be
first taken;
it was then
appointed
that they,
with the
Queen,
should also
be apprehen-
ded in man-
ner as is
here declar-
ed.

The day, and almost the hour appointed being come,
the King being disposed in the Afternoon to take the air
(waited upon with two Gentlemen only of his Bed-
chamber) went into the Garden whither the Queen al-
so came, being sent for by the King himself, the three
Ladies above named alone waiting upon her. With
whom the King at that time disposed himself to be as
pleasant as ever he was in all his life before: When sud-
denly in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined
being come, in cometh the Lord Chancellor into the
Garden with forty of the Kings Guards at his heels, with
purpose indeed to have taken the Queen, together with
the three Ladies aforesaid, whom they had before pur-
posed to apprehend alone, even then unto the Tower.
Whom then the King sternly beholding, breaking off
his mirth with the Queen, stepping a little aside, called
the Chancellor unto him. Who upon his knees spake
certain words unto the King, but what they were (for
that they were softly spoken, and the King a good pret-
ty distance from the Queen) it is not well known, but it
is most certain that the Kings replying unto him, was
Knave, for his answer; yea, *arrant Knave*, *Beast*, and
Pool; and with that the King commanded him presently
to avante out of his presence. Which words, although
they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehe-
mently whispered out by the King, that the Queen did
easily, with her Ladies aforesaid, over-hear them: which
had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at
that time the whole cause of his coming, so perfectly as
after she knew it. Thus departed the Lord Chancellor
out of the Kings Presence as he came, with all his Train,
the whole mould of all his devise being utterly broken.

The King
revileth
Wesley Lord
Chancellor.
The Lord
Chancellor
command-
ed to avante
out of the
Kings sight.

Wesley de-
vices, and
Winchester
platforme
in the dust.

The King, after his departure, immediately returned
to the Queen. Whom the perceiving to be very much
chafed (albeit coming towards her, he enforced himself
to put on a merry countenance) with as sweet words as
he could utter, he endeavoured to qualifie the King his
displeasure, with request unto his Majesty in the behalf
of the Lord Chancellor, whom he seemed to be offend-
ed withal; saying, for his Excuse, That albeit she knew
not what just cause his Majesty had at that time to be
offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not
will, was the cause of his Error, and so besought his
Majesty (if the cause were not very heinous) at her hum-
ble sute to take it.

The Queen
mislike
cause for her
humor.

The Queen, after his departure, immediately returned
to the Queen. Whom the perceiving to be very much
chafed (albeit coming towards her, he enforced himself
to put on a merry countenance) with as sweet words as
he could utter, he endeavoured to qualifie the King his
displeasure, with request unto his Majesty in the behalf
of the Lord Chancellor, whom he seemed to be offend-
ed withal; saying, for his Excuse, That albeit she knew
not what just cause his Majesty had at that time to be
offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not
will, was the cause of his Error, and so besought his
Majesty (if the cause were not very heinous) at her hum-
ble sute to take it.

Ab poor Soul, quoth he, thou little knowest how evil
he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Of my word,
Sweet-heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant Knave,
and so let him go. To this the Queen in charitable
manner replying in few words, ended that talk; having
also by Gods only blessing happily, for that time and
ever, escaped the dangerous Snarles of her bloody and
cruel Enemies for the Gospels sake.

The pestiferous purpose of this Bishop, and of such
like bloody Adversaries practising thus against the Queen,
and proceeding of Gods Gospel (as ye have heard) put-
teth me in remembrance of such another like story of his
wicked working in like manner, a little before: but
much more pernicious and pestilent to the publick Church
of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private
estate of the Queen. Which Story likewise I thought
here, as in convenient place, to be adjoynted and noticed,
to be known to all Posterity, according as I have it faith-
fully recorded and storied by him, which heard it of the
Archbishop *Cranmers* own mouth declared, in order and
form as followeth.

A Discourse touching a certain policy used by Ste-
phen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, in saying King
Henry the Eighth from redressing of certain abuses of
Ceremonies in the Church, being Embassadors beyond the
Seas.

Also the Communication of King Henry the Eighth
had with the Embassador of France at Hampton-
Court concerning the Reformation of Religion, as
well in France, as in England, Anno 1546. Menf.
August.

It chanced in the time of King Henry the Eighth, *Step. Gardi-*
when his Highness died lastly (not many years before *his death*, conclude a League between the Emperor,
the French King, and himself, that the Bishop of *Win-*
chester, *Stephen Gardiner* by name, was sent in Emba-
sage beyond the Seas, for that purpose. In whose ab-
sence the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cranmer*,
attending upon the Kings Court, sought occasion some-
what to further the Reformation of the corrupt Religion,
not yet fully restored unto perfection. For like as the said
Archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer
and advance the sincere Doctrine of the Gospel; so was
that other Bishop a contrary Instrument, continually
sunning against the same, in whatsoever Coast of the
World he remained. For even now he being beyond
the Seas, in the temporal Affairs of the Realm, forgot not,
but found the means, as a most valiant Champion
of the Bishop of *Rome*, to stop and hinder, as well the good
diligence of the said Archbishop, as the godly disposi-
tion of the Kings Majesty in that behalf, which thus
chanced.

Whilst the said Bishop of *Winchester* was now re-
maining beyond the Seas about the Affairs aforesaid, the
Kings Majesty and the said Archbishop having confer-
ence together for Reformation of some superstitious en-
ormities in the Church; amongst other things, the King
determined forthwith to pull down the Roods in every
Church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on *Al-*
lallow-night, with a few such like vain Ceremonies; and
therefore when the said Archbishop took his leave of the
King, to go into *Kent* his Diocese, his Highness willed
him to remember that he should cause two Letters to be
devised, by me, quoth the King, to be signed, the one to
be directed unto my Lord, and the other unto the
Archbishop of *York*, wherein I will command you both
to send forth your Precepts unto all other Bishops within
your Provinces, to see those enormities and Ceremonies
reformed undelayedly that we have communed of.

So upon this, the Kings pleasure known, when the Arch-
bishop of *Canterbury* was then come into *Kent*, he caused
his Secretary to conceive and write these Letters accord-
ing to the Kings mind, and being made in a readines,
he sent them to the Court to Sir *Anthony Denie*, for
him to get them signed by the King. When Mr. *De-*
nie had moved the King thereunto; the King made an-
swer, I am now otherwise resolved, for you shall send
my Lord of *Canterbury* word, that *simulacra* I speak
with him about those matters, I have received Letters
from

The Queen,
by Gods
marvellous
blessing, de-
livered of
all her Ad-
versaries.

Winchester a
great hin-
dler of the
course of the
Gospel.

The Kings
conference
with Dr.
Cranmer a-
bout Refor-
mation of the
Church,
ringing on
Allallow-
night.

Letters of
Reformati-
on to be
signed by
the King.

The Kings
mind alter-
ed by Win-
chester.

from my Lord of Winchester, now being on the other side of the Sea, about the conclusion of a League between us and the Emperor, and the French King, and he writeth plainly unto us, That the League will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in Religion or Ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done. Wherefore my Lord of Canterbury must take patience herein, and forbear until we may ejoy a more apt and convenient time for that purpose.

Reformation of Religion floppeth by the Reformation of the French King, came to the Kings Majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death.

Anno 1546

This Ambassador was Admiral of France, whose name was Monsieur de Amboise, he came to Hampton Court, the 15 day of August, anno 1546. The matter of Reformation again renewed a little betwixt the Kings Majesty and the French King.

The Kings Majesty for the French Ambassador, did not receive him, but only to consider and note the conference and communication had the first night after the said banquet was finished, between the Kings Majesty, the said Ambassador, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (the Kings Highness standing openly in the Banqueting-House, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one Arm upon the Shoulder of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Arm upon the Shoulder of the Ambassador) touching the establishing of Godly Religion between those two Princes in both their Realms: As by the report of the said Archbishop unto his Secretary, upon occasion of his service to be done in King Edwards Visitation, then being Register in the same Visitation, relation was made on that behalf in this sort.

When the said Visitation was put in a readiness, before the Commissioners should proceed in their Voyage, the said Archbishop sent for the said Register his man unto Hampton Court, and willed him in any wise to make Notes of certain things in the said Visitation; whereof he gave unto him instruction, having then further talk with him touching the good effect and success of the said Visitation. Upon which occasion the Register said unto his Master the Archbishop, I do remember, that you not long ago caused me to conceive and write Letters, which King Henry the eighth should have signed and directed unto your Grace, and the Archbishop of York, for the Reformation of certain enormities in the Churches, as taking down of the Roods, and forbidding of ringing on Alhallow-night, and such like vain Ceremonies. Which Letters your Grace sent to the Court to be signed by the Kings Majesty, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done therein.

Why, quoth the Archbishop again, never heard you those Letters were suppressed and flopped? Whereunto the Archbishop Servant answering again; as it was (said he) my duty to write those Letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon. Mary, quoth the Archbishop, my Lord of Winchester then being beyond the Seas, about the conclusion of a league between the Emperor, the French King, and the King our Master, and fearing that some Reformation should here pass in the Realm, touching Religion in his absence against his appetite, wrote to the Kings Majesty, bearing him in hand, that the league then towards would not prosper nor go forwards on his Majesties behalf if he made any other innovation, or alteration in Religion,

or Ceremonies in the Church, than was already done; which his Advertisement herein caused the King to stay the signing of those Letters, as Sir Anthony Deny wrote to me by the Kings Commandment.

Then said his Servant again unto him; Forasmuch as the Kings good intent took no place then, now your Grace may go forward in those matters, the opportunity of the time much better serving thereunto than in King Henries days.

Not so, quoth the Archbishop. It was better to attempt such Reformation in King Henry the eighth his days than at this time, the King being in his infancy. For if the Kings Father had set forth any thing for the Reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gain say it? Mary; we are now in doubt how men will take the change; or alteration of abuses in the Church, and therefore the Council hath forbore especially to speak thereof; and of other things which gladly they would have reformed in this Visitation, referring all those and such like matters unto the discretions of the Visitors. But if King Henry the eighth had lived unto this day with the French King, it had been past my Lord of Winchester's power to have vilified the Kings Highness, as he did when he was about the same league.

I am sure you were at Hampton Court, quoth the Archbishop, when the French Kings Ambassador was entertained there at those Solemn Banqueting Houses, not long before the Kings death; Namely, when after the Banquet was done the first night, the King leaning upon the Ambassador and upon me; if I should tell what Communication between the Kings Highness and the said Ambassador was had, concerning the establishing of sincere Religion then, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I my self thought the Kings Highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared. I may tell you it passed the pulling down of Roods; and suppressing the ringing of Bells. I take it, that few in England would have believed, that the Kings Majesty and the French King had been at this point, not only within half a year after to have changed the Mass in both the Realms into a Communion (as we now use it) but also utterly to have extirped and banished the Bishop of Rome, and his usurped Power, out of both their Realms and Dominions.

Yea, they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they meant also to exhort the Emperor to do the like in Flanders and other his Countries and Seignories, or else they would break off from him. And herein the Kings Highness willed me (quoth the Archbishop) to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French King to consider of. But the deep and most secret Providence of Almighty God, owing to this Realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most Godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both these Princes.

A brief Narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.

Here would also something be said of Sir George Blage, one of the Kings Privy Chamber, who being fallily accused by Sir Hugh Caverley, Knight, and Master Littleton, was sent for by Walsley Lord Chancellor the Sunday before Anne Askew suffered, and the next day was carried to Newgate, and from thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned the same day, and appointed to be burned the Wednesday following. The words which his Accusers laid unto him were these; What if a Mouse should eat the Bread? Then by my consent they should hang up the Mouse. Whereas indeed the words he never spake, as to his lives end he protested. But the truth (as he said) was this, that they craftily to undermine him, walking with him in Pauls Church after a Sermon of Doctor Crome, asked if he were at the Sermon. He said, Yea. I heard say (saith Master Littleton) that he said in his Sermon, That the Mass profitteth neither for the quick nor for the dead. No, saith M. Blage, undetermined of death, wherefore then? be like for a Gentleman when he rideth on hunting, to keep his Horse from stumbling. And so they departing, immediately after he was apprehended (as is shewed) and condemned to be burned. When this

The purpose of K. Henry and of the French King a little before their deaths.

Sir George Blage fallily accused.

Sir George Blage sent to Newgate and condemned. The cause of his condemnation.

The crafty undermining of death fallily accused.

was heard among them of the Privy Chamber, the King hearing them whispering together (which he could never abide) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and fute made to the King, especially by the good Earl of Bedford, then Lord Privy Seal, the King being fore offended with their doings, that they would come so near him, and even into his Privy Chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wrisley, commanding citizens to draw out his Pardon himself, and so was he set at liberty. Who coming after to the Kings Presence; *Ab my Pig* (saith the King to him, for so he was wont to call him.) *Yea, said he, if your Majesty had not been better to me than your Bishops were, your Pig had been roasted ere this time.*

Mr. Blage
pardoned
by the King.

The Kings
Pig almost
roasted.

But to let this matter of Sir George Blage pass, we will now reduce our Story again to Anne Askew and her fellow Martyrs, who the same week were burned, and could find no Pardon.

Anno
1546.

Then the Catholick Fathers, when they had brought this Christian Woman, with the residue (as above hath been declared) unto their Rest; they being now in their Ruff and Triumph, like as the Pharisees when they had brought Christ to his Grave, deviled with themselves how to keep him down still, and to over-tread Tygh for ever. Whereupon consulting with certain of the Council, they made out a freight and hard Proclamation, authorized by the Kings Name, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all such English Books which might give any light to the setting forth of Gods true Word, and Grace of the Gospel. The Copy and Tenour of which Proclamation is this, as followeth.

A Proclamation for the abolishing of English Books, after the death of Anne Askew, set forth by the King, Anno 1546. the eighth day of July.

A Proclamation
for the abolishing
of English
Books.

May rather
for the ig-
norance and
lack of Gods
Scripture
may have
taken occa-
sion of Er-
ror and He-
resies in-
terlab.

THe Kings most excellent Majesty understanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of Gods Scripture, divers lewd and evil disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by Books imprinted in the English Tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable Errors and Heresies, not only contrary to the Laws of this Realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of Gods Law and his Word, by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own Bodies and Souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugn the Truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly Religion, united and established under the Kings Majesty in this Realm; his Highness minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said Books, is enforced to use his general Prohibition, Commandment, and Proclamation, as followeth.

The New
Testament
of Tindall
and of Co-
verdale
Translation
in English,
forbidden.

Scripture
Books in
English re-
strained.

First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree soever he or they be, shall after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the Text of the New Testament of Tindall or Coverdale Translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the Act of Parliament made in the Session of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the four and thirtieth and five and thirtieth year of his Majesties most noble Reign; nor after the said day shall receive, have, take or keep in his or their possession, any manner of Books printed or written in the English Tongue, which be, or shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tindall, Wickliffe, Joy, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other Book or Books, containing matter contrary to the said Act made in the year thirty four, or thirty five, but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English Book, or Books, to his Master in that Household, if he be a Servant, or dwell under any other, and the Master or Ruler of the House, and such other as dwell at large, shall deliver all such Books of these sorts as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as aforesaid or otherwise, to the Maior, Bailiff, or chief Constable of the Town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the Sheriff of the Shire, or to the

Bishops Chancellor, or Commissary of the same Diocess, to the intent the said Bishop, Chancellor, Commissary, and Sheriff, and every of them, may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the Kings Majesties pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and of their doings thereof make Certificate to the Kings Majesties most honourable Council, before the first day of October next coming.

Burning
Scripture
Books.

And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such Penal Statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said Books, the Kings Majesty is most graciously consented by this Proclamation to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by the Proclamation for the delivery of the said Books, and commandeth that no Bishop, Chancellor, Commissary, Maior, Bailiff, Sheriff, or Constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such Books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this Proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said Books in his keeping, or be proved, and convicted by sufficient witnesses before four of the Kings most honourable Council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any Copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this Proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his Body at the Kings Majesties will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his Highness for the same, as by his Majesty, or four of his Graces said Council, shall be determined, &c.

The Penalty
limited.

Finally, His Majesty straightly chargeeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from the day of this Proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English Book, concerning any manner of Christian Religion, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, into this Realm, to sell, give or distribute any English Book printed in outward parts, or the Copy of any such Book, or any part thereof, to any person, dwelling within this his Graces Realm, or any other his Majesties Dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed so to do by his Highness's express Grant to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited, and therewithal to incur his Majesties extremest indignation.

Forasmuch as it is, and always hath been the common guise and practise of the Popes Church, to extinguish, condemn, and abolish all good Books and wholesome Treatises of Learned men, under a false pretence of Errors and Heresies, whereof Examples now abundantly appear in this History above: Now for the better trial hereof, to see and try the impudent and shameless vanity of these Catholick Clergy-men, in mistaking, falsifying, depraving, blaspheming, and slandering where they have no cause, against all right and honest dealing, yea, against their own knowledge, conscience, and manifest verity of Gods Word; I shall therefore desire the attentive Reader, before we pass any further, to consider and expend here two things by the way: First, What Opinions and Articles these men gather out of their Books for Errors and Heresies. Secondly, How wittingly and willingly they writ, pervert, and misconstrue their sayings and writings, in such sense as the writers never spake nor meant, and all to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have burned their Books.

The unwise
dealing of
the Papists
in gathering
Heresies
where
none is;

So did they before with John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Hierome. So did they before with Mr. Luther, Wickliffe, and others, which were set forth by the Papists, and briefly yet do still with all the Protestants, either perverting their sayings otherwise than they meant, or noting for Heresies such as are manifest Principles, and Grounds of our Religion: or else falsely belying them, or untruly mistaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as may serve for their molt advantage, to bring them out of credit with Princes and all the People.

For the more evident probation and experience whereof, thou shalt see here (Christian Reader) as in a Table laid before thine eyes, the Book or Catalogue of such Errors, Blasphemies and Heresies, which the Catholick Papists

Articles of
Luther, Wickliffe, and
others, which
were set forth by the
Papists.

pits in their own Registers have extracted out of their Books, whom in this, and other Proclamations, they have condemned. Whereunto moreover, we have annexed the very places also of the Authors, out of which every Article is gathered, keeping also the same signature of verse and page, which they in their Registers do send unto. So that with little diligence thou maist now, loving Reader, easily perceive, conferring the Articles and Places together, what truth and fidelity these bloody Catholics have used toward the Children of God: First in burning up their Bodies, then in confuting and abolishing their Books, and afterward drawing out Articles, such as they list themselves, out of their Works, to make the People believe what damnable Hereticks they were, as by these Articles hereunder insuing, collected and contained in their own Registers, may well appear. In all which Articles, there is not one (speaking of these Writers which here they have condemned) but either it is a perfect Truth and a Principle of Christian Doctrine, or else it is falsely gathered, or perversely recited, or craftily handled, and maliciously mangled, having either something cut from it, or some more added, or else racked out of its right place, or wrestled to a wrong meaning, which the place giveth not, or else which some other place following doth not better expound and declare. This false and malicious dealing hath always been a common practise amongst Gods enemies from the beginning, to falsifie, wrest, and deprave all things whatsoever maketh not to their faction and affection, be it never so true and just. So began they with Stephen, the first Martyr of Jesus Christ, and so have they continued still, and yet do to this present day.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold what spite and falshood was used in the Articles of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wickliffe, Swinburne, Bruce, Thorpe, Armachanus, Sir John Oldcastle, John Hus, the Bohemians, and such other. Which thing, if the Booke and Places whence these Articles were gathered against them have suffered to remain, we might more plainly understand. In the mean season, as touching these Articles here present, for so much as the Bishops own Registers have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the self same Books from whence they are excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee (friendly Reader) first to consider the Articles, and lay them with the places which the Registers themselves do assign, and then judge thy self what is to be thought thereof. The Articles gathered out of the foresaid Books with the Bishops Decree prefixed before the same, is as hereunder followeth.

A Publick Instrument by the Bishops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other Books, to be read in English.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular, true and faithful People, to whom these present Letters testimonial, or this present publick and authentick Instrument shall come to be seen, read, heard, or understood, and whom this under written shall or may reach, or appertain unto in any manner of wise in time to come; William by the sufferance of Almighty God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all the Realm of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signifie unto you all, and let you well to wit and know by these Presents, that the King our Sovereign Lord, hearing of many Books in the English Tongue, containing many detestable Errors, and damnable Opinions, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, to be brought into divers Towns, and sundry parts of this his Realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our Faith Catholicke, and perillous corruption of his People, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided; his Highness willing evermore to employ all his study and mind, in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the weal of his Subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also be kept pure and cleave of all Contention, and wrong Opinions in Christian Religion; considering also that he, being Defender of the Faith, would be just to him to

(suffer such evil Seed sown amongst his People, and so take root that it might overgrow the Corn of the Catholick Doctrine before sown in the Souls of his Subjects; for the repelling of such Books, calling unto him of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief Prelates and Clerks of his Realm, but also of each University a certain number of the chief Learned men, proposed such of these Books, as his Grace had ready to be read unto them, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them. Who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said Books, found in them many Errors and Heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his People; (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space) gathering also out of them many great Errors and Pervious Heresies, and noting them in writing to the intent to shew for what cause they reputed the said Books damnable, of which hereafter out of each Book gathered many do ensue: albeit many more there be in the said Books, which Books totally do swarm full of Heresies and detestable Opinions.

Heresies and Errors collected by the Bishops out of Heresies the Book of Tindall, named the *Wicked Mammon*, falsly gathered by the places of the Book annexed to the same, out of the Truths out of the mixed *Mammon*.

1. *First only justifies*, Fol. 59.

This Article being a Principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our Salvation, is plain enough by *Scripture* and the whole Body of the Scripture: neither can any make this an Heresie, but they must make *S. Paul* an Heretick, and these themselves enemies unto the promises of Grace, and to the Cross of Christ.

2. *The Law maketh us to hear God, because we be born under the power of the Devil*. Fol. 59.

3. *It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God*. Fol. 59.

The place of *Tindall* from whence these Articles be wrested, is in the *Wicked Mammon*, as followeth. Which place I beseech thee indifferently to read; and then to judge.

In the faith which we have in Christ, and in Gods promises, find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the Law we find death, damnation, and wrath, moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it, that is to say the Law, is called of Paul, the ministrator of death and damnation. In the Law we are proved to be enemies of God, and that we hate him. For how can we be at peace with God, and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the Devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God? Much more impossible is it for a man to fulfill the law of his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heirs of eternal damnation, &c.

4. *The Law requireth impossible things of us*. Fol. 59.

Read the place. The Law when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee no power so to do, but damneth thee because thou canst not so do. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then must thou turn to the Promises and to the Gospel, which is called of Paul the ministrator of righteousness, and is of the spirit.

5. *The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a Tree doth bring forth fruit*. Fol. 65.

The place is this: *The Spirit of God accompanieth this place faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man becometh boldeth himself in the Law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbly himself, and containing abhorreth himself. She bringeth Gods promises of all good morning and things in Christ: God worketh with his word, and in his word, and as his word is preached, faith rooteth her self in the hearts of the Elect: and as faith encreaseth, the power of God loveth the heart from the captivity and bondage*

under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God, and to the will of God, altereth and changeth him clean, fashioneth and forgeth him anew, groweth him power to love and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new Nature; so that he loveth that which before he hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered and changed, and contrarily disposed, and is knit and coupled fast to Gods will, and naturally bringeth forth good works; that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination; and that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of his own accord, &c.

6. Article. 6. Works do only declare to thee that thou art justified. Fol. 65.

If Tindall say, That works do only declare our justification; he doth not thereby destroy good works; but only sheweth the right use and office of good works to be nothing to merit our justification, but rather to testify a lively Faith, which only justifieth us: The Article is plain by the Scripture and S. Paul.

7. Article. 7. Christ with all his works did not deserve Heaven. Fol. 69.

Read the place. All good works must be done freely with a single eye, without respect of any thing, so that no profit be sought thereby. That commandeth Christ, who be faith, Free have you received, free give again.

For look as Christ with all his works * did not deserve Heaven (for that was his already) but did us service thereinwith, and neither looked for, nor sought his own profit, but ours; and the honour of God his Father only: even so we with all our works may not seek our own profit, neither in this World nor in Heaven, but must and ought freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner of respect seek our Neighbours profit, and do him service, &c.

8. Labouring by good works to come to Heaven, thou shalt Christ's Blood. Fol. 69.

Read the place. If thou wouldest obtain Heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so doest thou wrong, yea, and shalt the Blood of Christ, and unto thee Christ is dead in vain. Now is the true Believer born of God by Christ's deserving; yea and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternal life before the world began. And when the Gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God, and in believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life, and we are in eternal life already, and already feel in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ; and therefore love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already, &c.

9. Article. 9. Saints in Heaven cannot help us therein. Fol. 69.

Whether Saints can help us unto Heaven, see the Scriptures; and mark well the Office of the Son of God, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and thou shalt not need to seek any further.

10. To build a Church in the honour of our Lady, or any other Saints, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends. Fol. 71.

Read the place of Tindall. What buildeth thou Churches, foundest Abbeyes, Chauntries and Colledges in the honour of Saints, to my Mother, S. Peter, Paul, and Saints: that be dead, to make of them thy Friends? They need it not, yea, they be not thy Friends; thy Friends are thy poor Neighbours, which need thy help and succour. Then make thy Friends with the unrighteous Mammon, that they may testify of thy Faith, and that thou mayest know and feel that thy Faith is right, and not feigned, &c.

11. All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot but sin. Fol. 74.

This Article is evident enough of it self, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no Allegations.

12. Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved. Fol. 76.

Read the place. A Physician serveth not for sick men, and that for such men as feel their sickness, and mourn therefore, and long for health. Christ likewise serveth not for sinners only that feel their sin, and that

for such sinners as sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is the power or strength to fulfil the Law, or to keep the Commandments: Now be that longeth for that health, that is to say, to do the Law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole. Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness sake, (that is, to fulfil the Law) for their lust shall be fulfilled, Matth. 5.

This longing, and the consent of the heart unto the Law of God is the working of the Spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest, that thou mightest be sure that God will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he choiceth unto everlasting life.

So long as thou seekest thy sin, and mournest, and consentest to the Law, and longest (though thou be never so weak) yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations from desperation, and certify thine heart, that God for his Truth shall deliver thee, and save thee, yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved, not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably, neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee, neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him, &c.

The like comfortable words he hath afterward, fol. 38. which are these. He that deserveth mercy, the same feeleth his own misery and sin, and mourneth in his heart to be delivered, that he might honour God, and God for his Truth must bear him, which faith by the mouth verily of Christ, Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. God, for his Truths sake, must put the righteousness of Christ in him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner never so weak, so feeble and frail, though he have sinned never so oft, and so grievously; yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered, remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not, for his Truths sake, and love in Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God that would be no sinner. He that would be delivered, hath his heart loose already. His heart smiteth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the Law and Will of God, and justifieth God, that is, heareth record that God, which made the Law, is righteous and just. And such a heart trusting in Christ's blood, accepted for full righteousness, and his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins are not looked upon, until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his desire, &c.

13. The Commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and to call for mercy of God. Fol. 76.

Read the place. If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments, Matth. 19. 19. First remember that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore because that we of our selves are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the Law we might see and know our horrible damnation and captivity under which we should sin, and so repent and come unto Christ and receive mercy, &c.

14. Fasting is only to avoid surfeit, and to tame the body; all other purposes be naught. Fol. 81.

The words of Tyndall be these: Fasting is to abstain from surfeiting or overmuch eating, from drunkenness and cares of the world, as thou mayest read, Luke 20. And the end of Fasting is to tame the body, that the spirit may have the free course to God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and are of worldly business, presseth down the spirit, choaketh it, and tangleth it, that it cannot lift up its self to God. Now be that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise it self in the things of God, the same is blind, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth, and sheweth at a wrong mark, and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God, &c.

15. To bid the poor man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty; not that I have any trust in his Prayer. Fol. 42.

The place hideth us
from our
neighbour
in his holiness,
our trust is in God,
in Christ, and in the
truth of Gods promises.
We have also a promise,
that when two or three
more agree together in
one thing, according to
the will of God, God
heareth us; notwithstanding
as God heareth many,
so heareth he few, and
so heareth he one, if he
pray after the will of
God, and desire the
honour of God, &c.

16. *Though thou give me a thousand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now than I was before.* Fol. 83.

The words be thefe. If thou give me a thousand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before. Mans Imagination can make the Commandment of God neither greater nor smaller, neither can the Law of God either add or diminish. Gods Commandments be as great as himselfe, &c.

17. *A good deed done and not of fervent charity, as Christs was, is Sin.* Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndal be thefe. Though then thefe Mercy unto thy Neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love, as Christ did unto thee, so must thou knowledgethy Sin, and desire Mercy, in Christ, &c.

18. *Every Man is Lord of another Mans goods.* Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndal be thefe. Christ is Lord over all, and every Christian is Heir annexed with Christ, and therefore Lord of all, and every one Lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy Brother or Neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet shewest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his own, and art a thief, &c. Read more hereof in the xx. Article following.

19. *I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my Heart.* Fol. 83.

The place of this Article is this. I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the example that Christ loved me, neither to spare Goods, Body, nor Life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the World? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if Gods Spirit be in me, &c.

20. *The worst Turk living hath as much right to my goods as his needs, as my household, or mine own self.* Fol. 83.

Read and mark well the place in the Wicked Mammon. In Christ we are all of one degree without respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a Christian Mans Heart be open unto all Men, and receiveth all Men, yet because that his habilitie of goods extendeth not so far, as this provision is made, that every Man shall care for his own household, as Father and Mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee, Wife, Children, and Servants. If thou shouldst not care and provide for thine Household, then were thou an Infidel, seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do; and forasmuch as that is thy part committed unto thee of the Congregation, when thou hast done thy duty to thine household, and yet hast further abundance of the blessings of God, that cometh thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and are destitute of friends to the poor I mean which thou knowest, to them of thine own Parish. If thy neighbours which thou knowest be served, and thou yet have superfluous, and hearest necessity to be among the Brethren a thousand mile off, to them art thou debtor. Yea, to the very Infidels we be debtors if they need, as far forth as we maintain them not against Christ, or to Blasphemous Christ. Thou is every Man that needeth thy help, thy Father, Mother, Sister, and Brother in Christ; even as every Man that doth the will of the Father; is Father, Mother, Sister, and Brother unto Christ.

Moreover, if any be an Infidel and a false Christian, and forsake his Household, his Wife, Children, and such as cannot help themselves, then art thou bound to them, if thou have wherewith, even as much as to thine own Household, and they have as good right in thy goods, as thou thyself. &c. And if the words

World were thine, yet hath every Brother his right in thy goods, and is heir with thee; as we are all heirs of Christ.

21. *Alms do serveth no need.* Fol. 84.

The place is this: He that seeketh with his Alms more than to be merciful, to be a Neighbour, to succour his Brothers need, to do his duty to his Brother, to give his Brother that he oweth him, the same is blind, and seeth not what it is to be a Christian man, and to have fellowship in Christs Blood, &c.

22. *There is no work better than another to please God, to make Water, to wash dishes; to be a Sower, or an Apostle, all is one; to wash dishes and to preach is all one, as touching the deed to please God.* Fol. 44.

The words of Tindal be thefe. As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the Law of God, in faith and with thanksgiving to God, and understand that thou in thy doing pleasest God; whatsoever thou doest within the Law of God, as when thou makest water, &c.

Moreover, put no difference between works, but whatsoever cometh into thy hands, that do, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. As touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy works, as the World doth, as though the beautifulnes of the works pleased him, as it doth the World, or as though he had need of them; but God looketh first on the Heart, what Faith thou hast to his words, how thou believest him, and how thou lovest him for his great mercy that he hath shewed thee; he looketh with what Heart thou workest, and not what thou workest; how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an Apostle or a Shoemaker. Set this Example before thine eyes: Thou art a Kitchen Page, and walkest thy masters dishes. Another is an Apostle, and preacheth the Word of God. Of this Apostle heark what S. Paul saith, *If I preach (saith he) I have ought to rejoyce in, for necessity is put unto me.* As who should say, God hath made me so, woe is unto me if I preach not. *If I do it willingly (saith he) then have I my reward.* That is, then am I sure that Gods Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. *If I do it against my will, an Office is committed unto me;* That is, if I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had lever other-wise live; then do I that Office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God my self, &c. Moreover, howsoever he preach, he hath not to rejoyce in that he preacheth. But if he preach willingly with a true heart, and of Conscience to God, then hath he his reward, that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth Gods goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness, and mourneth and knowledgeth his Sin. In that the Heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord. And nevertheless is he yet at peace with God, through Faith and trust in Christ Jesus. For the earnest of the Spirit that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witness unto his Heart, that God hath chosen him, and that his Grace shall suffice him, which Grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no trust.

Now thou that minisrest in the Kitchen, and art but a Kitchen Page, receivest all things at the hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that Office, submittest thy self to his will, and servest thy Master, not as a man, but as Christ himself, with a pure heart, according as Paul only teacheth; putteth thy trust in God, and with him seeketh thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy Heart rejoyceth therein, yea when thou heardest that the Word of God is Preached by this Apostle, and seest the people turn to God, thou consentest unto the deed, thy Heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured, and in thine Heart dost the same that the Apostles do, and happily with greater delectation and a more fervent Spirit. Now, he that receiveth a Prophet, in the Name of a Prophet, shall receive the reward of a Prophet; That is, he that consenteth to the deed of a Prophet and maintaineth it,

21. Article. The place annexed.

The words of Tindal be thefe. As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the Law of God, in faith and with thanksgiving to God, and understand that thou in thy doing pleasest God; whatsoever thou doest within the Law of God, as when thou makest water, &c.

The place hideth us from our neighbour in his holiness, our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of Gods promises.

This place answereth for it self sufficiently.

17. Article.

This place tendeth to no such meaning as is in the Article, but only sheweth our good deeds to be imperfect.

19. Article.

To love the Turk to end to win him to Christ, is to Retell but charity.

To Reader how pcevibly this place is wretched. First hercia no mention made of any Turk. Secondly, this place speaking of an infidel, meaneth of such Christians which forsake their own households. Thirdly, by his right in thy goods, he meaneth no property that he hath to claim, but only to put the remembrance of thy Christian duty whatso give.

No difference of men before God, in respect of deeds, but as Paul only in respect of Faith.

the same hath the same Spirit, and earnest of everlasting life, which the Prophet hath, and is elect as the Prophet is.

Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is great difference betwixt walking of duties, and preaching the Word of God. But as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that, nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man, hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart by faith and trust in Christ, &c.

23 Article.] 23. Ceremonies of the Church have brought the World from God, fol. 86.

The place annexed.

Read the place of Tindall, Seek the Word of God in all things, and without the Word of God do nothing, though it appear never so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the Word of God, that count Idolatry. The Kingdom of Heaven is within us. Luke 7. Wonder therefore at no monstrous appearance, nor at any outward thing without the Word. For the World was never drawn from God, but with an outward shew, and glorious appearance and shining of Hypocrite, and of fained and usurped fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, hallowing of Superstitious Ceremonies, and monstrous disguising, &c.

24. Article. 24. Beware of good intents: They are Damned of God. Fol. 87.

The place annexed.

25. Article. 25. See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee. Fol. 87.

The place annexed.

The words of Tindal out of the which these two Articles be gathered are these. Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection, or zeal as they call it. Peter of good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, child Christ, because he said that he must go to Jerusalem and there be slain. But Christ called him Satan for his labour, a Name that belongeth to the Devil, and said that he perceived not Godly things, but Worldly. Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the Sons of Zebadee would have had fire to come down from Heaven to consume the Samaritans; but Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wilt not of what Spirit they were; that is, that they understood not how that they were altogether Worldly and Fleishly minded. Peter smote Malchus of a good zeal, but Christ condemned his deed. The Jews of a good intent and of a good zeal slew Christ and persecuted the Apostles, as Paul beareth them record, Rom. 10. I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to God-ward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing then to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for Knowledge that thou mayest know Gods Will, and what he would have thee to do.

Luke 9. Good intents.

Our mind, intent, and affection, or zeal, are blinded, and all that we do of them is Damned of God, and for that cause hath God made a Testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. Seetherefore that thou do nothing to please God withal, but that he commandeth, neither ask any thing of him but that he hath promised thee, &c.

26 Article.] 26. Churches are for Preaching only, and not as they be used now. Fol. 78.

This Article containeth neither Error nor Heresie, but is plain enough of it self, to all them that have their minds exercised in the Scriptures of God.

27. Article. 27. To worship God otherwise than to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an Idol. Fol. 87.

The place annexed.

Read the words of Tindall with this Article. God is honored on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his Laws and Ordinances, and also true in all his Promises. Other worship of God is none, except we make an Idol of him, &c.

28. Article. 28. Pharaoh had no power to let the people depart, at Gods pleasure. Fol. 95.

29. Article. 29. Our Prelates, in sin say they have power. Fol. 95.

The place annexed. Rom. 10.

Read the place in the Wicked Mammon, out of the which these two Articles are gathered. Saint Paul saith, If thou confest with thy Mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe: That is, if thou believe that he raised him up again for thy Salvation. Many believe

that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves: as that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God: Pharaoh for pain of the Plague was compelled to confest his Sins, but had yet no power to submit himself unto the Will of God, and to let the Children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for Gods pleasure. As our Prelates confest their Sins, saying, Though we be never so evil, yet we have the power. And again, the Scribes and the Pharisees, say they, saith in Moses Seat, do as they teach, but not as they do. Thus confest they that they are abominable, &c.

Here follow other Heresies and Errors, collected by the Bishops out of the book Named, The Obedience of a Christian Man, with the places of the Book annexed to the same.

HE saith, We are bound to make satisfaction to our Neighbour, but not to God. Fol. 132.

Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends making to him we have offended, which recompence we are able to make one man to another, and are bound so to do; but to God no man can make any amends or recompence, but only Gods own Son Christ Jesus our Saviour: for else if man could have made satisfaction to God, then had Christ dyed in vain. Gal. 2. Lo, what Heresie or Error is in this Article?

2. He saith, That Children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents. Fol. 120.

The words of Tindall in the Obedience be these: Let the Fathers and Mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages, and by experience of their own infirmities, help their Children, and keep them from occasions. Let them provide marriages for them in season, teaching them also to know, That the most his Wife which the Son taketh, nor be her Husband which the Daughter taketh without the consent or good will of their Elders, or them that have Authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to be blame if they marry themselves. Let not the Fathers and Mothers always take the uttermost of their Authority of their Children, but at all times suffer with them and bear their weakness as Christ doth ours, &c.

2. Article. The place annexed.

The Parents consent in Marriage.

3. He saith that Vows are against the Ordinance of God. Fol. 109.

They that say that this Article is an Heresie, let him shew where these Vows in all the New Testament be ordained of God, especially such Vows of single life and wilful poverty, as by the Canon Law be obtruded to young Priests and Novices. S. Paul plainly foretendeth any Widows to be admitted under the Age of threescore years. Is not here throw you a perilous Heresie?

4. He saith, that a Christian Man may not resist a Prince being an Infidel and an Eivniike. This taketh away freewill. Fol. 113.

Saint Peter willet us to be subject to our Princes, 1 Pet. 2. Saint Paul also doth the like, Rom. 13. Who was also himself subject to the power of Nero: and although every Commandment of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authority and state of Nero, as the Pope useth to do against the state not only of Infidels, but also of Christian Princes.

5. Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh and giveth us light, it is damnable Sin. This is against moral virtues. Fol. 113.

What Heresie Aristotle in his Ethike can find by this Article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God well considered, can find none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable Heresie.

6. He reproveth men that make holy Saints their Advocates to God, and there be saith, That Saints were not rewarded in Heaven for their holy works. Fol. 114.

The words of Tindal be these: They turn from Gods Word, and put their trust and confidence in the Saint, and his merits, and make an Advocate, or rather a God of the Saints, &c. They ascribe Heaven to their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberty of God, by the merits and deservings of Christ, &c.

6. Article. The place annexed.

7. God moved the Hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people; likewise he moved Kings, &c. Fol. 118.

7. Article.

The

The place annexed.

* God sometimes hardeneth the heart of goodfences for the wickednes of his people.

8. Article. The place annexed.

9. Article. The place annexed.

True Doctrine made Mercie.

10. Article. Read above.

21. Article.

The place annexed.

And made Kings and Priests to God his Father, &c. Apoc. 1.

12. Article.

23. Article.

Joan. Angell.

Jus.

2 John 1.

24. Article.

Verily made Mercie.

The words in the Obedience be these: In the hundred and seventh Psalm thou readest, He destroyed the Rivers, and dried up the Springs of Water, and turned the fruitful Land into barrenness, for the Inhabitants thereof. When the Children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the Hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with their craft and wyliness, Psalm 105.

In the second Chapter of the first Book of the Kings, God was angry with his people, and moved David to number them, when Joab and the other Lords wondered why he would have them numbred, and because they feared lest some evil should follow, dissuaded the King; yet it holpe not, God so * hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people, &c.

8. Paul was of higher Authority than Peter. Fol. 125. The words in the Obedience be these: I suppose (saith he, speaking of Paul) that I was not behind the high Apostles, meaning in Preaching Jesus Christ and his Gospel, and ministering the Spirit. And in the same Chapter he proveth by the Doctrine of Christ, that he was greater than the high Apostles: For Christ saith, To be great in the Kingdom of God, is to do service, and take pain for other. Upon which Rule Paul disputeth, saying, If they be the Ministers of Christ, I am more. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in Prison more plenteous, in death oft, &c. If Paul Preached Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his Congregation, then is he greater than Peter, by the testimony of Christ, &c.

9. A Priest ought to have a Wife for two causes. Fol. 133.

The words of Tindall be these: He must have a Wife for two causes; one, That it may thereby be known who is meet for the room: it is unfit for to chargeable an Office, which had never houthold to rule. Another cause is, That Chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perillous for that degree, in as much as the people look as well unto the living as unto the Preaching, and are hurt at once if the living disagree, and fall from the Faith, and believe not the word, &c.

10. He Condemneth Auricular Confession, Fol. 140. Of this read above.

11. Every Man is a Priest, and we read ne other Priest to be a mean for us unto God. Fol. 144.

The words in the Obedience be these. There is a word called in Latin Sacerdos, in the Greek, ιερεως, in Hebrew Cohan, that is a Minister, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Priest, as Aaron was a Priest, and Sacrificed for the People, and was a mediator between God and them, and in the English it should have had some other Name, than Priest, but Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange Terms to bring us into confusion and Superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a Priest: for ever, and all we are Priests through him, and need no more of any such Priest to be a mean for us unto God, &c.

12. He destroyeth the Sacraments of Matrimony and Orders. Fol. 144.

As truly as Matrimony and Orders be Sacraments, so truly is this Article an Heresie.

13. He saith that Purgatory is the Popes invention, and therefore he may do there whatsoever he will. 150.

One of the Popes own Writers saith thus, Souls being in Purgatory are under the Popes jurisdiction, and the Pope may, if he will, evacuate all Purgatory. Furthermore the old Fathers make little mention of Purgatory, the Greek Church never believed the Purgatory: Saint Augustine doubteth of Purgatory, and the Scriptures plainly disprove Purgatory. Saint John saith, The Blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God purgeth us from all Sin. And the Pope saith, Sin cannot be purged but by the Fire of Purgatory: Now whose invention can Purgatory be, but only the Popes?

14. Saints be saved not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ. Fol. 151.

What can be more manifest and plain by the Scriptures, than this? If say saith, All we have erred, every man in his own ways, and God hath layd upon him all our iniquities, &c.

15. He saith, no Man may be hired to pray, Fol. 155.

The words in the Obedience be true, which are these. To pray one for another are we equally bound: and to pray is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand; and that to do, may no man hire another: Christs Blood hath hired us already, &c.

16. Why should I trust, saith he, in Pauls Prayer or Holiness? If Saint Paul were alive, he would compare himself to Saint Paul, and be as good as he, Fol. 159.

The words of Tindall be these. Why am not I also a false Prophet if I teach thee to trust in Paul, or in his Holiness or Prayer, or in any thing saving in Gods Word, as Paul did? If Paul were here and loved me, as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a Servant to preach Christ, what good could he do for me, or with me, but preach Christ, and pray to God for me to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me to the full knowledge of Christ? Unto which Port or Haven when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, joynt heir with Paul of all the promises of God, &c.

17. He saith that all that be baptized, become Christ himself. Fol. 163.

With this Article confer the words of the Obedience, which be these. In Matth. 25. saith Christ, In as much as ye have done it to one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it to me. And in as much as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it unto me. Here seest thou that we are Christs Brethren, and even Christ himself, and whatsoever we do one to another, that we do to Christ, &c.

18. He saith that the Children of Faith be under no Law. Fol. 163.

The words of Tindall be these. I serve thee not because thou art my Master or King, for hope of reward or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ. For the Children of Faith are under no Law, as thou seest in the Epistle to the Romans, to the Galatians, and the first of Timothy, but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively Law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to work of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love sake only which they see in Christ, and therefore need they no Law to compel them, &c.

19. There is no deed so good, but that the Law condemneth it. Fol. 177.

The place in the Obedience is this. Thou hast the story of Peter, how he smote off Malchus eare, and how Christ healed it again: There hast thou in the plain Text great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over. Then come I, when I preach of the Law, and the Gospel, and borrow this example to expresse the nature of the Law, and of the Gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes, and of Peter and his Sword make I the Law, and of Christ the Gospel, saying, as Peters Sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the Law. The Law dammeth, the Law killeth and mangleth the Conscience. There is no ear so righteous, that can abide the hearing of the Law. There is no deed so good, but that the Law dammeth it. But Christ, that is to say, the Gospel, the Promises and Testament that God hath made in Christ, healeth the ear and conscience, which the Law hath hurt, &c.

20. To ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false Faith, and is plain Idolatry. Fol. 171.

The words of Tindall are these. Look wherein thou canst best keep the Commandments; thither get thy self, and there abide, &c. If we have infirmities that draw us from the Laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry; for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayst use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slack thine hunger without meat. Now to ask of God, more than he hath promised, cometh of a false Faith, and is plain Idolatry, &c.

21. Our pain taken in keeping the Commandments, doth nothing but purge the Sin that remaineth in the flesh, but to look for any other reward or promotion in Heaven, than God hath promised for Christs sake, is abominable in the sight of God. Fol. 171.

Consider the place in the Obedience, which is this. To look for any other reward, or promotion in Heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christs sake, and which Christ hath deserved for us with

15. Article. The place annexed.

16. Article.

The place annexed. The words of Tindall import no such meaning as in this Article.

17. Article. The place annexed.

The place annexed. The Article is true, being truly taken,

19. Article. The place annexed.

Whatsoever is in this?

20. Article. The place annexed.

What Heresie is in this?

The place annexed.

with his pain taking, is abominable in the sight of God: for Christ only hath purchased the reward, and our pain taking to keep the Commandments doth but purge the Sin that remaineth in the Flesh, and certifies us, that we are chosen and sealed with Gods Spirit, unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us, &c.

22. Article. 22. The Pope hath no other Authority but to preach only. Fol. 173.

Christ said to Peter, Feed my Sheep, John 21. And thou being converted, confirm thy Brethren, Luke 22. And to his Apostles he said, Go ye into all the World and preach the Gospel, &c. Again, Saint Paul, 1 Cor. 1. (saith, That Christ sent him not to Baptize but to preach: to what other Office or Function he sent the Pope, let them judge which consider the Scriptures.

23. Article. 23. If thou bind thy self to chastity to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an Infidel. Fol. 175.

Read and confer the place of *Tindall* which is this. Chastity canst thou not give to God, further than God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not live chaste, thou art bound to marry, or to be damned, &c. For to what purpose thou bendest thy self, must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, so art thou an Infidel, and hast no part with Christ. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look into *Deuteronomy*, and there thou shalt find it more largely intrated, &c.

24. Article. 24. He denieth, rebuketh, and damnable miracles. Fol. 176.

The words in *Tindall's* Obedience be these. And when they cry miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made an everlasting Testament which is in Christs Blood, against which we may receive no miracles, no neither the Preaching of Paul himself if he come again, by his own teaching to the *Galatians*, neither yet the Preaching of the Angels of Heaven, &c.

Miracles how far to be believed. The end of Gods miracles is good; the end of these miracles is evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, so that for very abundance they come out their own shame, and corrupt the whole World with the stink of their filthiness, &c.

25. Article. 25. He saith that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain Idolatry. Fol. 77.

The place is in the Obedience: Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requirith Obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents, and good zeals which are without Gods Word, for they are nothing else but plain Idolatry, and worshipping of false Gods, &c.

Here follow other Heresies and Errours collected by the Bishops, out of the Book called the Revelation of Antichrist, with the places of the Book, out of the which they were gathered, annexed to the same.

Articles out of the Book called the Revelation of Antichrist. 1. To bind a Man perpetually to any Vow of Religion, is without doubt an error. Fol. 19.

The place of the Book called the Revelation of Antichrist. The place of this Article is gathered, is this that followeth: which the Fathers did neither make nor keep, he meaneth Vows, but with the liberty of the Spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For if they did, without doubt, they erred according to mans fragility.

2. Article. 2. To say the Constitutions of Religion are good because holy men did ordain them, as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick, and such other, and to follow such examples of Fathers, is to leave the Faith. Fol. 19.

The place annexed. The place of this Article is this. But they object; The Statutes and Ordinances are good. Holy men did make them, as Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, Francis, Dominick, and such other. To this answer, That is even that Christ and the Apostles did mean, That these words should be like to those things which are taught in the Gospel, for that they call counterfeiting of the Doctrine, and privily bringing in of Sects and Heresies, because they take only of the Fathers examples of works, and leave the Faith, &c.

2. Pet. 2.

3. All Moral Divines have a wicked Conscience full of scrupulosity. Fol. 3.

Moral Divines be they whose Doctrine and hope of Salvation consisteth in Moral Vertues, rather than in Christian Faith, apprehending the free promises of God in Christ. And they that be such can never be certified in Confidence of their Salvation, but always be full of fear and scrupulosity. Saint Paul therefore saith, It is therefore of Faith, that it might come by Grace, and the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed, Rom. 4.

4. Moral Vertues, as Justice, Temperance, Strength, Chastity, described by Natural Reason, maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Christs Faith. Fol. 64.

The place of this Article, gathered out of the Revelation, is this: so many be (the Pope he meaneth) corrupted, as he hath fubdued and led under his Laws and Impery. And who is he in the World that is not subject under him, except they be Infants, or peradventure some simple persons, which are reformed by the inflexible Council and provision of God? O thou Man of Sin, O thou Son of Perdition, O thou abomination, O thou Corrupter, O thou Author of evil Consciences, O thou false Master of good Consciences, O thou enemy of Faith and Christian liberty, who is able to rehearse, yea, or to comprehend in his mind the infinite waves of this monstrous Kings evils?

If he had ordained these his Laws in those works of vertues that are commended in the ten Precepts, or else in such as the Philosophers and Natural Reason did describe, as are Justice, Strength, Temperance, Chastity, Mildness, Truth, Goodness, and such other, peradventure they should only have made a Synagogue, or else have ordained in the World a certain Civil Justice, for through these also Faith should have been corrupted, as it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himself within these bounds, but runneth at riot, and moeth large, raising infinite Tempests of mischief, entailing and drawing us to Ceremonies, and his own fained Traditions, and binding us like asses and ignorant fools, yea and like stocks unto them, &c.

5. Christ took away all Laws, and maketh us free at liberty, and most of all he suppresseth all Ceremonies. Fol. 63, 65.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation, is this: Christ taking away all Laws to make us free and at liberty, did most of all suppress and disannul the Ceremonies which did consist in places, persons, garments, meats, days, and such other, so that their use should be to all men most free and indifferent, &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all Laws, he declarereth a little before, saying, he hath not delivered us from the Law, but from the Power and Violence of the Law, which is the very true loosing. But for all that he hath not taken away from the Powers and Officers, their Right, Sword, and Authority to punish the evil, for such pertain not to his Kingdom, until they are made spiritual, and then freely and with a glad heart they serve God.

6. If the Pope would make all the observations of the Ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holy-days, confession, Matrimony, Mass, Matrine, and Reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he should not be Antichrist; but now, because he commandeth them in the name of Christ be utterly corrupteth the Church, suppresseth the Faith, and advances Sm. Fol. 67.

If the Pope will infer a necessity of those things, which Christ leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himself but Antichrist? The Article is plain, and is founded upon the doctrine of Christ, and Saint Paul.

7. To believe in Christ maketh sure Inheritors with Christ. Fol. 1.

8. If a Man say, then shall we do no good works? I answer as Christ did: This is the work of God to believe in him whom he hath sent. Fol. 1.

The place of these two Articles, gathered out of the Revelation is this: who is this light that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Christ, as Saint John both testifies; He was the true light that lighteth all men which come into the World. To believe in this light, maketh

Rom. 4.

4. Article.

The place annexed.

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The place annexed.

7. Article.

3. Article.

The place annexed.

John 1.

maketh us the Children of light, and the sure Inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now have we cruel Adversaries, which set up their bristles, saying, why shall we then do no good works? To these we answer as Christ did to the people in the first of Saint *John*, which asked him what they should do, that they might work the Works of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the Work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. And after it followeth, Verily, verily I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life. To this also condescendeth Saint *John*, in his Epistle, saying, These things have I written unto you that believe on the Name of the Son of God, that you may surely know how that you have Eternal Life. What is the Name of the Son of God? Truly his Name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; therefore thou must believe that he is a Saviour.

But what availeth this? The Devils do thus believe and tremble. They know that he is the Son of God, and said unto him, crying, O Jesus the Son of God, what have we to do with thee? They know that he hath redeemed mankind by his passion, and they laboured to let it. For when Pilate was sent down to give Judgment, his Wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just Man, for I have suffered many things this day in my sleep about him. No doubt the she vexed of the Devil, to the intent that she should persuade her Husband to give no Sentence upon him, so that Satan might the longer have had jurisdiction over mankind. They know that he hath suppressed Sin and Death, as it is written, Death is consumed into Victory. Death where is thy Sting? Hell where is thy Victory? The Sting of death is Sin: the strength of Sin is the Law. But thanks be unto God which hath given us Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ; who by Sin damned Sin in the Flesh. For God made him to be Sin for us, that is to say, a Sacrifice for our Sin (and so is Sin taken in many places) which knew do Sin, that we by his means, should be that righteousness which before God is allowed. It is not therefore sufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee, &c.

9. Numbering of Sins maketh a Man a more Sinner, yet, a blasphemer of the Name of God. Fol. 3.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation is this; Knowledge thy self a Sinner, that thou mayst be justified. Not that the numbering of thy Sins can make thee righteous, but rather a greater Sinner, yea, and a blasphemer of the Holy Name of God, as thou maist see in *Cain*, which said that his Sins were greater than that he might receive forgiveness, and so was a Reprobate, &c.

10. God bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish. Fol. 3.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation is this; If thou ask of me, why he bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish; thou shalt have S. *Augustines* answer, which saith in the second Book that he wrote to *Hierome*, that the Law was given us, that we might know what to do, and what to eschew, to the intent that when we see our selves not able to do that which we are bound to do, nor avoid the contrary, we may then know what we shall pray for, and of whom we shall ask this strength, so that we may say unto our Father, Good Father command whatsoever pleaseth thee, but give us thy Grace to fulfil that thou commandest. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confess that the Law is good and holy, and that we are Sinners and carnal, sold under Sin. But let us not here flick, for now we are at Hell-gates, and doubtless should fall into utter desperation, except God did bring us again, shewing us his Gospel and promise, saying, Fear not little Flock, for it is your Fathers pleasure to give you a Kingdom, &c.

11. Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which dyed for us. Fol. 4.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation is this; Sin hath no power over us, neither can condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which dyed for us that were wicked, and naturally the Children of wrath. But God which is rich in mercy, through

the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through Sin, hath quickened us with Christ, and with him hath raised us up, and with him hath made us sit in Heavenly places through Jesus Christ, to shew in times to come the exceeding Riches of his Grace in kindness towards us through Christ Jesus: For by Grace are ye saved through Faith, and that not of your selves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself, &c.

12. I will shew thee an evident Argument and Reason that thou maist know without doubt, who is Antichrist. All they that do pursue are Antichrist; The Pope, Bishops, Cardinals, and their Adherents do pursue; therefore the Pope, Bishops, and Cardinals, and their Adherents, are Antichrists. I wene our Syllogismus be well made. Fol. 9.

The place of this Article gathered out of the Revelation is; I will shew thee an evident Reason that thou mayst know without doubting which is the very Antichrist: and this Argument may be grounded upon their furious persecution, which Paul doth confirm, writing to the *Galatians*. We (dear Brethren) are the Children of Promise, as Isaac was (not the Sons of the bondwoman, as *Ismael*;) but as he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Mark Pauls Reason. By Isaac are signified the Elect, and by *Ismael* the reprobate. Isaac did not persecute *Ismael*, but contrary, *Ismael* did persecute Isaac. Now let us make our Reason.

Bar. All they that do persecute are *Ismael*, be Reprobates and Antichrists.

ba. But all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and their Adherents do persecute.

ra. Therefore all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and their Adherents be *Ismael*, Reprobates and Antichrists.

I wene our Syllogismus is well made, and in the first figure.

Read the place, and see how he proveth the parts of this Argument more at large.

13. I think verily, that so long as the Successors of the Apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian Men, and no longer. Fol. 10.

The Bishops of Rome in the Primitive Church were under persecution the space welnear of three hundred years; under the which persecution, as good as thirty of them and more dyed Martyrs. Since that time have succeeded two hundred and four Popes which have lived in great wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the Book of Revelation think that there be not four to be found good Christian men, I think no less but that he may so think without any Heresie.

14. It is impossible that the word of the Cross should be without affliction and persecution. Fol. 10.

Saint Paul saith, whosoever will live virtuously in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. And how then can this be true in Paul, and in this man Heresie?

15. That the Apostles did ever curse any man truly we cannot read in Scripture: for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them. Fol. 11.

Upon what good ground of the Revelation this Heresie is wrung out, let the place be conferred, which is written in these words following: They are as merciful as the Woolf is on his prey. They were ordained to bless men, but they curse as the Devil were in them. Paul saith that he hath power to edifie, and not to destroy. But I wot not of whom these bloody Beasts have their Authority, which do so much rejoyce in cursing and destruction. We read how Paul did Excommunicate the *Corinthians* (and that for a great transgression) to the intent that he might be ashamed of his iniquity, and desired again the *Corinthians* to receive him with all charity: but that the Apostles did curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture, for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them, &c.

16. By Works, Superstitions, and Ceremonies, we decay from the Faith, which alone doth truly justify and make holy. Fol. 15.

Note here, good Reader, how perversely and corruptly this Article is drawn. For where the place of this Book, which is written, fol. 15. expressly speaketh of trusting to works, meaning that we should put no confidence in works, but only in Faith in Christ Jesus, this Article, to make it appear more Infamous and Heretical, leaveth out the false trust and speaketh simply, as though works should decay Faith. Read the place, which is written in these words following: *Daniel* calleth not this word *Peschiam*, any manner of Sin, but those special and chief Sins, which resist and fight against the truth and that Faith: as are the trusting in Works, Superstitions and Ceremonies, by the which we decay from the Faith, &c.

17. Article. 17. *The abusing of the Mass with all his Solemnities, with vigils, years-minds, foundations, burials, and all the busines that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloak of Godliness, and deceiving of the people: As if they were good Works, rather for the dead than for the quick.* Fol. 24.

True Godliness consisteth in Faith, that is, in the true knowledge of the Son of God, whom he hath sent, and in the observation of Gods Commandments. All their Rites and Additions instituted by Man, are no part of true Godliness. And who so putteth trust and confidence therein, as being things meritorious for the dead, is deceived. Such Funerals *Saint Augustine* calleth rather refreshings of the living, than relievings and helps of the dead.

18. Article. 18. *To keep and observe one day to fast, another to abstain, to forbear such a meat upon the fasting day to deserve Heaven thereby, is a wicked face and cloak, and against Paul.* Fol. 29.

The truth of this Article is manifest enough, to be void of all Error and Heresie, unless it be Heresie, to believe and hold with the Scripture. *Saint Paul* faith, if Heaven and our Righteousness come by the Law, then Christ dyed in vain. *Galatians* the second.

19. Article. 19. *The multiplication of holy days, of Feasts of Corpus Christi, of the Visitation of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and indeed foolish, unprofitable and vain.* Fol. 30.

This Article likewise needeth no Declaration, containing in it a true and necessary complaint of such superfluous Holy-days of the Popes making. Which as they bring with them much occasion of Wickedness, Idleness, Drunkenness, and Vanity, and so having also joyned unto them opinion of Religion, and meritorious Devotion and Gods service they gender Superstition, and nourish the people in the same.

20. Article. 20. *Keeping of Virginity and Chastity of Religion is a devilish thing.* Fol. 30.

The place, cited in the Book of the *Revelation of Antichrist*, doth sufficiently open it self, speaking and meaning only of those Monkish Vows, which by the Canonical Constitution of the Pope are violently forced upon Priests and Monks, the coercion whereof *Saint Paul* doth rightly call the Doctrine of Devils. And here note by the way another trick of a Popish Caviller. For where the words of the Book speak plainly of the chastity of the Religious, he fraudently turning it to an Universality faith, the chastity of the Religion, whereby it might seem to the simple Reader more odious and Heretical: the words of the place be these.

1 Tim. 4. Keeping of Virginity and Chastity of the Religious seemeth to be a Godly and a Heavenly thing: but it is a devilish thing. Of the which it is spoken in the fourth of the first Epistle to *Timothy*, Forbidding to marry, &c. Whereas again our most Reverend Father maketh that thing necessary that Christ would have free, whereof *Daniel* in the 11. Chapter speaketh, *He shall not be desirous of Women.* Here *Daniel* meaneth that he shall refuse and abstain from marriage, for a cloak of Godliness, and not for love of Chastity.

21. Article. 21. *Worshipping of Reliques is a proper thing, and cloak of advantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of Men.* Fol. 30, 31.

These be the words in the *Rev.* This (the worshipping of Reliques he meaneth) is a proper and most fruitful cloak of advantage. Out of this were invented innumerable Pilgrimages, with the which the foolish and

unlearned people might lose their labour, money and time, nothing in the mean season regarding their Houses, Wives and Children, contrary to the commandment of God; when as they might do much better deeds to their Neighbours, which is the precept, &c.

22. Article. 22. *There is but one special Office that pertaineth to thine Orders, and that is to preach the Word of God.* Fol. 36.

Of this matter sufficient hath been said before in the two and twentieth Article alledged out of the Book of Obedience.

23. Article. 23. *The Temple of God is not Stones and Wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any House which was called the Temple of God.* Fol. 36.

The place of this Article is this: which is an Adversary (the Pope he meaneth) and is exalted above all that is called God or that is worshipped: so that he shall sit in the Temple of God and shew himself as God. Doth he not sit in the Temple of God, which faith and professeth himself to be the Master in the whole Church? What is the Temple of God? Is it Stones and Wood? doth not *Paul* say, The Temple of God is holy, which Temple are ye? Neither in the time of *Paul* was there any House, which was called the Temple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this titling, but reigning, teaching and judging? Who, from the beginning of the Church, durst presume to call himself the Master of the whole Church, but only the Pope? &c.

24. Article. 24. *He that fasteth no day, that fasts no Mattens, and doth none of the Precepts of the Pope, sinneth not, if he think that he doth not sin.* Fol. 43.

The place in the *Revel.* is this: Because he feareth the Consciences under the Title and pretence of Christs Name, he maketh of those things which in themselves are no Sins very grievous offences. For he that believeth that he doth sin if he eat Flesh on the Apostles Even, or say not Mattens and Prime in the morning, or else leave undone any of the Popes Precepts, no doubt he sinneth; not because the deed which he doth is sin, but because he believeth it is sin, and that against this foolish Belief and Conscience he offendeth. Of which foolish Conscience only the Pope is Head Author; for another doing the same deed, thinking that he doth not sin, truly offendeth not. And this is the cause that the Spirit of *Paul* complaineth that many shall depart from the Faith. And for this foolish Conscience, mens Traditions be pernicious and noysome, the snares of Souls, hurting the Faith and the liberty of the Gospel. If it were not for this cause they should do no hurt. Therefore the Devil through the Pope abuteth these Consciences to stablish the Laws of his Tyranny, to suppress the Faith and liberty, and to replenish the World with Error, Sin, and Perdition, &c.

25. Article. 25. *Christ ordained the Sacrament of the Altar only to nourish the Faith of them that live; but the Pope maketh it a good work, and a Sacrifice to be applied both to the quick and dead.* Fol. 48.

The place is this: *Satan* hated the Sacrament, and knew no way how to suppress and disanul it: Therefore he found this craft, that the Sacrament, which Christ did only ordain to nourish and stablish the Faith of them that live, should be counted a good work and Sacrifice, and bought and sold; and so Faith is suppressed, and this wholsom ministry is applied, not to the quick, but unto the dead, that is to say, neither to the quick, neither yet to the dead. Oh the incredible fury of God, &c.

26. Article. 26. *These signs (he speaketh of miracles and visions, or apparitions) are not to the encrease of Faith and Gospel, for they are rather against the Faith and Gospel, and they are the operation of Satan, and lying signs.* Fol. 49.

The place is as followeth; Who is able to number the monstrous marvels only of them that are departed? Good Lord, what a sea of lies hath invaded us of Apparitions, Conjurings, and Answers of Spirits? By the which it is brought to pass, that the Pope is also made the King of them that are dead, and reigneth in Purgatory, to the great profit of his Priests, which had all their living, riches, and pomp out of Purgatory. Howbeit they should have less if they did so well teach the Faith of them that live, as they do riddle them that are good.

Neither

False wresting.

17. Article.

18. Article.

Galat. 2.

19. Article.

20. Article.

Another place falsely depraved by the Papists.

1 Tim. 4.

Dan. 11.

21. Article.

The place annexed.

22. Article.

23. Article.

24. Article.

The place is clear and plain without any danger of Heresie.

Traditions how they do hurt.

25. Article.

The place toucheth the abuse of the Sacrament, and is not against the Sacrament.

26. Article.

The place containeth a true complaint of false illusions, and may well be born.

Neither was there since the beginning of the World, any work found of so little labour and great advantage. For truly to this purpose were gathered almost the Possessions of all Princes and rich men. And through these riches sprang up all pleasures and idleness, and of idleness came very *Babylon and Sodom, &c.*

Neither are these signs to the encrease of the Faith and Gospel (for they are rather against the Faith and Gospel) but they are done to stablish the tyranny of these faces and recdels, and to set up and confirm the trust in works. Among these Illusions are those Miracles to be reputed, which are shewed in Visions, Pilgrimages, and worshippings of Saints, as there are plenty now adays, which the Pope confirmeth by his Bulls, yea, and sometime doth canonize Saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying signs, &c.

27. *The people of Christ do nothing, because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them.* Fol. 63.

The words out of which this Article is gathered, are these: They are the people of Christ, which willingly do hear and follow him, not for any fear of the Law, but only enticed and led with a gracious liberty and faithful love; not doing any thing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them, though it were not commanded: for they that would do otherwise, should be counted the people of the Law and Synagogue, &c.

28. *In the whole new Law is no urgent precept, nor grievous, but only exhortations to observe things necessary for souls health.* Fol. 63.

The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation*, is this: A Christian should work nothing by compulsion of the Law, but all through the *Spirit of Liberty*, as Paul saith in the second of the first Epistle to *Timothy*.

The Law is not given to a righteous man: for whatsoever is done by compulsion of the Law, is sin, for it is not done with a glad and willing spirit, but with a contrary will, and rebelling against the Law, and this truly is sin. Therefore in the fourth of the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he calleth the Preachers of the New Testament the Ministers of the Spirit, and not of the Letter, because they teach Grace, and not the Law. Wherefore in the whole New Testament are there no urgent or grievous Precepts, but only exhortations to observe those things which are necessary to our health. Neither did Christ and his Apostles at any time compel any man. And the Holy Ghost was for that cause called *Paraclete*, that is to say, an Exhorter and Comforter, &c.

29. *All things necessary are declared in the New Testament, but no man is compelled, but to do according to their own will. Therefore Christ teacheth, Matth. 18. That a Rebel should not be killed, but avoided.* Fol. 63. 66.

The words in the *Revelation* are these: In the New Testament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leave undone; what reward is ordained for them that do and leave undone; and of whom to seek, find, and obtain help to do and leave undone: But no man is compelled, but suffered to do according to their own will. Therefore in the eighteenth of *Matthew*, he teacheth that a Rebel should not be killed, but avoided, and put out of company like a Gentile, &c.

30. *Christ forbade that one place should be taken as holy, and another profane; but would that all places should be indifferent.* Fol. 68.

The place is this: Christ taketh away the difference of all places, which were worshipped in every place. Neither is there in his Kingdom one place holy, and another profane, but all places are indifferent; neither canst thou more heartily and better believe, trust, and love God in the Temple at the Altar, in the Church-yard, than in thy Barn, Vineyard, Kitchen, or Bed. And to be short, the Martyrs of Christ have honoured him in dark Dungeons and Prisons, &c.

31. *He raiseth against all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mass, as he were mad.* Fol. 68.

The place out of which this Article is collected, is as followeth. If a Nun touch the *Super-altare*, or *Corporale*, (as they call it) it is a sin. To touch the

Chalice is a great transgression. To say a Mass with an unhallowed Heart, is a grievous offence. To go to Mass in Vestiments which are not consecrated, is a heinous crime. It is reputed for a sin, if in celebrating any Sacrament, the Priest doth lack any Ornamēt that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a child, or speak in the words of a Canon, it is a sin. He offendeth also that doth stut or stammer in the words of the Canon. He sinneth that toucheth the holy Relicks of Saints. He that toucheth the Sacrament of the Altar, either with hand or finger, though it be for necessity, to pluck it from the roof of his mouth, committeth such villanous iniquity, that they will scrape and shave off the quick flesh from the part which did touch it. I think at length they will fley the tongue, the roof of the mouth, the throat, and the belly, because they touch the Sacrament. But to hurt thy Neighbour, or privily to convey away any of his goods, or not to help him in his need, is in a manner counted for no sin, nor yet regarded, &c.

32. *No labour is now adays more tedious than saying of Mass, Matins, &c. Which before God are nothing but grievous sins.* Fol. 70.

33. *The sins of Manasses, and other wicked Kings, sacrificing their own children, are but light and childlike offences to those. The cursed Sacrifices of the Gentiles may not be compared to ours, we are seven times worse Gentiles than we were before we knew Christ.* Fol. 70.

The words out of which these two Articles are gathered, are these. They are so oppressed (those he meaneth which are under the servitude of the Popes Laws and Decrees) that they fulfil them only with the outward work; for their wills are clean contrary, as we see by experience in troublesome business of Vigils, Masses, and Hours, which both must be said and sung. In the which they labour with such weariness, that now adays no labour is more tedious. Yet nevertheless, the cruel exactors of these most hard works compel men to work such things without ceasing, which before God are nothing but grievous sins; although before men they be good works, and counted for the service of God. Here are invented the intilements of the Senses through Organs, Musick, and diversity of Songs; but these are nothing to the Spirit, which rather is extinct through these wanton trifles. Ah Christ, with what violence, with what power are they driven headlong to sin, and perish through this abomination?

It is horrible to look into these cruel Whirl-pools of Consciences, which perish with so great pains and labour: what light offences to these are the sins wherein *Manasses* and other wicked Kings sinned by doing Sacrifice with their own Children and Progeny? Truly the cursed Sacrifices of the most rude Gentiles, no not of the *Levites*, may be compared unto ours. The saying of Christ may be verified in us; seven more wicked Spirits make the end worse than the beginning. For I say, that we are worse Gentiles seven times than we were before we knew Christ, &c.

34. *It were better to receive neither of the parts of the Sacrament of the Altar, than the one alone.* Fol. 73.

The words be these. Plainly I think that the whole is taken away with I see manifestly the one part gone (for the Bread and the Wine is but one Sacrament) the other is left only for a laughing stock. For he that in one part offendeth against God, is guilty in all. Therefore it were better to receive neither of the parts, than the one alone; for so we might the more surely eschew the transgression of that which Christ did institute, &c.

35. *The Law of the Pope that commandeth every man to communicate together upon one day, is a most cruel Law constraining men to their own destruction.* Fol. 73.

The place is this. He (the Pope he meaneth) fettereth a most cruel and deadly Snare to tangle the Consciences, suffereth not the use of this Sacrament to be free, but compelleth all together on one certain day once in the year to communicate. Here I pray thee, Christian Brother, how many dost thou think to communicate only by the compulsion of this Precept, which truly in their heart have never never communicate? and all these sin (for they do

This place north only the precept of them which see more by the precepts of God, and yet because he doth no railing, or maledict, reser-

32. Article. 33. Article.

The place may seem to speak somewhat vehemently per se, but yet it is in it.

Reg. 1.1. Levites were a people of God; and about the borders of Israel, who were faithful, and to be desired.

The truth of this place may well be avouched by good reasons.

The place is succeeded. Men ought not to be driven to this communion with, but to be exhorted with, and left to their own disposition.

- not communicate in Spirit, that is to say, neither in faith nor will, but by the compulsion of this Letter and Law) faith that this Bread requireth a hungry, and not a full heart, and much less a disdainful and hateful mind. And of all these sins the Pope is Author, constraining all men by his most cruel Law to their own destruction, whereas he ought to leave this Communion free to every man, and only call and exhort them, and not compel and drive them unto it, &c.
16. Article. 36. *The Spirit would that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in the Scripture.* Fol. 81.
- In things pertaining to Gods Worship, it is true. In things appertaining to Gods Worship and Service, true it is that he is not to be worshipped, but only according to that which he hath revealed and expressed unto us in his own word. And this is the meaning of the Author, as by his words doth plainly appear.
17. Article. 37. *S. Thomas de Aquine savoureth nothing of the Spirit of God.* Fol. 83.
- The Doctrine of Thomas Aquine referreth the greatness, or a very great part of our righteousness to *opus operatum*, and unto merits. The Spirit of God referreth all our righteousness before God, only to our faith in Christ. Now how these favour together, let any indifferent Reader judge.
18. Article. 38. *The Pope did condemn the truth of the Word of God openly at Constance in John Hus, persevering unto this day in the same stubbornness.* Fol. 86.
- John Hus. Touching the condemnation of John Hus, and the manner of his handling, and the cause of his death, read his Story before, and consider moreover his Prophecie of the hundred years after him expired, how truly the frequel did follow in Martin Luther, and then judge of his Cause, good Reader, as the truth of Gods Word shall lead thee. And thus much concerning these scandalous Articles.
- Agiles out of the sum of the scriptures. Here follow other Heresies and Errors, collected by the Bishops out of the Book named *The Sum of the Scripture*, with the places of the Book annexed to the same.
1. Article. *The water of the Fount hath no more virtue in it than hath any other water.* Fol. 1.
2. Article. *The virtue of Baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in other outward thing, but only in Faith.* Fol. 6.
- The place annexed. The place of these two Articles gathered out of the *Sum of the Scripture*, is this. The water of Baptism taketh not away our sin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to wash our selves therein. Neither hath the water of the Fount more virtue in it self, than the water that runneth in the River of Rhene. When Philip baptized the Eunuch, the Servant of Cambrice the Queen of Ethiopia, there was then no hallowed Water, nor Candle, nor Salt, nor Cream, neither white Habit; but he baptized him in the first water they came to upon the way. Here mayest thou perceive that the virtue of Baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in the outward things that we have at the Fount, but in the Faith only, &c. Christ hath healed us (saith S. Paul) by the Bath of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost.
3. Article. *Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to help their Children that they be put to School, that they may understand the Gospel, and the Epistles of S. Paul.* Fol. 15.
- The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the said Book, is this: The Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to help the Children that they be put to School, to the intent that they may understand the Gospel, the joyful Message of God with the Epistles of S. Paul. God hath commanded to publish, and to shew the Gospel, not only to Priests, but to every Creature: Go ye (saith Christ unto his Disciples) into the universal World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature. For we be all equally bound to know the Gospel and the Doctrine of the New Testament, &c. And S. Paul, writing to the *Corinthians*, confesseth that he sendeth his Epistles to all the Church, that is to say, to all the Assembly of Christian men, and to all them that call on the Name of Jesus, &c.
4. Article. *We think when we believe that God is God, and can our Creed, that we have the faith that a Christian*

man is bound to have; but so doth the Devil believe. Fol. 17.

5. *To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be one God, is not the Principal that we must believe: our faith doth not lie principally in that, for so believeth the Devil.* Fol. 18.

The place out of the which these two Articles are collected, is this: We think, when we believe that God is God, and can our Creed, that we have the Faith which a Christian is bound to have. The Devil believeth also that there is a God, and Life everlasting, and a Hell, but he is never the better for it; and he trembleth alway for his faith, as saith S. James, *The Devils believe, and they tremble*. A man might ask, What shall I then believe? Thou shalt believe plainly and undoubtedly, That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost is one only God, &c. But this likewise believeth the wicked Spirits, and are nothing the better therefore. There is yet another Faith which Christ so much requireth of us in the Gospel, and whereunto S. Paul almost in all his Epistles so strongly exhorteth us, that is, that we believe the Gospel. When our Lord began first to preach, he said, (as reheareth S. Mark) *Repent and believe the Gospel*. Of this faith read before in the first Article gathered out of the *Wicked Mammon*, and in the ninth and tenth of the *Revelation of Antichrist*.

6. *If we believe that God hath promised everlasting Life, it is impossible that we should perish.* Fol. 20.

Lo here good Reader, another manifest Example of the dishonest dealing and false cogging of these men. For where the place of the Author speaketh expressly of putting our trust in God and his promises, the Article prettily leaveth out our trusting in Gods promise, and faith only, If we believe that God hath promised. Read the place, and confer it with the Article, and then judge whether there be no difference between trusting in the promise that God hath made of everlasting Life, and believing only that God hath made the promise of everlasting Life. The place here followeth as it is there written.

When with a perfect courage we put all our trust in God and in his promises, it is impossible that we should perish, for he hath promised us Life everlasting. And as much as he is Almighty, he may well perform that that he hath promised; and in that he is merciful and true, he will perform his promise made unto us, if we can believe it steadfastly, and put all our trust in him.

7. *If thou canst surely and steadfastly believe in God, he will hold his promise. For he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he oweth us Heaven, in case that we believe him.* Fol. 21.

Seeing all our hope standeth only upon the promise of God, what Heresie then is in this Doctrine, to say that God oweth us Heaven by his promise, which is no other to mean but that God cannot break promise? And now judge thou (good Reader) whether is more Heresie to say, That God oweth us Heaven by his promise, as we say; or this, that God oweth us Heaven by the congruity and congruity of our works, as the Papists say.

8. *All Christs glory is ours.* Fol. 27.

9. *We need not to labour to be Christs heirs, and sons of God, and to have Heaven; for we have all these things already.* Fol. 24.

The words, out of the which these two Heresies are gathered, be these: We be made his heirs, and all his glory is ours, as S. Paul largely declareth. This hath God given us without our deserving, and we need not to labour for all these things, for these we have already, &c.

They which note these Articles for Heresie, by the True Doctrine made Heresie. Same Judgment they may make Heresie of S. Johns Gospel, and of Pauls Epistle, and of all together. S. John saith, *The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them that they may be one, as we also are one*. As many as received him, to them gave he power to be the sons of God. S. Paul saith, *The same Spirit certifyeth our spirits that we are the sons of God*. If we be sons, then are we also heirs, the heirs I mean of God, and heirs annexed with Christ.

10. *We need not to labour by our good works to get everlasting Life, for we have it already; we be all justified, we be all the children of God.* Fol. 28.

11. All

11. Article. 11. All that think that good works help or profit any thing to get the gift of Salvation, they blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour. Fol. 28.

12. Article. 12. If we be Circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trust in works, Christ shall not help us. Fol. 18.

13. Article. 13. We deserve nothing of God. Fol. 20.

14. Article. 14. We deserve not everlasting life by our good works; for God hath promised it unto us, before that we began to do good. Fol. 40.

15. Article. 15. Every Christian man must keep Gods Commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting life. Fol. 42.

16. Article. 16. The Jews kept the Commandments, and the Law of God; yet they could not come to Heaven. Fol. 43.

17. Article. 17. Men trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such men as come to the Church daily, keep Holy days and Fasting days, and hear Masses, and these people be soonest damned; for this is one of the greatest Errors in Christendome, to think that thy good works shall help to thy salvation. Fol. 47.

If these Articles be made Heresies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and salvation to Gods gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us shut up clean the New Testament, and away with Gods Word, and let up a new Divinity of the Popes making; yea, let us leave Christ with his heretical Gospel, and in his stead set up the Bishop of Rome with his Talmud, and become the Disciples of his Decretals. And certainly, except Christian Princes begin betime to take some zeal of God unto them, and look more seriously upon the matter, the proceedings of these men seem to tend to little better, than to drive us at length from true Christianity, to another kind and form of Religion of their own invention, if they have not brought it well-near to pass already.

18. Article. 18. To serve God in a tediousness, or for fear of Hell, or for the joyes of Heaven, is but a shadow of good works, and such service doth not please God. Fol. 41.

The place is this: Works done in Faith be only pleasant unto God, and worthy to be called good works; for they be the works of the Holy Ghost that dwelleth in us by this Faith. But they that are done by tediousness and evil will, for fear of Hell, or for desire of Heaven, be nothing else but shadows of works, making Hypocrites. The end of our good works is only to please God, acknowledging that if we do never so much, we can never do our duty; for they that for fear of Hell, or for the joyes of Heaven do serve God, do a constrained service, which God will not have. Such people do not serve God, because he is their God and their Father, but to have their reward, and to avoid his punishments; and such people are hired men and waged servants, and are not children. But the children of God serve their Father for love, &c.

19. Article. 19. We must love death, and more desire to dye, than to fear death. Fol. 26.

Although our Nature be frail and full of imperfection, so that we do not as we should, yet doing as we ought, and as we are led by the Scriptures to do, we should not dread, but desire rather to dye and be with Christ, as the place it self doth well declare, which is this:

We must love death, and more desire to dye and to be with God, as did S. Paul, than to fear death. For Jesus Christ died for us, to the intent that we should not fear to dye, and he hath slain death, and destroyed the sting of death, as writeth S. Paul, saying, O death where is thy sting? Death is swallowed up in victory. And to the Philippians, Christ is to me life, and Death is to me advantage.

20. Article. 20. God made us his Children and his Heirs, while we were his Enemies, and before we knew him. Fol. 44.

I marvel what the Papists mean in the Registers to condemn this Article as an Heretic, unless their purpose be utterly to impugn and gainstand the Scripture,

and the Writings of S. Paul, who in the Fifth Chapter to the Romans, and other his Epistle, imputeth even the same Doctrine in all respects, declaring in formal words that we be made the Children and Heirs of God, and that we were reconciled unto him when we were his Enemies.

21. Article. 21. It were better never to have done good work, and ask mercy therefore, than to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a man by promise. Fol. 48.

22. Article. 22. We can shew no more honour to God, than faith and trust in him. Fol. 48.

The place out of the which these two Articles be gathered, is this: It were better for thee a thousand fold that thou hadst been a sinner, and never had done good deed, and to acknowledge thine offences and evil life unto God, asking mercy with a good heart, lamenting thy sins, than to have done good works, and in them to put thy trust, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing which (after the manner of speaking) bindeth God, but firm and steadfast faith and trust in him and his promises, &c. For we can shew unto God no greater honour, than to have faith and trust in him: For whosoever doth that, he confesseth that God is true, good, mighty, and merciful, &c.

23. Article. 23. Faith without good works, is not little or feeble faith, but it is no faith. Fol. 50.

24. Article. 24. Every man doth as much as he believeth. Fol. 50.

The place out of which these two Articles be gathered, is this: If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, then hast not thou the right faith, thou dost but only think that thou hast it. For S. James saith, That faith without works is dead in it self. He faith not that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead; and that which is dead, is not: therefore when thou art not moved by faith unto the love of God, and by the love of God unto good works, thou hast no faith, but faith is dead in thee; for the Spirit of God, that by faith cometh into our hearts to stir up love, cannot be idle: Every one doth as much as he believeth, and loveth as much as he hopeth, as writeth S. John; He that hath this hope that he is the Son of God, purifieth himself as he is pure: He faith not, he that purifieth himself hath it is hope, for the hope must come before, proceeding from the faith, as it becometh that the Tree must first be good which must bring forth good fruit.

25. Article. 25. We cannot be without motions of evil desires; but we must mortifie them in resisting them. Fol. 52.

They which note this Article of Heresie, may note themselves rather to be like the Pharisee, Luke 18. who, foolishly flattering himself in the false opinion of his own righteousness, was not subdued to the righteousness, which standeth before God by faith, and therefore went home to his House less justified than the Publican. If the Scriptures condemn the heart of man to be crooked, even from his youth, Genes. 6. and also condemneth all the righteousness of man to be like a filed cloth, and if S. Paul could find in his flesh no good thing dwelling, but sheweth a continual resistance between the old man and the new, then must it follow, that these Pharisees, which condemn this Article of Heresie, either carry no flesh, and no old man about them to be resisted; or verily, say what they will, they cannot choose but be cumbered with evil motions for the inward man continually to fight against. The place of the Author sufficiently defendeth it self, as followeth.

S. Paul biddeth us mortifie all our evil desires and carnal lusts, as uncleanness, covetousness, wrath, blasphemy, detraction, pride, and other like Vices. And unto the Romans the sixth, he saith, Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies: that is to say, albeit we cannot live without the motion of such evil desires, yet we shall not suffer them to rule in us, but shall mortifie them in resisting them, &c.

26. Article. 26. All true Christianity lieth in love of our Neighbours for God, and not in fasting, keeping of Holy days, watching, praying, and singing, and long prayers daily, and all day long hearing Mass, running on Pilgrimage, &c. Fol. 52.

Confer this Article with the Scripture, and thou shalt see no Heresie in it.

27. Article.

To believe, that Christ here lived and died is good: but this is not the thing only that maketh a Christian man James 2.

28. Article.

The place answering to the Article.

29. Article.

To 64. Whosoever gathereth Heresies of this Article, must needs bew himself to be an Heretic.

30. Article.

The Doctrine of this Article is found.

31. Article.

The Doctrine of this Article is found.

32. Article.

The Doctrine of this Article is found.

33. Article.

The Doctrine of this Article is found.

34. Article.

The Doctrine of this Article is found.

35. Article.

The Doctrine of this Article is found.

The place of this Article is this. Thou hast always occasion to mortifie thine evil desires, to serve thy Neighbour, to comfort him, and to help him with word and deed, with counsel and exhortation, and other semblable means. In such love towards our Neighbour, for the love of God, lieth all the Law and the Prophets, as faith Christ, yea, and all Christianity; and not in fasting, keeping of Holy-days, watching, singing, and long Prayers, daily, and all day long hearing of Masses, setting up of Candles, running on Pilgrimages, and such other things, which as well the Hypocrites, proud People, envious and subject to all wicked affections do, &c.

27. Many *Devils* in Divinity, and not only in common people, believe that it is the part of Christian Faith only to believe that *Jesus Christ* hath loved here in Earth. Fol. 53. 54. The place is this. We believe that *Jesus Christ* hath here lived on Earth, and that he hath preached, and that he died for us, and did many other things. When we believe these things after the Story, we believe that this is our Christian Faith. This not only the simple People believeth, but also Doctors in Divinity, which are taken for wise men. Yea, the Devil hath also this faith, as faith *S. James*, *The Devils believe, and they tremble*. For as we have said before, the Devil believeth that God is God, and that *Jesus Christ* hath here preached, that he died, was buried, and rose again. Thus must we also believe, that this is not the Faith wherof speaketh the Gospel, and *S. Paul*, &c.

Of this Faith, and what it is, read before in the place of the fourth and fifth Articles of this Book, and of the first Article gathered out of the *wicked Mammon*, and the ninth and tenth Articles of the *Revelation of Antichrist*.

28. He that doth good against his will, he doth evil. Fol. 56.

The place is this. All good Deeds, which are not done by love and good will, are sin before God, as faith *S. Augustine*. He that doth good against his will, doth evil: albeit that he doth be good. For that which I do against my will, I hate; and when I hate the Commandment, I hate also him that hath commanded it, &c.

29. No man doth more than he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make other partakers of their good works. Fol. 59.

The words be these. The Prophet *Isaiah* faith, *We are all as an unclean thing, and all our justice is as it were a filthy cloth*: and therefore I can never marvel enough, that many of the religious persons would make other partakers of their good works, seeing that Christ faith in the Gospel, *When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done but that which was our duty to do*. For none doth more than he is bound to do, but only *Jesus Christ* (which only, as faith *S. Peter*, *never did sin, neither was there deceit found in his mouth*) hath done that he was not bound to do. And as the Prophet *Isaiah* faith, *Hath taken upon him our infirmities, and born our sorrows*; he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness, and by his stripes we are made whole, &c.

30. Christ hath gotten Heaven by his Passion; but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his Promises. Fol. 59.

Read the place. *Jesus Christ* possesseth the Kingdom of Heaven by double right. First, Because he is the Son of God, and very Inheritor of his Kingdom. Secondly, Because he hath gotten it by his Passion and Death. Of this second right he hath no need, and therefore he giveth it to all them that believe and trust in him and his promises.

31. If God had promised us Heaven for our good works, we should ever be unsure of our Salvation. Fol. 59.

32. Be our sins never so great, that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we must believe to be saved. Fol. 59.

The words out of the which these two Articles be gathered are these: If God hath promised Heaven unto us because of our works, we should ever then be unsure of our Salvation. For we should never know how much,

nor how long we should labour to be saved, and should ever be in fear that we had done too little, and so we should never dye joyfully. But God would assure us of Heaven by his promise, to the intent we should be certain and sure, for he is the Truth, and cannot lye: and also to the intent that we should have trust and hope in him. And notwithstanding that after the greatness and multitude of our sins, it seem to us a thing impossible, yet always we must believe it without any doubt, because of his sure promise; and whosoever doth this, he may joyfully dye, and abide the judgment of God, which else were intolerable. Read more hereof before in the eleventh Article taken out of the *wicked Mammon*.

33. If thou love thy Wife, because she is thy Wife, that is no love before God, but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in God. Fol. 82.

The words be these. Our Saviour Christ hath commanded nothing so strictly, as to love one another, yea, to love our enemies also: then how much more should the Man and Wife love together? But there be but few that know how to love the one the other as they ought to do. If thou love thy Wife only because she is thy Wife, and because she serveth and pleaseeth thee after the flesh, for Beauty, Birth, Riches, and such like, this is no love before God. Of such love speaketh not *S. Paul*, for such love is among Harlots, yea, among brut Beasts: but thou shalt love her because she is thy Sister in the Christian Faith, and because she is Inheritor together with thee in the glory of God, and because ye serve together one God, because ye have received together one Baptism, &c. Thou shalt also love her for her Vertues, as chastity, chastity, and diligence, faithfulness, patience, temperance, severity, obedience, and other godly Vertues, &c.

34. It is nothing but all incredulity, to run in Pilgrimages, and seek God in one certain place, which is like mighty in all places. Fol. 62.

The matter of this Article is evident to all indifferent and learned judgments, to be void of all doubt of Heresie.

35. Men should see that their Children come to Church to hear the Sermon. Fol. 89.

The place of this Article is this: On the Festival days thou shalt bring thy Children to the Church to hear the Sermon; and when thou shalt come home, thou shalt ask them what they have kept in memory of the Sermon. Thou shalt teach them the Christian Faith. Thou shalt admonish them to live well and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to dye than to do any thing that is against the will of God; and principally thou shalt learn them the contents of the Prayer of our Saviour Christ, called the *Pater noster*; that is to say, how they have another Father in Heaven, of whom they must seek for all goodnes, and without whom they can have no good thing: and how that they may seek nothing in all their works, and in all their intents, but the honour of their heavenly Father: and how they must desire that this Father would govern all that they do or desire: and how that they must submit all to his holy will, which cannot be but good, &c. Thou shalt buy them wholesome Books, as the holy Gospel, the Epistles of the holy Apostles, yea, both the New and the Old Testament, that they may understand and drink of the sweet Fountain and Waters of Life.

36. Thou shalt not vex or grieve, by justice or otherwise, the poor that cometh unto thee: for thou mayest not do it without sin. Fol. 97.

The place is this: Thou shalt not vex or grieve by justice, &c. as Christ faith: *Resist not evil, but whosoever striketh thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also*, &c. *S. Paul* faith, *Render not evil for evil; and if it be possible, and as much as is in you, live in peace with all men, not revenging your selves, my beloved, but give place to wrath: for it is written, To me the vengeance, and I will render it, saith the Lord God*.

37. Some text of Canon Law suffereth war, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all wars. Nevertheless, when a City is besieged, or a Country invaded, the Lord of the Country is bound to put his life in jeopardy for his Subjects. Fol. 119.

38. So a Lord may use horrible war charitably and christianly.

13. Article. A difference between carnal love and spiritual love, and yet in Matrimony both are necessary.

35. Article. What meneth these men, throw you to make this Doctrine an Heresie?

36. Article. Math. 5. Rom. 12. 13.

37. Article.

38. Article.

As touching war, to be moved or stirred first of our parts against any People or Country upon any rash cause, as Ambition, Malice, or Revenge, the Gospel of Christ giveth us no such Sword to fight withal. Notwithstanding, for defence of Country and Subjects, the Magistrate, being invaded or provoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best; as the City of *Marburgh* did well in defending it self against the Emperor, &c.

39. The Gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the World. Fol. 79.

He that compiled this Article, craftily to make the matter to appear more heinous, leaveth out the latter part which should expound the other, that is, by the rule of Charity; for that the Author addeth withal. By which Rule of Charity, and not of Office and Duty, every Christian man is bound one to help another, as Christ himself being Lord of all, yet of Charity was a servant to every man to do him good: Read the place of the sum of the Scripture in the Page as in the Article it is assigned.

40. The Gospel is written for all Persons, Estates, Princes, Dukes, Popes, Emperours. Fol. 112.

They which noted this Article for an Heresie, I suppose could little well either what God, or what the Scripture meant.

41. When Judges have hope that an evil doer will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the woman taken in Adultery. The Temporal Law must obey the Gospel; and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct by Justice. Fol. 113.

The purpose of the Book whence this Article is written being well understood, intendeth not to bind Temporal Judges and Magistrates from due execution of good Laws, but putteth both them, and especially Spiritual Judges, in remembrance by the example of Christ, to discern who be penitent Offenders, and who be otherwise; and where they see evident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be Ecclesiastical Judges, to pardon them; if they be Civil Magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the Law as much as conveniently they may, with merciful moderation, which the Greeks do call *ἐπιείκεια*.

And thus much hitherto of these Heresies and Articles collected by the Bishops, and inserted in their own Registers out of the Books above specified. The names of the Bishops and Collectors were these, Sir Thomas Moor Lord Chancellor, William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, Tonfall Bishop of London, Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Richard Sampson Dean of the Chappel, Richard Woolman Master of the Requests, John Bell, Dr. Wilson, with a great number more, as in the Registers doth appear. *Ex Regist. Cant. & Lond.*

I shall not need, I trust, (gentle Reader) further here to stay with reciting more places, when these already rehearsed may suffice for a tale and a trial for thee, sufficient to note and consider how falsely and most slanderously the Catholics have depraved and misreported the Books and Writings of good men; who might almost gather Heresies as well of S. Johns Gospel, and S. Pauls Epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do, being set on mischief? or what cannot the spirit of spite and cavilling find out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the billows of Ambition and Iniquity? And as they have done with these, the like parts they have and do practise still against all other, whoseever in defence of Truth dare touch never so little either the Popes Crown, or the Bellies of his Clergy; for these two sores in no case they can abide to be touched. And hereof only cometh all this crying out, Heresie, Heresie, Blasphemy, Error, and Schism. Although the Doctrine be never so found and perfect after the Scripture, yet if the Writer be not such in all points (especially in these two above touched) as will sing after their tune, and dance after their Pipe, he is by and by an Heretic, by virtue of their Inquisition. So did they with the Articles of the learned Earl *Joannes Pius Alendulus*. So did they with *J. Reulme* or *Campion*. So did they all with good *John Coker* here in England. Also with the spirit of lying and caviling the Catholics' Pa-

culties of *Lozain*, *Spain*, and *Paris*, condemned the Works and Writings of *Erasmus*, and many more. So full they are of Censures, Articles, Suspitions, Offences, Inquisitions. So capricious they be in taking, so rash in judging, so slanderous of report, so practised in depraving, misconstruing, and wresting true meanings unto wrong purposes; briefly, so pregnant they be in finding Heresies where none are, that either a man must say nothing, or serve their Devotion, or else he shall procure their displeasure, that is, shall be deemed for an Heretic. Yes, and though no just cause of any Heresie be mingled, yet where they once take disliking, they will not stick sometimes with false Accusations to press him with matter which he never spake nor thought. If *Luther* had not stirred against the Popes Pardons and Authority, he had remained still a white Son of the Mother Catholic Church, and all had been well done whatsoever he did. But because he adventured to touch once the triple Crown, what Floods of Heresies, Blasphemies, and Articles were cast out against him, enough to drown a whole World? what lies and forged crimes were invented against him?

Here now cometh *Staphylus* and furious *Sarius*, with their Fraternity, and say, That he learned his Divinity of the Devil. Then followeth another certain Chronographer, who in his flying Story reporteth most falsely, That *Luther* died of drunkenness. With like malice the said Chronographer writeth also of Mr. *Bucer*, falsely affirming upon his Information, That he should deny at his death Christ our Messiah to be come: When not so, but only Dr. *Redman*, which preached at his Burial, but also all English men, which knew the name of *Bucer*, did know it to be contrary.

So was it laid against one *Singleton*, Chaplain some time to Queen *Anne Bullen*, that he was the murderer of *Packington*, and afterward, that he was a stirrer up of Sedition and Commotion; who also suffered as a Traytor for the same: Wherein very deed the true cause was for nothing else, but for preaching the Gospel unto the People, whose purpose was ever so far from stirring Sedition, that he never once dreamed of any such matter, as he himself declared and protested to one *Richard Lante* his Scholar, who is yet alive, and can testify the truth hereof. But this is no new practise amongst the Roman Bishops; whereof enough hath been said before in the Story of Sir *John Oldenfile*, and Sir *Roger Allen*, &c.

Another like practise of such malicious slander we find also in one *Merial* a Bricklayer, whose Name, with falsly belied and contrived of the Papists, his Abjuration, remaineth yet in the Registers of the Bishop of London.

The Story is this, and not unworthy to be remembered. In the Year of our Lord 1534. which was about the first beginning of Queen *Anne Bullen*, at what time Purgatory and such Trumpery began to grow in contempt; *Stokesley* Bishop of London made a Sermon in the *Shrouds* upon the Sunday before *May-day*. Where he preaching in the commendation of the virtue of Masses, declared to the People that for a little cost, if they procured Masses to be said, Wives might deliver their Husbands, and Husbands their Wives out of the bitter pains of Purgatory. At his Sermon, besides many other, was *Thomas Merial*, a zealous favourer of Gods Word; who, being in the Watch on *May-Eve*, made a relation of these words of the Bishop unto the Company about him, amongst whom then was one *John Twisford*, a furious Papist, and who had the same time the setting up of the Stakes in *Smithfield*, wherewith the good Saints of God were burned.

This *Twisford*, which then kept a Tavern, and had an old grudge against the said *Merial* for striking his Boys, hearing these words, allured home to his house certain Persons, to the number of ten, whose names were these; *Blackwell*, *Lawrence Hylton*, *Thomas Clarke*, *John Duffield*, *William Knapsham*, *Thomas Hiler*, *Thomas a Cutler*, *Allen Rye*, with another that was the tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly Mr. *Chambers* Clerk, whose name was *Bright*. And when he had easily overcome them with Wine, and made them report what words he listed and which they knew not themselves, the Clerk by and by received the same in writing. Whereupon this Article was gathered against

How Christians may war lawfully.

39. Article. Crafty cogging in this Article.

40. Article.

41. Article.

Impudent lies upon M. Luther.

M. Bucer stark drunk, falsely flandering his death.

Singleton maliciously slandered and condemned of Sedition.

Truth maliciously slandered and depraved of the Papists.

The Popes Crown and the Bellies, two perilous things to be touched.

The Popes Church upheld with lying and cavilling.

By Stokesley Sermons in the Shrouds.

Twisford the common Courtesier of the Martyrs that suffered in Smithfield.

Merall, that he should hold and affirm, *That the Passion of Christ doth not help them which came after him, but only them which were in Limbo before*: and also that he should say, *That his Wife was as good as our Lady*. Upon this Writing of the Notary, he was immediately brought to Bishop *Stokesley*, and there by the deposition of these ten false Witnesses wrongfully accused, and also for the same should have been condemned, had not Dr. *Barret* the same time bid him speak one word (which he knew not) as the Sentence was in reading, whereby the Condemnation was stayed, and he put to do open Penance, and to bear a Fagot. Notwithstanding the said *Merall* swore before the Bishop that he never spake nor meant any such words as there was said unto him, but only recited the words of the Bishops Sermon, reporting the same in the Person of the Bishop, and not his own. Which also was testified to be true by the Oath of three other, to wit, *William Tompson*, *Gregory Newman*, and *William Wit*, who being in the foresaid Watch the same time, did take upon their Oath before the Bishop, that his words were no other, but as is above declared. Which three Witnesses at the second Edition hereof were also living, with the Wife of the foresaid *Merall*, who would then also be sworn that the same was true: Whereas contrary, the other ten persons be all gone, and none of them all remaining. Of whom moreover, the most of all the said ten came to a miserable end; whereas the other three which testified the truth with *Merall*, being living at the second Edition hereof, did see the end of all the other. And as for *Twyford*, which was the Executioner of *Frish*, *Bayfield*, *Bainebam*, *Teakesbury*, *Lambert*, and other good men, he died rotting above the ground, that none could abide him, and so came to a wretched end. *Ex testim. uxoris, Meralli, W. Tompson, Gregorij Newman, W. Wit, &c.*

Of this malicious and perverse dealing of these men contrary to all truth and honesty, in delaming them for Heretics which indeed are none, and with opprobrious railing to slander their Cause, which is nothing else but the simple truth of Christs Gospel, who listeth to search further (if these examples hitherto recited do not suffice) let him read the Story of *Merindoll* and *Angrongne*. Let him consider the furious Bull of Pope *Marinus*; the like slanderous Bull also of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, with the Edict of *Charles* the Emperour against *Luther*. Also let him survey the railing Stories of *Sarius* the Monk of *Colen*, the Book of *Ofim*, of *Lindus*, the Chronology of *Gembrardus*, the Story of *Cochleus* against the *Hussites* and the *Lutherans*, with the Preface of *Conradus Brunus* the Lawyer preixed before the same, wherein he most falsely and untruly railing against these Protestants, whom he calleth Heretics, chargeth them to be blasphemers of God, contemners of God and Men, Church-robbers, cruel, false liars, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promise-breakers, disturbers of publick peace and tranquility, corrupters and subverters of Commonweals, and all else that naught is.

In much like sort was *Socrates* accused of his Country-men for a corrupter of the youth, whom *Plato* notwithstanding defendeth. *Aristides* the just lacked not his unjust Accusers. Was it not objected unto *S. Paul*, That he was a subverter of the Law of *Moses*, and that we might do evil that good might come thereof? How was it laid to the Christian Martyrs in the Primitive Church for worshipping of an Asses Head, and for sacrificing of Infants. And to come more near to these our latter days, you heard likewise how falsely the Christian Congregation of the Frenchmen gathered together in the night at *Paris*, to celebrate the holy Communion, were accused of filthy commixtion of men and women together, and the King the same time, *Henry* the Second, was made to believe that Beds with Pillows and Mats were found there in the floor where they lay together; whereupon the same time divers were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what Innocency is so pure, or Truth so perfect, which can be void of these slanders and calumnies, when also our Saviour Christ himself was noted for a Wine drinker, and a common haunter of the Publicans, &c.

Even so likewise it pleaseth our Lord and Saviour Christ to keep and to exercise his Church under the like

kind of Adversaries now reigning in the Church, who under the name of the Church will needs maintain a portly State and Kingdom in this World; and because they cannot uphold their Cause by plain Scripture and the Word of God, they bear it out with facing, railing, and slandering, making Princes and the simple People believe, that all be Heretics, Schismatics, Blasphemers, Rebels, and Subverters of all Authority and Commonweals, whosoever dare reply with any Scripture against their doings.

It is written of *Nero*, that when he himself had burnt the City of *Rome* six days and seven nights, he made open Proclamations that the innocent Christians had set the City on fire, to stir the People against them, whereby he might burn and destroy them as Rebels and Traitors.

Not much unlike seemeth the dealing of these religious Catholics, when they be the true Heretics themselves, and have burnt and destroyed the Church of Christ, make out their Exclamations, Bulls, Briefs, Articles, Books, Censures, Letters, and Edicts against the poor *Lutherans*, to make the People believe, that they be the Heretics, Schismatics, Disturbers of the whole World. Who if they could prove them as they reprove them to be Heretics, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them Heretics, and can prove no Heresie; they accuse them of Error, and can prove no Error; they call them Schismatics, and what Church since the World stood, hath been the Mother of so many Schisms as the Mother-Church of *Rome*? they charge them with diffention and rebellion; and what diffention can be greater than to dissent from the Scripture and Word of God? Or what rebellion is like, as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? They are disturbers, they say, of Peace and Publick Authority; which is as true, as that the Christians set the City of *Rome* on fire. What Doctrine did ever attribute so much to Publick Authority of Magistrates, as do the Protestants? or who ever attributed less to Magistrates, or depoted more Dukes, Kings, and Emperours, than the Papists? They that say that the Bishop of *Rome* is no more but the Bishop of *Rome*, and ought to wear no Crown, is not by and by a rebel against his King and Magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their Authority; which indeed the Bishop of *Rome* cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou see whether be the greater Heretics, the Protestants or the Papists? Let us try it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory only of the Son of God, which cannot fail. Now judge, I beseech thee, whosoever knoweth the Doctrine of them both, whether of these two do ascribe more or less to the Majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord; the Protestants which admit none other Head of the Church, nor Justifier of our Souls, nor forgiver of our Sins, nor Advocate to his Father, but him alone, or else the Papists which can abide none of these Articles, but condemn the same for Heresie. Which being so (as they themselves will not deny) now judge, good Reader, who hath set the City of *Rome* on fire, *Nero*, or else the Christians.

But to return again to the purpose of our former matter, which was to shew forth the Proclamation of the Bishops, for the abolishing of English Books above rehearsed, as being corrupt and full of Heresie, which notwithstanding we have declared to contain no Heresie, but found and wholesome Doctrine, according to the perfect Word and Scripture of God.

Here now when the Prelats of the Popes side had procured this Edict and Proclamation aforesaid, for the condemnation of all such English Books, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, weening they had made a great hand against the Gospel for ever to rise again, and that they had established their Kingdom for ever, as indeed to all mens thinking it might seem no less. For who would have thought, after so streight, so precise, and so solemn a Proclamation, set forth and armed with the Kings terrible Authority; also after the cruel execution of *Anne Askew*, *Lactis*, and the rest: Item, After that they had the busie searching moreover, and names taking of many other, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and laid up divers in present peril, and expectation of their attachment, who would have thought (I say) other-

False accusation.

Merall wrongfully accused and put to Penance.

Gods just punishment upon a cruel wretched man.

Pope Leo. The Edict of Charles. Sarius Cath. Hostius Lindus. Gembrardus. Cochleus. Brunus against the Lutherans. Ex epist. Conrad Brunus. que prefatur in hunc Cochleus.

Examples of false accusations. Acts 2. Rom. 9.

Read before.

Read before.

No truth late from false Deception.

Suetonius in Nero.

Papists accuse the Protestants of Heresie, and they be the Heretics themselves.

A measure between the Protestants and the Papists, to try whether of them two are the greater Heretics. Comparison between the Doctrine of the Papists and of the Protestants.

Gods mercy. After that they had the busie searching moreover, and names taking of many other, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and laid up divers in present peril, and expectation of their attachment, who would have thought (I say) other-

otherwise possible, but that the Gospel must needs have an overthrow? seeing what sure work the Papists here had made, in stringing up their side, and throwing down the contrary.

Gods power But it is no new thing with the Lord, to shew his power against mans presumption, who when he counteth himself most sure, then is he furthest off, and when he supposeth to have done all, then is he new to begin again. So was it in the Primitive Church before *Constantinus* time, that when *Nero*, *Domitianus*, *Marcianus*, *Decius*, and other Emperours impugning the Gospel and profession of Christ, did not only constitute Laws and Proclamations against the Christians, but also did ingrave the same Laws in Tables of Brass, minding to make all things firm for ever and a day; yet we see how with a little turning of Gods hand, all their puissant devils, and brazen Laws turned all to wind and dust. So little doth it avail for man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings. Howsoever mans building is mortal and ruinous, of brittle brick, and mouldring stones; yet that which the Lord taketh in hand to build, neither can time waste, nor man pluck down. What God setteth up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What he intendeth, standeth; what he blesteth that prevaileth. And yet mans unquiet presumption will not cease still to erect up Towers of *Babel* against the Lord, which the higher they are builded up, fall with the greater ruine. For what can stand, that standeth not with the Lord? Which thing as in example of all ages is to be seen; so in this late Proclamation devised by the Bishops, is in like manner exemplified.

Towers of Babel The which Proclamation, thought it was fore and terrible for the time, yet not long after, by reason of the Kings death (whom the Lord shortly thereupon took to his mercy) it made at length but a Castle come down. So that where the Prelates thought to make their Jubile, it turned them to the *Threnes* of *Jeremy*. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of Hosts, whose Name be sanctified for ever.

Mans device This do I not infer for any other purpose, but only for the works of the Lord to be seen; premonishing thee (good Reader) withal, that as touching the King (who in this Proclamation had nothing but the Name only) here is nothing spoken but to his laud and praise. Who, of his own nature and disposition, was so inclinable and forward in All things virtuous and commendable, that the like enterprise of redress of Religion hath not lightly been seen in any other Prince Christianized. As in abolishing the stout and almost invincible Authority of the Pope, in suppressing Monasteries, in repressing custom of Idolatry and Pilgrimage, &c. Which enterprises as never King of *England* did accomplish (though some began to attempt them) before him; so yet to this day we see but few in other Realms dare follow the same.

The praise of K. Henry 8.

If Princes have always their Counsel about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil Counsel ministered, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, than of Princethemselves. So long as Queen *Anne*, *Thomas Cromwel*, Bishop *Cranmer*, Master Doctor *Buts*, with such like were about him, and could prevail with him, what Organ of Christs Glory did more good in the Church than he? as is apparent by such Monuments, Instruments, and Acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the Church, in exploding the Pope with his vile Pardons, in removing divers Superstitious Ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate Orders of Friars and Sects, in putting Chantry Priests to their pensions, in permitting white meat in *Lent*, in destroying pilgrimage-worship, in abrogating idle and superstitious holy days, both by Act publick, and also by private Letters sent to *Boner* tending to this effect.

By the King.

The Kings Letter to Boner. Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily do ensue to our Subjects by the great

superfluity of Holy-days, we have by the assents and consents of all you the Bishops and other notable persons of the Clergy of this our Realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such as be neither Canonical, nor meet to be suffered in a Commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which do ensue of the same, as is rehearsed, and to the intent our determination therein may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receipt hereof, to address your commandments in our Name to all the Curates, Religious Houses, and Colledges within your Dioceses, with a copy of the Act made for the Abrogation of the holy days aforesaid a transumpt whereof ye shall receive hereunto, commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the Church or otherwise, to indite or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, whereby the people might take occasion either to murmur, or to contemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, the same notwithstanding; but to pass over the same with such severe silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our Authority in Convocation. And forasmuch as the time of harvest now approacheth, our pleasure is ye shall with such diligence and dexterity put this matter in execution, as it may immediately take place for the benefit of our Subjects at this time accordingly without failing, as ye will answer unto us for the contrary.

Given under our Signet, at our Monastery of Chertsey, the eleventh day of August.

Thus while good Counsel was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So again when sinister and wicked Counsel under subtil and crafty pretences had gotten once the foot in, thrusting truth and verity out of the Princes ears, how much Religion and all good things went prosperously forward before, so much of the contrary side all revolved backward again. Whereupon proceeded this Proclamation above mentioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English Books.

K. Henry according as his Counsel was advised him, so was he led.

Which Proclamation bearing the Name of the Kings Majesty, but being the very deed of the Popish Bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the Church among the Godly sort, bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness, had not the thornes of the Kings days stopped the malignant purposes of the foresaid Prelates, calling the King to leave that by death unto the people, which by his life he would not grant. For within four Months after, the Proclamation coming out in August, he deceased in the beginning of January, in the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, Anno 1547, leaving behind him three Children, who succeeded him in his Kingdom, King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; of whom it remaineth now to prosecute (by the permission and suffrance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the process of this history, according as the order of their succession, and Acts done by them in the Church shall require: after that first I shall have prosecuted certain other matters by the way, according to my promise here to be inserted.

The death of K. Henry 8.

Anno 1547.

The History touching the persecution in Scotland, with the Names and causes of such blessed Martyrs, which in the same Country suffered for the Truth, after the time of Patrick Hamelton.

Thus having finished the time and Race of King Henry the eighth, it remaineth now, according to my promise made before, here to place and adjoin so much as doth come to our hands, touching the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed Martyrs of Christ which in that Country likewise suffered for the true Religion of Christ, and testimony of their Faith.

To

To proceed therefore in the History of these Scottish matters, next after the mention of *Descent Spation* and *Mister Nisbet a Gurdy*, with whom we engaged before, the order of time would require next to infer the memory of Sir John Borthwicke, Knight, commonly called Captain Borthwicke. Who being accused of Heresie, as the Papists call it, and cited therefore, Anno 1540. and not appearing, and cleaving out into other Countries, was condemned for the same being absent, by the sentence of *Desmond Banton*, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and other Prelates in Scotland, and all his goods confiscated, and his Picture at last burned in the open market place. Whose story, with his Articles objected against him, and his confutations of the same, here ensue in Process under expressed as followeth.

The Act or Process or certain Articles against Sir John Borthwicke, Knight, in Scotland, with his answer and confutation of the said Borthwicke; whose Preface to the Reader here followeth.

BY the help of a certain friend of mine there came certain Articles unto my hand, for the which the Scottish Cardinal, and such other like of his Sect and Affinity did censure me as an Heretick. And forasmuch as this condemnation should not lack his Cloak or defence, they gathered together a great number of witnesses, where as besides the bare Names of the witnesses they alledged none other proof at all. Wherefore I thought good to borrow some labour in refelling those Articles which they could not prove, partly that I might take away from all true Christians the occasion of all evil suspicion, as though that I being vanquished or overthrown by their threatenings would deny Christ; and partly that their errors being thereby made manifest, they would even for very shame repent, or else hereafter the Lord abuse the favor or modesty of such witnesses to shed blood. Therefore I will add confirm by evident testimonies of the Scriptures those things which in times past I have taught, and afterward I will refell their vain sophistication, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God.

Sir John Borthwicke Knight, commonly called Captain Borthwicke, being accused, suspected, slandered, and convicted by witnesses, without all doubt of greater estimation than he himself, in the year of our Lord, 1540. the eight and twentieth day of May, in the Cloister of Saint Andrews in the presence of the most reverend Fathers, *Gavinne* Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland, *William* Bishop of Aberdeen, Henry of Candiac, a, John Bishop of Brecknock, and *William* of Dunbar Bishop, *Andrew* of Melrose, *George* of Dumerveling, *John* of Passet, *John* of Londro, *Robert* of Rillo, and *William* of Rullo Abbots, *Margaret* of *Quarnerne* and *John* of *Pennan* Priors, *Maister Alexander* *Kalster* Vicar of *Ryman*, *Reclor* of Law, official of Saint Andrews, *John* *Winton* Subprior, *John* *Anand* and *Thomas* *Emmingham*, Canons of Saint Andrews, and *Maister John* *Mayer* and *Peter* *Capel* and *Batchelours* of Divinity and Doctors, *Marin* *Ballfour* Bachelor of Divinity, and of his fellow Priors of the *Friers Agustinians* of the same City, *John* *Tulidaffe*, Warden of the *Friers Minors*, and *John* *Patterson* of the same Covent; and also in the presence of the most noble, mighty and honourable Lords, *George* of *Hume*, *James* of *Arrois*, *William* *Marshall*, *William* of *Montros*, *Earle*, *Malcolm* Lord of *Flemming*, Chamberlain of Scotland, *John* Lord of *Linsey*, *John* Lord of *Erskine*, *George* Lord of *Seroun*, *James* *Hamelton* of *Ermarie*, *Walter* Lord of *Saint John*, *Maister James* of *Culatten* Clerk to the Kings Register, with divers other Lords, Barons, and honest persons, being called and gathered together for witnesses, that he did hold, publish and teach these errors following.

The first Article.

That can only Enter the Pope, as Christs Vicar hath, and no other can exercise greater Authority over Christens than he, than any other Bishop or Prelate.

Borthwicke.

That holy ones do magnifie their Lord by like title as common Thieves and Robbers are accustomed to prefer the Captains and Ringleaders of their Robberies and Villenies, calling them in every place the most honest and good men, whereas likewise it is evident that in the whole World there is no man more given to riot, which more greedily doth seek after all kind of delicateness and wantonness, and finally aboundeth with all kind of vice, as Treason, Murder, Rapine, and all kind of such evils. Furthermore, whereas they affirm him to be the Vicar of Christ here in Earth, it shall be easily convinced, when as it shall be made manifest, that he neither hath nor can exercise more Power or Authority over Christians than any other Bishop or Prelate. For unto that Office of being Vicar they refer that great Authority the which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which being taken away, the Office of Vicar doth also fall and decay. But now to attempt the matter, I will first demand of the maintainers of their prebeminency and Authority, whereupon they will ground the same? know that they will answer unto me that *Peter* had power and Authority over the other Apostles, and consequently over the Universal Church, the which power by succession is translated unto the Bishops of Rome. But how unflatteringly do they lye herein, any may easily perceive which hath but any small spark of judgment in him, when as he shall hear the Testimonies of the Scriptures, which we will alledge to confirm this opinion. For *Peter*, in the fifteenth of the *Acts*, in the Council doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth us what of necessity we ought to do. And he there did also hear other speak, and did not only give them place to say their minds, but also permit and receive their judgment; and whereas as they decreed, he followed and obeyed the same. Is this then to have power over others? Furthermore, whereas in his first Epistle he writeth unto Bishops and Pastors, he doth not command them as a Superiour or head over them, by Power and Authority, but maketh them his fellow companions, and gently exhorteth them as is accustomed to be done between equals of degree; for these are his words: I beseech and desire the Bishops and Pastors which are amongst you, for so much as I myself am also a Bishop, and a witness of the afflictions of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, that they diligently feed the Flock of Christ, which is committed unto them. Why then do they so challenge unto them the authority of *Peter*, which he never acknowledged in himself? Truly I do not doubt, but if that *Peter* were here present, he would with like severity rebuke their folly and madness, as *Moses* in times past did unto *Josua*, which burned with too earnest a zeal towards him. I doubt not but that many in this rained Authority of *Peter* do seek out more vain helps to maintain and uphold the Tyranny of Popes, rather than to make him ruler and governor over all other. For whereas in the eight Chapter of the *Acts* he is commanded by his fellows to go with *John* unto *Samarina*, he did not refuse so to do. Inasmuch then as the Apostles do send him, they declare thereby, that they do not count him as their Head and Superiour, and in that he doth obey them, and taketh upon him the Office or Ministry committed unto him, he confesseth thereby that *sauley* with the Apostles, but no rule over the Apostles.

your

vour and Grace among the Gentiles, than *Peter* had amongst the Jews; and finally, when as *Peter* did not faithfully execute his Office and Ministry, he was by him rebuked, and *Peter* became obedient to his correction. All these things do evidently prove, that there was equality between *Paul* and *Peter*, and also that *Peter* had no more power over the residue of the Apostles, than he had over *Paul*. The which thing *S. Paul* even of purpose doth intreat of, lest that any man should prefer *Peter* or *John* before him in the Office of Apostleship, which were but his Companions, and not Lords over one another: whereupon these places of Scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge *Peter* to be Superior or Head over other Apostles, neither the Pope over other Bishops. But I acknowledge and confess *Christ* to be the only Head of the Church, the Foundation and high Priest thereof, the which with one Oblation hath made perfect for evermore all those which are sanctified. And I boldly do affirm and say with *Saint Gregory*, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be named or called the Head or Universal Priest or Bishop, in that his pride he is the forerider or predecessor of Antichrist; forasmuch as through his pride he doth exalt himself above all others. Furthermore, whereas they alledge out of the old Law, the high Priesthood and the Supreme Judgment, which God did institute and ordain at *Jerusalem*; I answer thereunto, that *Christ* was that high Bishop, unto whom the right and title of Priesthood is now transported and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which will take upon him to succeed in the place or degree of his Honour; forasmuch as this Priesthood doth not consist only in learning, but in the propitiation and mercy of God, which *Christ* hath fulfilled by his Death, and in the Intercession, by the which he doth now intreat for us unto his Father.

multitude it self, whereof he took his Name. Besides this, the Church should be stayed; or builded upon over weak a foundation, if it should have *Peter* for the ground or Foundation thereof, who being amazed and overcome with the words of a little wench, did so instantly deny *Christ*. Now therefore I think there is no man but he doth understand how these Romish builders do wrest the Scriptures hither and thither, and like unto the rule or square, do apply them according to their wills, to what end and use they themselves think good. Furthermore in that they do alledge out of the twentieth Chapter of *John*, *Feed my Sheep*; it is an overchildish Argument; for to Feed is not to bear rule and Dominion over the whole Church. Besides all this, as *Peter* had received Commandment of the Lord, so doth he exhort all other Bishops to feed their Flock in his first Epistle and fifth Chapter. Hereby a man may gather by these words of *Christ*, that either there was no Authority given unto *Peter* more than unto others, or else that *Peter* did equally communicate that Right and Authority, which he had received, unto others, and did not reserve it unto himself after his death, to be transported unto the Bishops of *Rome*. As for such Reasons as they do alledge which are not gathered and taken out of holy Scriptures, I pass them over, lest I might seem to contend with shadows.

The second Article.

That Indulgences and Pardons; granted by our Supreme Head the Pope, are of no force, strength, or effect; but tend only to the abuse of the people and the deceiving of their Souls.

Borthwike.

It shall be evidently declared, that Indulgences and Pardons are of none effect, after that I have first of all taught what they do call Indulgences or Pardons. They say, they are the Treasure of the Church, that is to say, the merits of *Christ*, of the Saints, Apostles and Martyrs, which they impudently affirm to have performed and merited more at Gods hand, at the time of their death, than was necessary or needful for them; and that of the abundance of their merits there did so much superabound, which was not only sufficient for themselves, but also might redound to the help of others: And because so great a goodness should not be superfluous or in vain, they affirm and teach that their Blood was mixed and joynt with the Blood of *Christ*; and of them both the Treasure of the Church was compound and made for the remission and satisfaction of Sins. How cunning and notable Cooks these are, which can make a confection of so many sundry herbs. Furthermore, they do faine the custody and keeping of this Treasure to be committed wholly to the Bishop of *Rome*, in whose power consisteth the dispensation of so great Treasures, that either by himself he may give or grant, or otherwise give power unto other to give the same. And hereupon rise the plenary Indulgences and Pardons granted by the Pope for certain years, by Cardinals for an hundred days, by Bishops for forty days. This is the judgment and opinion which they hold of the Indulgences. But I pray you, who taught those Saints to work or deserve for other, but only Satan, who would utterly have the merits of *Christ* extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of Salvation? For if the Scripture doth teach us that no man of himself can deserve or work their Salvation, how did the Saints then work or merit for others? It is manifest that *Christ* faith in the seveneenth of *Luke*, *When ye have done all that which is com-* No man of himself can *manded you to do, yet, faith he, ye are unprofitable work his servants.* Besides this, all that which may be deserved or merited in the righteousness of man, in the threefoore and fourth Chapter of *Esaie*, is compared unto the Garment menstruous and defiled, to be cast out.

There are almost infinite places in the Scripture, wherein mans power is so extenuate, and the corruption and frowardness of our nature so made manifest, that even in the best and most perfect works there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithstanding the parable of the ten Vir-

Another objection Papistical followed.

The treasure of the Church as Popeholders take it.

Lord Treasures of the Church, Papists hold to be the Pops.

Paul equal with Peter.

Christ the only head of the Church.

Universal Bishop spoken against by Gregory.

The high Priesthood in the old Law, doth not prove Peters or the Popes Supremacy.

The place of Marsh. Thome in Peter and upon this Rock, Matth. 16. expounded by Ciprian.

Augustine.

Whereas also they do alledge out of the 16. Chapter of *Matthew*, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock, &c.* If they do think that this was particularly spoken unto *Peter*, *Saint Ciprian*, and *Saint Augustine* shall sufficiently answer them, that *Christ* did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man above all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the Unity of the Church, for so faith *S. Ciprian*, In the person of one man God gave unto them all the *Keyes*, that he might thereby signify the Unity of them all. For even as *Peter* was, even the very same were all the residue, being indued with like fellowship of honor and dignity. But it was convenient that it should take his original of one, that the Church of God might be manifested to be one only. *Saint Augustine* words are these, If the mystery of the Church were not in *Peter*, the Lord would not have said unto him, *I will give unto thee the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*. If this were spoken unto *Peter*, the Church hath them not. If the Church have them, then *Peter* when he received the *Keyes*, did figure the whole Church. Again, when as they were all demanded and asked, only *Peter* answered, *Thou art Christ*. Then was it said unto him, *I will give unto thee the Keyes*, as though that he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; for like as he alone spake that for them all, so he, as it were, bearing the person of that Unity, received the same with them all. Therefore for them all, because he is united unto them all; Another one Argument they do gather upon the words which *Christ* spake unto *Peter*, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*. The which words are not found to be spoken unto any other of the Apostles. The which Argument shall easily be dissolved, if we did understand and know why *Christ* did give *Peter* that Name, which otherwise was called *Simon*. In the first Chapter of *Saint John*, *Christ* speaketh thus unto him, *Thou shalt be called Cephas*. The which by interpretation signifieth *Peter*, in that point having respect unto the constant confession of *Christ*, which he had made, like as God changed the Name of *Abraham*, who at first was called *Abram*, because he should be a Father of many Nations: then even as *Abraham* took his Name of the multitude, which should come forth of his seed, so likewise *Peter* took his Name of the constant confession of *Christ*, which indeed is the true Rock whereupon the Church is builded, and not *Peter* himself; no otherwile than *Abraham*, which was not the

The Parable, the Virgin, and the Church, as is noted.

Virgins, written in the five and twentieth Chapter of *Matthew*, ought to put us out of all controversie and doubt: There Christ describeth two kinds of men, the one kind of holy men which observe and keep the inward righteousness of the heart, as the oil of faith; the other sort is of such which having no mind of their oil, are answered by them which are wise, *No, lest that there be not sufficient for you and for us, but go you rather to them which do sell, and buy for your selves*: In the which place it is manifestly declared how vainly the second sort of men do flie to the patronage of the Elect, by whose merits they think to be saved.

Now let us weigh and consider upon what places of Scripture they build or establish their feigned invention of Pardons; they alledge the saying of S. Paul to the *Colossians*, *I supply or fulfill the afflictions of Christ, which were wanting in my flesh, for his Body which is the Church*. But Paul in this place doth not refer that defect or supplement to any work of Redemption, Expiation, or Satisfaction, but to those Afflictions, by the which the Members of Christ, that is to say, all faithful should be afflicted, so long as they live in the flesh; wherefore he saith, that this doth yet remain of the Passions of Christ, that those Afflictions which once he suffered in his own Body, he now daily suffereth in his Members. For Christ hath vouchsafed to honour us with this honour, that he doth impute, and call our Afflictions to be his. And whereas S. Paul doth add this word for the Church, he doth not understand thereby for their Redemption, Reconciliation, Satisfaction, or Expiation of the Church, but for the edifying and the profiting of the same, as in the second Epistle to *Timothy*, he saith, *That for the Elect sake he suffered all these things that they might obtain salvation*. But to the intent no man should think that Salvation to depend upon those things which he himself had suffered, he added further, *The which is in Christ*. As touching the reason that the Blood of the Martyrs is not shed in vain without fruit or profit, and their fore ought to be conferred to the common utility and profit of the Church; I answer that the profit and fruit thereof is abundant to glorifie God by their death, to subscribe and bear witness unto the truth by their blood, and by the contempt of this present life to witness, that he doth seek after a better life by his constancy and steadfastness, to confirm and establish the faith of the Church, and subdue and vanquish the Enemy.

Another Church, which is called.

The blood of Martyrs, which is hereto promised.

The third Article.

That the Pope is an open user of Simony, daily selling the gifts of the spiritualities, and that it is lawful for all Bishops to be coupled and joined in Matrimony.

Borthwicke.

This Article hath his several parts, for those things which we have spoken or answered unto the Article before-written; do sufficiently declare, that the Pope is not only a user of Simony, but also a notable Deceiver, which selleth such kind of Merchandise as can in no place help or prevail; forso much as his Pardons are nothing less than such as he feigneth them to be. Doth he not then shew himself a manifest Deceiver, when as he maketh Fairs and Markets of them? But to the intent I will not seem in this behalf vainly to labour or travel, I will pass unto the second part, whereas I do say, that it is not only done against the Word of God, but also against Equity and Justice, to forbid Priests to marry, forso much as it is not lawful for any man by any means to forbid that thing which the Lord hath left at liberty. For S. Paul, in the Thirteenth Chapter unto the *Hebrews*, declareth that Matrimony is lawful for all men, saying, *That Marriage and the undefiled Bed, or Chamber, is honourable amongst all men*. And in the first to the *Corinthians*, and seventh Chapter, he saith, *For avoiding of whoredom, let every man have a wife of his own*. But I know what their oblique and stiff-necked will answer unto me, That the same is spoken and meant of others, and not of Priests. But what will they answer unto me, as touching that which is written in the first to *Timothy*, and third Chapter, *A Bishop ought to be without rebuke,*

Priests marriage, is lawful.

the Husband of one Wife: and by and by after he saith, *Deacons ought to be the Husbands of one Wife, the which should rule and govern their Children and Family uprightly*? Unto these Paul affirmeth Matrimony to be meet and necessary, let them say what they can to the contrary. What could be more vehemently spoken against their wicked tyranny, than that which by the Holy Ghost he declareth in the fourth Chapter of the same Epistle, *That in the latter days there should come wicked men which should forbid Matrimony, and callest them not only deceivers, but also wicked spirits*, attending unto the Doctrine of wicked spirits; but these men think that they have very well escaped, when as they wrest this Sentence to those old ancient Hereticks the *Tasians*; They (say these men) *did condemn Matrimony, we do not condemn it, but only forbid Church-men to marry, unto whom we think Matrimony is not convenient*. As though that albeit this Prophecy were first of all complete and fulfilled in the *Tasians*, that it did not also redound unto them; or as though this their subtil sophistification were worthy to be regarded, that they do not deny or prohibit Matrimony, because they do not forbid it unto all men generally. Like as if a Tyrant would contend and affirm his Law to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof only one part of the City is oppressed. But now let us hear the Reasons of the contrary part: *It becometh, say they, a Priest to differ from the common sort of the people by some notable mark or token*. But read S. Paul, whereas he describeth the perfect Image of a good Bishop, did he not reckon and account Marriage amongst the other good gifts which he required to be in them? But I know very well how these men interpret Paul. Verily that a Bishop ought not to be chosen, which hath married his second Wife. But also it appeareth openly by the Text, that this interpretation is false, forso much as he doth by and by declare and shew what manner of women the Wives of Bishops and Deacons ought for to be. Wherefore S. Paul numbeth Matrimony amongst the principal vertues pertaining unto a Bishop. And these men do teach it to be an intolerable vice amongst the Orders of the Church, and not being content with that general reproach or slander, they call it in the Canons, *the uncleanness, polluting, and defiling of the flesh*. Now let every man consider with himself out of what Shop this stuff is taken. God instituted Matrimony, Christ sanctified it with his presence, by turning water into wine, and vouchsafed so to honour it, that he would have it the Image or Figure of his love and friendship with the Church: What can be more famous or notably spoken to the commendation and praise of Wedlock? But these unshamefast faces do call it a *filthy and unclean thing*, alledging the Levitical Priests, which, as often as they came unto the Office of Ministration, were bound to lye apart from their Wives, whereby they being clean and undefiled, might handle the holy things: and our Sacraments, forso much as they are much more noble and excellent than theirs, and daily used, it would be a very uncomely thing that they should be handled by married men. As though that the Office of the Ministry of the Gospel were all one with the Levitical Priesthood. For they, as Figures, did represent Christ, which being Mediator between God and Man, by his singular and absolute purity and cleanness should reconcile the Father unto us, forso much as on no part sinners could exhibit or shew forth any type or form of his Sanctity or Holiness: yet to the intent they might shadow him out with certain similitudes or lineaments they were commanded that whensoever they should come unto the Sanctuary or holy Place, they should purifie themselves above all mens order or fashion: for then did they most near and properly figure Christ which appeared in the Tabernacle as Peace-maker to reconcile the people unto God. This Image or Personage, forso much as our Ecclesiastical Pastors at this day do not take upon them to execute, in vain are they compared unto them. Wherefore the Apostles, without all exception, upon a fire and good ground both pronounce and say, *That marriage is honourable amongst all men, and that Whoremongers and Adulterers do abide the judgment of God*. Besides all this, the Apostles themselves by their examples do prove that Matrimony is worthy of any Office or Function, be it never

A Popish Objection against Priests married. Levitical Priests in the time of their ministration abstain from their Wives. Ergo, Christian Priests must have no Wives. I do deny the Argument.

so excellent, for S. Paul himself it witness, that they did not only keep their Wives, but also carried them about with them.

The fourth Article.

That all those Heresies commonly called the Heresies of England, or at the least, the greater or most part of them are to be now presently understood and known by the Englishmen to be of themselves good and just, and to be observed of all Faithful Christians as most true and comfortable unto the Law of God, and that he be persuaded many persons to embrace the said Heresies.

Borthwicke.

Saint John in his eleventh Chapter, declareth how Caiaphas high Bishop of Jerusalem did prophesie that Jesus should dye for the people, which thing he spake being utterly ignorant. The like Image of blindness we have now presently in our luxurious Cardinal of Saint Andrews, and his Adherents, which accused Religion of Heresie, which in the year of our Lord, 1540. was had in estimation in England, at the which time they proclaimed me an Achiereticke, although they esteem the same Religion for most Christian; for what Religion at the time was used in England, the like the whole Realm of Scotland did embrace: in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the Yoke of Antichrist, the other not. Idols were worshipped of both Nations, the prophaning of the Supper and Baptism was like unto them both, wicked Superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable Hypocrite.

Truly it is most false that they do affirm and say, that I had subscribed unto such kind of Heresies, as though they had been conformable unto the Law of God, when as nothing is more adverse or repugnant thereunto: for even now of late, God of his goodness and mercy had opened my dazling eyes, and had thrown me out of the filthy flow of Idolatry and Superstition, in the which amongst others I have so long time wallowed and trembled. Neither is it any less absurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the same, except peradventure they do understand that I have oftentimes willed that the Yoke of Antichrist would be shaken and cast off from the Necks of the Scots, as it is from the English men; which thing with sincere and upright heart, and with an earnest mind I do now also wish and desire.

The fifth Article.

That the Scottish Nation and their Clergy be altogether blinded, whom he did also say and affirm that they had not the true Catholick Faith. And this he did openly teach and preached also, that his Faith was much better and more excellent, than the Faith of all the Clergy in the Realm of Scotland.

Borthwicke.

No man will deny that people to be blinded which neither heareth Christ nor his Apostles. Such is the people of Scotland, I speak of those unto whom the verity and truth of Christ hath not yet opened or manifested itself. There is no cause therefore why they should accuse me of Heresie. Furthermore, how far off the Nation and the people of Scotland be from the hearing of Christ, albeit the premises do sufficiently declare, in that they do challenge unto the Romish Antichrist the Authority which Christ and his Apostles do declare Christ himself to be ended withal, and that contrary to the word of God they forbid Priests to marry; I will add something more unto it, whereby the matter may be more evident. Christ calleth himself the door whereby all men ought to enter in, the tenth Chapter of John. Contrariwise, the Scots do say and affirm, that we must enter in by the Virgin Mary and Saint Peter. Christ in the fourth of John saith, The time shall come when as the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and Truth

the Scots build themselves high Temples and Chappels for Idols, in the which, even as Israel in times past, they commit fornication. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews, and tenth Chapter, saith, That Christ by one only Oblation hath made perfect all those for evermore, which are sanctified: which saying confirmeth also the words of Christs hanging upon the Crose, saying, It is finished; signifying that by his death there was a final end set to all Sacrifices, which are offered up for Sins. But the Scottish Churchmen, as they are Blasphemers indeed, do they brag and boast that they daily offer up Christ for the Sins both of the quick, and of the dead. God commandeth us that we shall not worship any Image; the Scots do not only fall down flat before Images, but also offer up Incense unto them. Saint Paul teacheth us that Christ is made our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; the Scots, being wise men in their own conceits, prefer and embrace Traditions feigned and invented out by mans head before the Law of God, they stablish righteousness in their own works, sanctification in holy Water and other external things, redemption in pieces of lead, which they do buy of their great Antichrist. Who then will quarrel with me, that I do lye that the people of Scotland are blind? and that my Faith, which doth only behold the Word of God, is much more better and excellent than theirs?

The sixth Article.

The 6. Article.

Agreeable to the ancient Errors of John Wickliff and John Hus Arch-Heresicks condemned in the Council of Constance, he hath affirmed and preached, That the Clergy ought not to possess or have any Temporal possessions, neither to have any Jurisdiction or Authority in Temporallities, even over their own Subjects, but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in England.

Borthwicke.

The Lord in the eighteenth Chapter of the Book of Numbers said thus unto Aaron, Thou shalt possess nothing in their Land, neither shalt thou have any portion amongst them, I am thy Portion and Inheritance amongst the Children of Israel: for unto the Sons of Levi I have given all the Tithes of Israel, that they should possess them for their Ministry which they do execute in the Tabernacle of the Congregation. Albeit I do not doubt, but that the Order of the Levites and of the Clergy is far different and variable. For the Administration of their sacred and holy things, after their death, passed unto their Posterity as it were by right of Inheritance, which happeneth not unto the Posterity of our Clergy in these days. Furthermore, if any heritage be provided or gotten for them, I do not gainsay but that they shall possess it. But still I do affirm, That all Temporal Jurisdiction should be taken from them. For when as twice there rose a contention amongst the Disciples, which of them should be thought the greatest, Christ answered; The Kings of Nations have Dominion over them, and such which have power over them are called beneficial: you shall not do so; for he which is greatest amongst you shall be made equal unto the youngest or least, and he which is the Prince or Ruler amongst you shall be made equal unto him that doth minister. Minding thereby, and willing utterly to debar the Ministers of his Word from all terrene and civil Dominion and Empire. For by these points he doth not only declare that the Office of a Pastor is distinct and divided from the Office of a Prince and Ruler, but that they are in effect so much different and separate, that they cannot agree or joyn together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Christ did set or ordain a harder Law then he himself before did take upon him. Forasmuch as in the twelfth of Luke certain of the company said unto him, Master command my Brother that he divide his Inheritance with me. He answered; Man, who made me a Judge or Divider amongst you? We see therefore that Christ even simply did reject and refuse the Office of a Judge, the which thing he would not have done if it had been agreeable unto his Office or Duty. The like thing also he did in the 8th Chapter

The Levitical Law is no necessary rule now binding. But he meaneth here of ecclesiastical possessions of Abbeyes, and Religious Houses added to them, but the Princes may diminish or convert them otherwise upon considerations. Civil Dominion differeth from Ecclesiastical.

Christ refuseth the Office of a Judge.

Antichrist, or comparison between the Religion of Scots men, and the Religion of Christ.

John, when as he refused to give Judgment to the Woman taken in Adultery, which was brought before him. Whereas they do allege that *Moses* did supply both Offices at once, I answer, that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time until things were brought unto a better state. Besides that, there was a certain firm and rule prescribed him of the Lord, then took he upon him the Civil governance, and the Priesthood he was commanded to resign unto his Brother; and that not without good cause, for it is against nature, that one man should justice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreseen and provided for in all ages. Neither was there any Bishop, so long as any true face or shew of the Church did continue, who once thought to usurp the right and title of the Sword. Whereupon in the time of *Saint Ambrose* this proverb took his Original, That Emperors did rather wish or desire the Office of Priesthood, than Priests any Empire. For it was all mens Opinions at that time, that sumptuous Palaces did pertain unto Emperors, and Churches unto Priests. *Saint Bernard* also writeth many things which are agreeable unto this our Opinion; as is this his saying, *Peter* could not give that which he had not, but he gave unto his Successors that which he had, that is to say, carefulness over the Congregation; for when as the Lord and Master faith, That he is not constitute or ordained Judge between two, the Servant or Disciple ought not to take it scornfully if that he may not judge all men. And left that he might seem in that place to speak of the Spiritual Judgment, he straightway annexeth, Therefore, faith he, your Power and Authority shall be in offence and transgression, not in possessions. For this purpose, and not for the other, have you received the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. Why then do you invade other mens bounds or borders? The rest I pass over for brevities sake.

Palaces to
Princes,
Churches
pertain to
Priests.
Peter could
not give that
he had not,
Peter had no
Locally De-
mission:
Ergo Peter
could not
give Locally
Dominion to
his Success-
ors.

The 7. Arti-
cle.

Falsely, and against the honour, estate, and reverence of the sacred Majesty of the King of Scots, he hath said, bolden, and affirmed, that our most noble King of Scots, Defender of the Christian Faith, would appropriate unto himself all the possessions, lands, and rents of the Church, given and granted by his Predecessors, and also by himself, and convert them unto his own private use. And for this end and purpose, as he hath many times written unto him, so hath he with his whole endeavour persuaded our said noble Lord and King thereunto.

Borthwike.

It is no marvel though these mad Dogs do so bark against me, whom they think to have counselled the Kings Majesty (I would to God I had also thoroughly persuaded him) that he should take away from these unjust sacrilegious possessors, the riches wherewith all they are fitted and engreased like Swine. For this is the nature of Dogs, if any man go about to take away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to snatch at him and tare him with their teeth. It is out of all controversie unto such as have any wit at all, that such were very childish, that is to say, ignorant of all learning and judgment, which did so fat and feed with their possessions these Belly-beasts. For who would not judge it more then childish, to bestow the Kings Victuals or meat upon the bellies of the Prophets of *Baal* and *Jesabel*? But all they which at this present do endure such filthy sinks (I will not call them Dens of Thieves) with such revenues, they do follow the steps of *Jesabel*; for what other thing do they, when as daily they are bleating and bowing before their Images, burning of Incense, and fall flat down before their Altars, but that which is times past the Prophets of *Baal* did when as they transported the worship of God unto an Idol? Wherefore if *Daniel* and *Ellas* were spotted with Heresie when they would have destroyed the Priests of *Baal*, grant that I also must be an Heretic.

But forasmuch as then he did nothing but which was commanded him of the Lord, that was able to kill the Prophet which had allured the people to follow strange Gods, he could not truly and justly be accused of Heresie.

A comparison
between
our belly-
Priests and
the Priests
of Baal.

He; for neither can my Adversaries spot me therewithal, except peradventure they will condemn in me that (whereas *Ellas* dealt more rigorously with the Prophets of *Baal*, for he cast them into the Brook *Kidron*) I required or desired no more, but that the riches which was wickedly bestowed upon them, and their possessions might be taken from them.

The eighth Article.

He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed that the Church of Scotland might come and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruine as the Church of England was already come unto.

Borthwike.

If the Church of Israel decayed, when as in the time of *Zorobabel*, *Nehemias*, and other holy men, it was released and set at liberty out of *Babylon*; I grant also, that it was ruine unto the English men, to have departed and gone away out of *Babylon*, the Mother of all Whoredoms, upon whose rotten and filthy paps and breasts they have a long time depended and hanged, being made drunk with the Wine of her Whoredom and unchastity. They had rather cause to give me thanks, who with so sincere and good a heart wished unto them so happy a fall. But these unthankful persons thought it not enough with slander and reproach to tear me under, but now also, as blind rage and madness hath taken away all sincerity and uprightness of mind and judgment, they lye in wait, and lay snares for my life.

The ninth Article.

He hath openly bolden, said, and affirmed, preached, and taught, that the Laws of the Church, that is to say, the sacred Canons, approved and allowed by the holy Catholic and Apostolick Church, are of no force, strength, or effect; alledging therefore and affirming, that they are made and invented contrary to the Law of God.

Borthwike.

God forbid that I should say, that those things which are approved by the holy Catholic Church should be of no effect or value. For well I know, that the holy Apostolick Church hath never allowed, ordained, or taught any thing which she hath not learned of the Lord: the Apostles are witnesses thereof, *Peter* and *Paul*, whereof the one of them dareth not freely utter or speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by himself for the obedience of the Gentiles.

The other exhorteth, That if any man speak, he should speak the praises of God: but I condemn those Laws which the Bishops of *Rome* had made according to their own will and mind, and say that they are spiritual, pertaining unto the Salvation of the Soul, and necessary unto everlasting life, so much as the writings of the Apostles do evidently declare, that there was no Authority known amongst them to make or ordain any Ordinances or Laws.

Furthermore, the Scriptures do manifestly shew the same, how oftentimes, even by the Lords own mouth this foresaid Authority is taken from the Ministers of the Church, so that no excuse for them remaineth, but that they be plain Rebels against the Word of God, how many follow do presume or take upon them to appoint or set any new Laws upon the people of God. Which thing is more manifest and evident than the light it self, in many places of the Scripture. For in the three and twentieth Chapter of *Jeshaiah*, it is written; You shall observe and do all that is written in the Law of *Moses*, neither shall you swerve from that, either to the right hand or to the left hand. But that which is written in the twelfth Chapter of *Duteronomy* ought to move them somewhat the more.

The Romish
Church.

Priests
have no such
Authority
by the Word
of God
to bind
mens Con-
science
with new
Laws.

What-

How far the
office of
Priests ex-
tendeth.

Whatsoever I command, faith the Lord, that shall ye observe and do; thereunto you shall add nothing, neither shall you take any thing from it. The like he had said before in the fourth Chapter of the same Book. And again, *Moses* in the thirteenth Chapter of the same Book doth witness, that he did put forth life and blessing unto *Israel*, when as he gave them that Law which he had received of the Lord. How can they then excuse themselves of Perjury, which ordain new Laws to live by; But let us proceed further, and see what Authority the Priests of *Levi's* stock had to make Laws. I do not deny, but that God, in the seventeenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, ordained under a great penalty, that the Authority of the Priests should not be contemned, but had in Reverence. But in the second of *Malachy* he also declareth under what condition they are to be heard, whereas he saith, He hath made a Covenant with *Levi*, that the Law of truth should be in his mouth; and by and by after he addeth, The lips of the Priest shall keep and maintain wisdom, and the Law they shall require at his mouth, which is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts. Therefore it is fit and necessary, if a Priest will be heard, that he doth hear himself the Messenger of God, that is to say, that he faithfully report and declare the commandments which he hath received of the Lord. For whereas *Malachy* speaketh of hearing of them, he putteth this specially, that they do answer according to the Law of the Lord. Therefore like as the *Levitical* Priests did break their Covenant made with God, if they did teach any other Law than that which they had received of him; so likewise these men must either acknowledge themselves to be Covenant-Breakers, or else they may not bind the Consciences of men with any new Law.

Exek. 33.

Furthermore, what Power the Prophets had universally, it is very lively described in *Ezekiel*, in his 33. Chapter.

Thou Son of Man, saith the Lord, I have made thee a guide unto the House of *Israel*, thou shalt hear the Word out of mine own mouth, and declare it unto them from me. He then which is commanded to hear of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearse or speak any thing of himself? For what other thing is it to speak from the Lord, but so to speak that he may boldly affirm and say, that it is not his word, but the Word of the Lord which he speaketh?

Further, God by his Prophet *Jeremy* calleth it chaff, whatsoever doth not proceed from himself. Wherefore none of the Prophets have opened their mouths at any time to speak, but being premonished before the Word of God. Whereupon it happeneth, that these words are so often pronounced by them, The Word of the Lord; the charge or burthen of the Lord; the Vision of the Lord; Thus saith the Lord; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Now that we may also confirm that which is before spoken, by the examples of the Apostles, that they have taught nothing but that which they have learned of the Lord, the Law which Christ prescribed unto them, when as he inducted them with the dignity and honour of the Apostleship, is somewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In the last Chapter of *Matthew*, he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not such things as they themselves did rashly invent and devise, but those things which he had commanded them.

Furthermore, *Paul* in the second to the *Corinthians*, denieth that he hath any dominion or rule over the Faith of the *Corinthians*, albeit he was ordained by the Lord to be their Apostle. If you require and desire a further reason of the moderation of *Saint Paul*, read the tenth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, whereas he teacheth, That Faith cometh by hearing, it cometh not by the Dreams of the Bishop of *Rome*, or by any other Bishop, but only by the Word of God; neither ought any man to think it strange, that neither Christ restrained his Apostles by the Law, that they should not teach any thing but that which they had learned of the mouth of the Lord. He set the same Law upon himself, because it should not be lawful for any man to refuse it.

My Doctrine saith Christ is not mine, but his which sent me, my Fathers; he which hath been the only and

eternal Counsellour of the Father, which also is ordained by the Father, the Lord and Master over all, for so much as yet he doth the Office and part of a Minister, he doth by his example prescribe unto all Ministers, what rule and order they ought to follow in teaching; wherefore the Power of the Church is not such, that it may at her own will and discretion teach new Doctrines, either, as they term it, frame new Articles of Faith, either establish new Laws, but is subject unto the Word of the Lord, and as it were included in the same. But now let us behold what defence they do bring for their Constitutions. The Apostles, say they, and the Elders of the Primitive Church, established a Decree, besides the commandment of Christ, whereby they did command all people to abstain from all things offered unto Idols, Suffocation, and Blood. If that were lawful for them to do, why is it not lawful for their Successors, as often as necessity shall require, to imitate and to follow them in doing the like?

But I deny that the Apostles in that behalf did make any new Decree or Ordinance, so much as *Peter* in the same Council pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be laid upon the necks of the Disciples: Even he himself doth subvert and overthrow his own Sentence if they consent to lay any yoke upon them. But a yoke is laid upon them if the Apostles by their own Authority do decree to prohibit the Gentiles not to touch any thing offered unto Idols or strangled; but you will say, they do write they should abstain from those things. I grant that they do so write: But what doth *Saint James* declare? That the Gentiles which are converted unto God are not to be troubled and vexed in such extern Decrees and outward Elements, as these be. And the Apostle sufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothing less then to restrain the liberty of the Gentiles, but only to admonish and warn them how they should moderate and rule themselves among their Brethren, lest they should abuse their liberty to the offence of others.

They alledge furthermore, that which is written in the three and twentieth of *Matthew*, the Scribes and Pharisees have sitten in the Chair of *Moses*, therefore all things whatsoever they command you to observe and keep, the same observe and do, but do you not as they do. I answer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh against the manners of the Pharisees, simply instructing his Hearers which before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or see nothing in their life which they should follow yet for all that they should not refuse to do the things which they did teach by the Word, I say by the Word, and not of their own head.

The tenth Article.

Others and many ways he hath said, bolden, and al-
so affirmed, and openly taught that there is no Religion
to be observed or kept, but simply to be abolished and de-
stroyed, as it is now in England; and despising all Re-
ligion, affirming that it is but abusing of the People, he
hath taught that their habit and vestures are deformed
and very monstrous, having in them no manner of
utility or holiness, inducing and alluring as much as in
him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all Reli-
gion in the Kingdom of Scotland should be subverted and
utterly taken away, to the great offence of the Catholick
Church, and the diminishing and detriment of the Christi-
an Religion.

Borthwike.

The Prophet *Isaiah* in his fifth Chapter crieth out, saying, We be unto you which call evil good, and good evil; darkness light, and light darkness, sower sweet, and sweet sower. And it followeth in the same place, in the said Prophet, We, saith he, to you that be wise and sapient in your own eyes and prudent in your own estimation. No man can deny but that the Cardinal of Scotland and his Adherents be under this most heavy and grievous curse, when as they do so generally confound the Christian Religion and their wicked Montery, that they do entitle them both by one name of Holiness. I trust I will make it appear more manifest than the day, that they do it by a sacrilegious audacity or boldness unto such

The Church
subject to
the Word of
God. Reasons
where-with
they defend
their Con-
stitutions.
Answer to
the reasons
above.

Another
reason.

as setting apart all preposterous affection will embrace the truth, when as the doth manifestly shew herself.

But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to understand, that I do not touch that kind of Monkerie, which Saint *Augustine* and other do so often make mention of; as in which the Monks being gathered together utterly contemning and despising the Vanities of this world, did lead a most chaste and godly life, living in prayers, reading, and disputations, not puffed up with pride, nor contentious with frowardness, neither full of envy, no man possessed any things of his own, no man was chargeable or burdensome unto others, they wrought with their Hands to get that which might sustain the Body, the Spirit and minde not let and hindered from God. Whatsoever did superabound more than was necessary for their sustentation, as by the restraint of their delicious and delicate fare much did redound of the labours of their Hands, it was with such diligence distributed unto the poor and needy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them which did give the same.

For they by no means went about to have abundance lying by them, but sought all means possible that nothing should remain by them more than sufficient: besides this, no man was forced to any extremity, which he could not bear or suffer, no man had any thing laid upon him which he refused, neither was he condemned of the rest, which confessed himself unable to imitate or follow; they had always in their mind how commendable a thing love and charity was; they remembered that all things are clean to them which are clean. Therefore they did not refuse or reject any kinds of meat as polluted or defiled; but all their whole industry and labour was applied to subdue lust and concupiscence, and to retain love amongst Brethren. Many of them did drink no Wine, yet notwithstanding they thought not themselves defiled therewithal. For unto such as were sick and diseased, who could not recover the health of their Body without the same, they did most gently permit it. And whereas many foolishly refused the same, they brotherly admonished them to take heed that they became not rather the weaker than the holier, through their vain superstition.

Precepts of men more exactly exacted than the precepts of God.

Hitherto I have repeated that which Saint *Augustine* writeth of the Monks of his time, whereby I would as it were paint out in a Table, what manner of Monkerie there was in the old time, that all men might understand how great difference there is between that and the Monkerie in these our later days. For he would have all extreme Compulsion to be taken away in such things as by the Word of God are left to us at liberty. But now adays there is nothing more severely and cruelly exacted. For they say it is a remediless offence if any do but never so little swerve from their prescript order in colour or kind of garment, or in any kind of meat, or in any other frivolous or vain ceremony.

Menace & pleasure the weapons of his ancient tyranny.

Saint *Augustine* doth straightly affirm that it is not lawful for Monks to live idle upon other mens labour; he plainly denyeth that in his time there was any such example of any well ordered Monastery: but our Monks do constitute the principal part of holiness in idleness, which they call a contemplative life; wherefore the state or Monkerie of the old time, and of these our days, is in all points so divers, that scarce can any thing be more unlike, I will not say utterly contrary; for our Monks not content with that godliness to the study and desire whereof Christ commandeth all his continually to be intentive, they imagine a new kind of godliness, I know not what, by the mediation whereof they are more perfect, than all other. But it is a most pestilent error (which all godly men ought to abhor) to fain any other rule of perfection, than that common rule delivered unto the whole Universal Church, which we suppose to be sufficiently approved in the refutation of the Article before passed. Now I also pass over with silence the great Blasphemy, whereby they compare their Monastical Confession unto Baptism. I also hold my peace that they do dissipate and divide the Communion of the Church, when, as they do separate themselves from the lawful society and fellowship of the faithful, and claim unto themselves

a peculiar minitery and private Administration of the Sacraments: but as Saint *Augustine* witnesseth, it was so far off, that the Monks in times past had any several Church or Administration of the Sacrament from others, as that they were a part and portion of the common people albeit that they dwelt asunder.

But if a man may touch the manner of these our Monks, what shall I call the Cloisters in these our days, otherwise then Brothel Houses, Swine sties, and dens of discord. Besides that, I will pass over their Fairs and Markets, which in these later days they do make of their Reliques of Martyrs, to build up *Sodom* again. Wherefore I conclude that this their kind of life which they claim unto themselves, is utterly wicked and naughty, the which is not established or grounded upon any certain calling of God, neither allowed by him: wherefore I may be bold to say that it is unlawful, because their Conscience hath nothing whereby to sustain it self before God, and whatsoever is not of Faith is sin.

And furthermore, so long as they do intangle and bind themselves with so many and so perverse and wicked kinds of worshipping, as the Monkerie now adays doth contain in it, I may well say that they are not consecrated unto God, but unto the Devil. For why, was it lawful for the Prophets to say, that the *Israelites* did offer their Children unto wicked Spirits, and not unto God, because that they did corrupt and violate the true worshipping of God with prophane Ceremonies? Is it not lawful then to speak the like of our Monks, which together with their Cows have put on a thousand snares of most wicked superstitions? Let every man now weigh and consider with himself, if I have done wickedly to with such Religions, as is this our Monkerie, to be utterly extinguished and rooted out. Moreover all Christian Princes should rightly and truly do their office, if as in times past *Jehus* pulled down and overthrew the High Places which his Elders the Kings of *Juda* had builded so they would abolish and drive away this kind of Monks.

It is plainly manifest by lawful proofs, that the said *John Borthwike* had, and presently hath divers Books suspected of Heresie, condemned as well by the Papal, as also Regal and ordinary Authority, and prohibited by the Law: that is to say, specially the New Testament commonly printed in English, *Oecolampadius*, *Melancthon*, and divers Treatises of *Erasmus* and other condemned Hereticks, also a Book intituled *Vno dissidentium*, the which containeth most manifest and great Errors and Heretical Assumptions, and hath read and studied the same as well openly as privily, and hath presented and communicated them unto others, and also hath instructed and taught many Christians in the same, to the end and purpose to divert and turn them away from the true Christian and Catholick Faith.

Borthwike.

O good God! who can suffer so great a Blasphemy? with what a filthy Cankered Stomack do these Romish Swine note the New Testament with Heresie? who would not judge it a most Venemous Tongue which dare pronounce and utter such contumacious words against the Holy Gospel of our Saviour Christ? Truly these men (howsoever they do pronounce me an Arch-Hereticke) do fill up the measure of all other Hereticks (I will not say Blasphemers) as the Jews which put Christ to death did of all other Murderers. How then shall these Serpents and flock of Vipers escape and flee the judgment of everlasting fire? I do not greatly stand or stay, that they do suspect *Oecolampadius*, *Melancthon*, or *Erasmus*, neither am I so mad to plead their cause, who as they are men of singular learning and eloquence, so do their writings manifestly declare, how falsely and wickedly these hypocrites impute this crime and slander of Heresie unto them.

It is manifest, that the said *John Borthwike* was so obstinate in all the foresaid Errors and Heresies, and so maintained and taught them with such an obdurate heart and mind, that he would not by any means be persuaded from them by his Friends and divers other persons which did dearly love and favour him, but chose rather obstinately to persevere in his said Errors.

Borthwike.

Borthwike.

I am willingly contented to be reduced to the Catholick Faith, but if that Satan raise up any storms or tempests against that, those I do something resist. Wherefore they most shamefully lye which do otherwise jest or talk of me; for I know not by what reason they call them my Friends which so greatly laboured to convert me, neither will more esteem them, than the *Madianites*, which in times past called the Children of *Israel* to do sacrifice unto their Idols. And furthermore, I desire the most high and mighty God, that he will never suffer me to swarve or turn away from this so holy, godly, and Christian obliancy and stubborness. The man is blest that hath set his whole hope and confidence upon the Lord, and hath not regarded or looked upon the proud or those which follow after lies.

The Sentence of Condemnation against Sir John Borthwike Knight, by the Cardinals, Bishops, and Abbots in Scotland, Anno 1540.

OF all which the Premises and many other Errors by him holden, spoken, published, affirmed, preached and taught, the common fame and report is, that the said Sir John Borthwike is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many as an Heretick, and principal Heretick, which holdeth evil Opinions of the Catholick Faith.

Sentence of
Condemnation
against
Borthwike.

Where we David by the Title of *St. Stephen* in Mount *Celia*, Prelate and Cardinal of the holy Church of *Rome*, Archbishop of *Saint Andrews*, Primate of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and born Legate of the Apostolick See, sitting after the manner of Judges in our Tribunal Seat, the most holy Gospels of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold as I look upon equity and justice, having only God and the verity and truth of the Catholick Faith before our eyes, his holy Name being first called upon; having, as is before said, hereupon holden a Council of wise Men, as well Divines as Lawyers, We pronounceth, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwike, called Captain Borthwike, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the Errors and Heresies before said, and wicked Doctrines manifestly condemned, as is aforesaid, and by lawful proofs against him in every of the premises had, being convicted and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a Fugitive, Runaway, and absent, even as though he were present, to be an Heretick, And is, and hath been convicted as an Heretick; And as a convicted Heretick and Heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterward to be delivered and left unto the Secular Power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit all and singular his goods, moveables and unmoveables, howsoever and by whatsoever Title they be gotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his Offices whatsoever he hath hitherto had, reserving notwithstanding the Dowry and such part and portion of his goods, as by the Law, Custom and Right of this Realm unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also we decree, that the Picture of the said John Borthwike being formed, made, and painted to his likeness, be carried through this our City to our Cathedral Church, and afterward to the Market-Cross of the same City, and there in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obliancy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwike be hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such like punishment due by order of Law unto Hereticks, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the tenour of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both Men and Women, of what dignity, state, degree, order, condition, or preeminence soever they be, or with whatsoever dignity or honour Ecclesiastical or Temporal they be honoured,

The Picture
of Borthwike
was carried
and con-
demned.

that from this day forward they do not receive or harbour the said Sir John Borthwike, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, convicted, and declared an Heretick, and Arch-heretick, into their Houses, Hospitals, Castles, Cities, Towns, Villages, or other Cottages whatsoever they be, or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing whatsoever it be, they do shew unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation and forfeitures; and if it happen that they be found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefore as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers and abettors of Hereticks, and shall be punished therefore according to the order of Law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due unto men in such behalf.

And now to prosecute such others as followed; beginning first in order with Thomas Forret and his Fellows: their story is this.

Persecutors.

Martyrs.

Thomas Forret, Priest.
Frier John Kelowe.
Frier Benarage.
Duncane Symphon, Priest.
Robert Foster, a Gentleman.

With three or four other men of
striveling, Martyrs.

Their Cause.

David Beaton
Bishop,
and Cardinal
of Saint Andrews.

George
Tricheton,
Bishop of
Dunkelden.

Not long after the burning of David Stratton and Mr. Gurlay above mentioned, in the days of David Beaton, Bishop, and Cardinal of Saint Andrews, and George Treicheton Bishop of Dunkelden, a Canon of Saint Colmes Inch, and Vicar of Dolone called Dean Thomas Forret, preached every Sunday to his Parishioners out of the Epistle or Gospel as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach, except a Black-Frier or a Gray-Frier: and therefore the Friers envied him, and accused him to the Bishop of Dunkelden (in whose Diocese he remained) as an Heretick, and one that shewed the Mysteries of the Scriptures to the Vulgar people in English, to make the Clergy detestable in the sight of the People: The Bishop of Dunkelden, moved by the Friers instigation, called the said Dean Thomas, and said to him, My Joy Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide your self. To whom Thomas said, I thank your Lordship heartily. Then the Bishop began his counsel after this manner.

My Joy Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the Epistle or Gospel every Sunday to your Parishioners, and that you take not the Cow, nor the uppermost Cloth take as from your Parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the Churchmen; and therefore my Joy Dean Thomas, I would you took your Cow and your uppermost Cloth as other Churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But 'tis enough for you, when you find any Good Epistle, or any good Gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy Church, to preach that, and let the rest be.

Thomas answered, My Lord, I think that none of my Parishioners will complain that I take not the Cow, nor the uppermost Cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have, and so my Lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us.

The Forret
Priest,
preacheth
and will
take as
from his
Parishioners.
Every day
he is an
Heretick
against the
Pope's
Catholick
Church.

X x x

And

And where your Lordship saith, it is too much to preach every Sunday; indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your Lordship did the like. Nay, nay, Deane Thomas (saith my Lord) let that be, for we are not ordained to Preach. Then said Thomas, where your Lordship biddeth me preach, when I find any good Epistle, or a good Gospel, truly my Lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil Epistle, or an evil Gospel; but if your Lordship will shew me the good Epistle, and the good Gospel, and the evil Epistle and the evil Gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil. Then spake my Lord stoutly and said, I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was, (and of these words rose a Proverb which is Common in Scotland, Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither new nor old Law;) therefore Dean Thomas; I will know nothing but my Portuise and my Pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these Fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it when you may not mend it. Thomas said, I trust my cause be just in the Presence of God; and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon, and so my Lord and he departed at that time. And soon after a Summons was directed from the Cardinal of Saint Andrews, and the said Bishop of Dunkeld upon the said Dean Thomas Forret, upon two Black Friars, called Frier John Kelow, and another called Benarage, and upon one Priest of Striveling called Dumcane Symphon, and one Gentleman called Robert Foster in Striveling, with other three or four, with them of the Town of Striveling; who at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death without any place for recantation, because (as was alleged) they were Heresiarchs, or chief Hereticks and Teachers of Heresies, and especially because many of them were at the Bridal and Marriage of a Priest, who was Vicar of Iwubody beside Striveling, and did eat Flesh in Lent at the said Bridal, and so they were all together burnt upon the Castle Hill at Edenborough, where they that were first burnt to the Stake godly and marvellously did comfort them which came behind.

Here followeth the manner of persecution used by the Cardinal of Scotland against certain Persons in Perth.

Anno
1543.

Persecutors.

David Beton
Bishop, and
Cardinal of
St. Andrews.

Proclamation in Scotland, permitting the private reading of the Scripture.

Blasphemous Doctrine of a Papist.

Martyrs.

Robert Lambie.
William Anderson.
James Hunter.
James Raveleson.
James Founleson.
Hellen Stirke his Wife.

Their Causes.

First, there was a certain Act of Parliament made in the Government of the Lord Hamelton, Earl of Arran, and Governour of Scotland, giving privilege to all Men of the Realm of Scotland, to read the Scriptures in their Mother Tongue and Language, including nevertheless all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by publique Proclamation, lacked not his own fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to see the truth, and abhor the Papistical Abominations. Amongst the which were certain persons in S. Johnston, as after is declared.

At this time there was a Sermon made by Frier Spense, in Saint Johnston, alias called Perth, affirming Prayer made to Saints to be so necessary, that without it their could be no hope of Salvation to Man. Which Blasphemous Doctrine a Burges of the said Town, cal-

led Robert Lambie, could not abide, but accused him in open audience of Erroneous Doctrine, and adjured him in Gods name to utter the truth: The which the Frier, being stricken with fear, promised to do: but the trouble, Tumult, and stir of the people increased so, that the Frier could have no audience, and yet the said Robert, with great danger of his life escaped the Hands of the Multitude, namely of the Women, who contrary to nature addressed them to extreme cruelty against him.

At this time in the year of our Lord, 1543, the Enemies of the truth procured John Charruons, who favoured the truth, and was Provost of the said City and Town of Perth, to be deposed from his Office by the said Governors Authority, and a Papist called Master Alexander Marbeck to be chosen in his Room, that they might bring the more easily their wicked and ungodly enterprise to an end.

After the deposing of the former Provost, and Election of the other, in the Month of January the year aforesaid, on Saint Pauls day, came to Saint Johnston, the Governor, the Cardinal, the Earl of Argyll, Justice Sir John Cambel of Lundie, Knight, and Justice Desfort, the Lord Borwick, the Bishops of Dunblane, and Orkney, with certain other of the Nobility. And although there were many accused for the Crime of Heresie (as they term it) yet these persons only were apprehended upon the said St. Pauls day, Robert Lambie, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Founleson, and Hellen Stirke his Wife, and were callt that night in the Spay Tower of the said City the morrow after to abide judgement.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared and were brought forth to judgement in the Town, was laid in general to all their charge the violating of the Act of Parliament before exprest, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of Scripture against the tenor of the said Act. Robert Lambie was accused in special for interrupting of the Frier in the Pulpit; which he not only confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, which understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry which there were present in judgement, who hid the knowledge of the Truth, should bear the burden in Gods presence for consenting to the same.

The said Robert also with William Anderson, and James Raveleson were accused for hanging up the Image of Saint Francis in a cord, nailing of Rams Horns hanging to his head, and a Cowes rump to his tail, and for eating of a goose on Alhallow Even.

James Hunter being a simple man and without learning, and a Fletcher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in Doctrine, yet because he often used that suspect company of the rest, he was accused.

The Woman Hellen Stirke was accused, for that in her Child-bed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but only upon God for Jesus Christs sake, and because she said in like manner, that if the herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the Virgin, in making her the Mother of Christ, thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour to be made the Mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other Women, but Gods only free mercy exalted her to that estate. Which words were counted most execrable in the face of all the Clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson aforesaid, building a Houfe, set upon the round of his fourth flair the three Crowned Diadem of Peter carved of Tree, which the Cardinal took as done in mockage of his Cardinals Hat, and this procured no favour to the said James at their Hands.

These forenamed persons upon the morrow after Saint Pauls day were condemned and judged to death, and that by an Assise, for violating (as was alleged) the Act of Parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon Scriptures, for eating Flesh upon days forbidden,

Robert Lambie Martyr.

Robert Lambie in great danger.

A Papist set in office.

Robert Lambie, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Founleson, Hellen Stirke.

Hellen Stirke his wife callt in Prison.

James Raveleson, for calling upon Jesus and not our Lady, in Childbed.

James Hunter, for using suspect company.

Hellen Stirke for calling upon Jesus and not our Lady, in Childbed.

Raveleson, for setting up in his house a triple crown of St. Peter.

for interrupting the holy Frier in the Pulpit, for dishonouring of Images, and blaspheming of the Virgin Mary, as they alleadged.

After Sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly intreated. Which thing the Woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the Sergeants with her Husband for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the Town in the mean season for the life of these persons aforesaid, to the Governour, who of himself was willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered. But the Governour was so subject to the appetite of the cruel Priests, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they menaced to afflict his Enemies and to depose him, except he assuaged their cruelty.

There were certain Priests in the City, who did eat and drink before in these honest mens Houses, to whom the Priests were much bounden. These Priests were earnestly desired to intreat for their Hostels at the Cardinals hands: but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death, than preservation. So cruel are these Beasts from the lowest to the highest.

Then after, they were carried by a great band of Armed men (for they feared Rebellion in the Town except they had their Men of War) to the place of Execution, which was common to all Thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the People.

Robert Lambe at the Gallows-foot made his Exhortation to the People, desiring them to fear God, and leave the Leaven of Papistical abominations, and manifestly there prophesied of the ruine and plague which came upon the Cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should Sup together in the Kingdom of Heaven that Night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The Woman desired earnestly to die with her Husband, but she was not suffered; yet following him to the place of Execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christs sake, and parting from him with a kiss, said on this manner, *Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good Night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the Kingdom of Heaven.*

The Woman after that was taken to a plate to be drowned, and albeit she had a Child sucking on her Breast, yet this moved nothing the unmerciful hearts of the Enemies. So after he had commended her Children to the Neighbours of the Town for Gods sake, and the sucking Barn was given to the Nurse, she sealed up the Truth by her death. *Ex Regist. & instrumentis à Scotia missis.*

The Condemnation of Mr. George Wifchart Gentleman, who suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of Christ Jesus at St. Andrews in Scotland, An. 1546. Mar. 1. with the Articles objected against him, and his Answers to the same.

With most tender affection and unfeigned heart consider (gentle Reader) the uncharitable manner of the Accusation of Mr. George Wifchart, made by the bloody Enemies of Christs Faith. Note also the Articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and his meek Answers so far as he had leave and leisure to speak. Finally, ponder with no dissembling Spirit the furious rage and tragical cruelties of the malignant Church, in persecuting of this blessed Man of God; and of the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly Answers made to them suddenly without all fear, not having respect to their glorious menaces and boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop answering, not moving his countenance, nor changing his visage, as in his Accusation hereafter following manifestly shall appear.

But before I enter into his Articles, I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, and certified in Writing by a certain Scholar of his, sometime named *Emery Tynley*, whose

words of Testimonial, as he wrote them to me, here follow.

About the Year of our Lord 1543. there was in the University of Cambride came Mr. George Wifchart, commonly called Mr. George of Benets Colledge, who was a Man of Tall stature, Bald-headed, and on the same a round French-Cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his Physionomy, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his Country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled, having on him for his habit or cloathing, never but a Mantle or Frieze Gown to the Shoes, a black Millian Fustian Doublet, and plain black Hose, coarse new Canvass for his Shirts, and white falling Bands and Cuffs at his hands. All the which Apparel he gave to the Poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French-Cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

He was a Man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his Charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort Nature. He lay hard upon a puff of Straw, and coarse new Canvass Sheets, which when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his Bed-side a Tub of Water, in the which, (his People being in Bed, the Candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light Night discerned him; he loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his People thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor Boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! For in his Religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the Nobility, that came for a Treaty to King Henry the Eighth. His Learning was no less sufficient, than his desire; always prest and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the House privately, and in the School publicly, professing and reading divers Authors.

If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

All this I testify with my whole heart, and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

T. T. S.

Emery Tynley.

Dogmata ejusdem Georgii.

Fides sola sine operibus justificat.

Opera ostendunt & ostendunt fidem.

Romana Ecclesia putat vix capax mundi.

Lex Canonica caput Papae.

Missae ministerium, mysterium iniquitatis.

To the said Mr. George being in Captivity in the Castle of St. Andrews, the Dean of the same Town was sent by the commandment of the Cardinal, and his wicked Counsel, and there summoned the said Master George, that he should upon the Morning following appear before the Judge, then and there to give account of his feditious and heretical Doctrine.

To whom Mr. George answered, What needeth he said he, my Lord Cardinal to summon me to answer for my Doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straightly bound with Irons? May not my Lord compel me to answer of his extortion? Or believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my Doctrine? To manifest your selves

X x 3

what

Mr. George Wifchart answered to the Dean that summoned him to appear.

Mr. George Wifchart answered to the Dean that summoned him.

what man ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old Ceremonies, and Constitutions made by men.

Upon the next morning, the Lord Cardinal caused his Servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with *Jack, Knapikal, Splent, Speare, and Ax*, more ferring for the Warr, than for the preaching of the true Word of God.

Mr. Wicliart brought again before the Bishop.

And when these armed Champions marching in warlike order had conveyed the Bishops into the Abbey Church, incontinently they sent for Master George, who was conveyed into the said Church by the Captain of the Castle, accompanied with an hundred men addressed in manner aforelaid; Like a Lamb led they him to Sacrifice. As he entred into the Abbey Church Door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities asking of his Alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the Lord Cardinal, by and by the Subprior of the Abbey, called Dean *John Wiclym*, stood up in the Pulpit, and made a Sermon to all the Congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of xiii. Chapter of *Matthew*, whose Sermon was divided into four principal parts.

Mr. Wicliart caeth his purse to a poor man.
The Sermon of John Wiclym.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the *Evangelist*.

Here he defined.

The second part, of the interpretation of the good feed. And because he called the Word of God the good feed, and Herefies the evil feed, he declared what Herefies was, and how it should be known; which he defined on this manner, Herefies is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the Word of God.

The cause of Herefies.

The third part of the Sermon was, the cause of Herefies within that Realm, and all other Realms. The cause of Herefies (quoth he) is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens Soules: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to win again the false Doctors of Herefies, with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; and not onely to win again, but also to overcome them, as saith Paul. *A Bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the Minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre, but barborous, one that loveth goodnest, sober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true Word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve that which they say against him.*

Ti. 17.

The manner to know an Herefick.

The fourth part of his Sermon was how Herefies should be known. Herefies (quoth he) be known after this manner: as the Goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the imperfect, by the Touchstone; so likewise may we know Herefies by the undoubted Touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God. At the last he added, That Hereficks should be put down in this present life. To which Proposition the Gospel appeared to repugn, which he intreated of; *Let them go unto the Harvest*; the Harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the Civil Magistrate and Law. And when he ended his Sermon, incontinently they caused Master George to ascend into the Pulpit, there to hear his Accusation and Articles. And right against them stood by one of the fed flock, a Monister, *John Lauder*, laden full of curlings written in Paper. Of which he took out a Roll, both long and also full of curlings, threats, maledictions, and words of devillish spight and malice, saying to the innocent Mr. George so many cruel and abominable words and he hit him so spightfully with the Popes thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded left the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing his sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

The Gospel was of letting the tares to grow unto Harvest.

John Lauder accuser.

The way to fear the ignorant.

When that this fed Sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a Boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, what answerest thou to these sayings, thou runnagate Traitor, Thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee? Master George hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the Pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had en-

The fruits of their churlish.

ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this manner.

Master George his Answer.

Many horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable to hear ye have spoken here this day, which not onely to teach, but also to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your Discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings and the manner of my Doctrine. This my Petition (my Lord) I desire to be heard for three causes.

Three causes why Master Wicliart desired to be heard.

The first is, Because through preaching of the Word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly the pure Word of God, without any diffimulation.

The second reason is, Because that your health springeth of the Word of God; for he worketh all things, by his Word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing if ye should stop your Ears from me, teaching truly the Word of God.

The 2. cause

The third reason is, because your Doctrine uttereth many Blasphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inspiration of God, but of the Devil, with no less peril than of my life. It is just therefore and reasonable that your Discretions should know what my words and Doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this Realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your Soules. Wherefore both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your Discretions to hear me, and in the mean time I shall recite my Doctrine without any colour.

Mr. Wicliart's Doctrine.

First and chiefly, since the time I came into this Realm I taught nothing but the ten Commandments of God, the twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the Mother Tongue. Moreover, in *Dundee* I taught the Epistle of Saint Paul to the *Romans*. And I shall shew your Discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread; so that your Discretions give your Ears benevolent and attent.

The cry of the Scribes and Pharisees

Suddenly then with an high voice cried the Accuser, the fed Sow, Thou Herefick, Runnagate, Traitor, and Thief, it was not lawful for three to preach. Thou hast taken the Power at thine own hand, without any Authority of the Church. We forethink that thou hast been a Preacher so long. Then all the whole Congregation of the Prelates, with their Complices, said these words; If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the Holy Scripture so exercised, that he will perfwade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us.

Wicliart appeals to the Lord Governor, the Governor.

Master George seeing their malicious and wicked intent appealed from the Lord Cardinal to the Lord Governor, as to an indifferent and equal Judge. To whom the Accuser, *John Lauder* aforelaid, with hoggish voice answered; Is not my Lord Cardinal the second Person within this Realm, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Bishop of Morrois, Commendator of *Aberbrothok*, *Legatus natus*; *Legatus a Latere*?

The style and titles of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

And so reciting as many Titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a Ship, much sooner an Ass; Is not he (quoth *John Lauder*) an equal Judge apparently unto thee? Whom other desirest thou to be thy Judge?

To whom this humble man answering, said, I refuse not my Lord Cardinal, but I desire the Word of God to be my Judge, and the Temporal Estate, with some of your Lordships mine Auditors, because I am here my Lord Governors Prisoner. Whereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by mocked him, saying, Such man, such Judge; speaking seditious and proachful words against the Governor and other the Nobles, meaning them also to be Hereficks. And incontinent without all delay they would have given Sentence upon Master George, and that without further Process, had not certain men there counselled the Cardinal to read again the Articles, and to hear his Answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful Condemnation.

The words which people against the Governor.

And

And shordly to declare, these were the Articles following, with his Answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak. For when he intended to mitigate their feelings, and shew the manner of his Doctrin, by and by they stopped his mouth with another Article.

1 *Thou false Heretick, Runnagate, Traitor and Thief, deceiver of the people, thou despitest the Holy Church, and in it like calf condemnest my Lord Governors Authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and was charged by my Lord Governors Authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but perseveredst in the same; and therefore the Bishop of Brothne cursed thee, and delivered thee into the Devils Hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. That notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately.*

Answer. My Lords, I have read in the *Acts* of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the Gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, *We shall rather obey God than Man.* I have also read in the Prophet *Malachy*, *I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings*, believing firmly, that the Lord will turn your cursings into blessings.

2 *Thou false Heretick didst say, That the Priest standing at the Altar, saying Mass, was like a Fox wagging his tail in July.*

Answer. My Lords, I said not so, These were my sayings; The moving of the Body outward, without the inward moving of the Heart, is naught else but the playing of an Ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a Secret Searcher of Mens Hearts; therefore who will cruelly Adore and Honour God, he must in Spirit and Verity honour him. Then the Accuser stopped his mouth with another Article:

3 *Thou false Heretick preachedst against the Sacraments, saying, that there were not seven Sacraments.*

Answer. Of the seven Sacraments. My Lords, if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the Sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ are shewed to us by the *Evangel*, I profess openly. Except it be the Word of God I dare affirm nothing.

4 *Thou false Heretick hast openly taught, that Auricular Confession is not a blessed Sacrament. And thou sayest that we should only confesse us to God, and to no Priest.*

Answer. My Lords, I say, that Auricular Confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the *Evangel*, therefore it cannot be a Sacrament. Of the Confession to be made to God, there are many Testimonies in Scripture, as when *David* saith, *I thought I would knowledge mine iniquity against my self unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin*, *Psalms*, 32. Here Confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reprov'd no manner of Confession. And further Saint *James* saith, *Knowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.* When that he had said these words, the Bishops and their Complices cried and prinned with their teeth, saying, See ye not what colours he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile us and seduce us to his opinion?

5 *Thou Heretick didst say openly, that it was necessary to every man to know and underſtand his Baptism, and what it was, contrary to general Councils and the Estate of the Holy Church.*

Answer. My Lords, I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make Merchandize with a French Man, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the French Man or stranger: So likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the Infant unto God in Baptism. For this cause I believe ye have Confirmation. Then said Master *Beiter* Chaplain, that he had the Devil within him, and the Spirit of Error. Then answered him a Child, saying, The Devil cannot speak such words as yonder Man doth speak.

6 *Thou Heretick, Traitor, Thief, thou saidst that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a piece of Bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing else, and all that is there done, is but a Superstitious Rise against the Commandment of God.*

Answer. Oh Lord God! so manifest Lies and Blaspemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, my Lords, I never taught any thing against the Scripture, the which I shall, by Gods Grace, make manifest this day, I being ready therefore to suffer death.

The lawful use of the Sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly shew your Lordships. I once came to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing upon the water of *Rhene*. I did inquite of him what was the cause of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true *Messias* was come, considering that they had seen all the Prophecies which were spoken of him, to be fulfilled. Moreover the Prophecies taken away, and the Scepter of *Juda*, and by many other Testimonies of the Scripture I vanquished him that *Messias* was come, the which they called *Jesus of Nazareth*. This Jew answered again unto me, when *Messias* cometh, he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the Law, which was given to our Forefathers, as ye do.

For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them: but amongst us Jews (though we be poor) there are no beggars found.

Secondarily, it is forbidden by the Law to fain any kind of Imagery of things in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Sea under the Earth, but one God only is to be honoured: but your Sanctuaries and Churches are full of Idols.

Thirdly, a piece of Bread baken upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say, that it is your God. I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true. Then the Bishops shook their Heads, and spitted on the Earth, and what I meant further in this matter they would not hear.

7 *Thou false Heretick didst say, that Extreme Unction was not a Sacrament.*

Answer. My Lords, forsooth I never taught any thing of Extreme Unction in my Doctrine, whether it were a Sacrament or no.

8 *Thou false Heretick saidst, that Holy Water is not so good as wash and such like. Thou condemnedst Conjurings, and saidst Holy Churches cursings avail not.*

Answer. My Lords, as for Holy Water what strength it is of, I taught never in my Doctrin, Conjurings and Exorcisms, if they were conformable to the Word of God I would commend them; but inso much as they are not conformable to the Commandment and Word of God, I reprove them.

9 *Thou false Heretick and Runnagate hast said, that every lay-man is a Priest, and such like, Thou saidst, that the Pope hath no more Power, than any other Man.*

Answer. My Lords, I taught nothing but the Word of God, I Remember that I have read in some places in *St. John* and *St. Peter*, of the which the one saith *He hath made us Kings and Priests*. The other saith, *He hath made us a Kingly Priesthood*. Wherefore I have affirmed that any man being cunning in the Word of God, and the true Faith of *Jesus Christ*, hath this Power given him from God, and not by the Power or Violence of Men, but by the Verue of the Word of God, the which Word is called the Power of God as witnesseth *St. Paul* evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned Man, not exercised in the Word of God, nor yet constant in his Faith, whatsoever Estate or Order he be of, I say, loose, he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the Instrument, by the which he bindeth or looseth, that is to say, the Word of God.

After that he had said these words, all the Bishops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, Laugh ye (saith he) my Lords? Though that these sayings appear scornful and worthy of derision to your Lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only upon my self, but also the honour and glory of God. In the mean time many godly men beholding the woodness and great cruelty of the Bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, did greatly mourn and lament.

10 Thou false Heretick saidst, that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoikes, which say, that it is not in mans will to do any thing, but that all concupiscence and desire cometh by God, whatsoever kind it be of.

Answer. My Lords, I said not so, truly; I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St. John, If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free. Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are Bondservants of Sin, He that sinneth is bound to sin.

11 Thou false Heretick saidst, it is as lawful to eat Flesh upon the Friday, as on Sunday.

Answer. Picaeth in your Lordships, I have read in the Epistles of Saint Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctified by the Word the Creature of God. But the Creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a Creature may not sanctifie any impure and unfaithful man. But to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. After these sayings of Master George then said all the Bishops with their Complices; what needeth us any witness against him? hath he not openly here spoken Blasphemy?

12 Thou false Heretick dost say, that we should not pray to Saints, but to God only, Say whether thou hast said this, or no; say shortly.

Answer. For the weakness and Infirmity of the Hearers he said without doubt plainly, that Saints should not be honoured. My Lord (said he) there are two things worthy of Note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in Scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the First Commandment, Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God, with all thy Heart. But as for praying to and honouring of Saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear, or no, Invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my Doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our Master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the Door by the which we must enter in. He that entrencheth in by this Door but climbeth another way, is a Thief and a Murderer. He is the Verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the falshood of my Doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the Word of God I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your Lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the Word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing. These sayings he rehearsed divers times.

13 Thou false Heretick hast Preached plainly, saying that there is no Purgatory, and that it is a fained thing, any man after this life to be punished in Purgatory.

Answer. My Lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without exprets Witnesses and Testimony of the Scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was ashamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the Scripture. Then said he to Master John Lauder his Accuser, If you have any Testimony of the Scripture, by the which you may prove any such place, shew it now before this Auditory. But this doth had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a Beetle in that matter.

14 Thou false Heretick hast taught plainly against the Vows of Monks, Friars, Nuns, and Priests; saying, That whosoever was bound to such like Vows, they Vowed themselves to the Estate of Damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for Priests to Marry Wives, and not to live sole.

Of sooth, my Lords, I have read in the Evangel, that there are three kinds of chaste men; some are gelded from their Mothers Womb; some are gelded by men; and some have gelded themselves for the Kingdom of Heavens sake. Verily, I say these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of Chastity, nor yet for the Evangel have overcome the Concupiscence of the Flesh, and have Vowed Chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what Inconvenience they have Vowed themselves.

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten Concubines, than one Married Wife.

15 Thou false Heretick and Runnagate sayest, thou wilt not obey our General nor Provincial Councils.

My Lords, what your General Councils are I know not, I was never exercised in them, but to the pure Word of God I gave my labours. Read here your General Councils, or else give me a Book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the Word of God, I will not disagree. Then the ravening Wolves turned into Woodcocks and said, Wherefore let we him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the Articles, and say not upon them. Among these cruel Tygers there was one false Hypocrite, a seducer of the People, called John Graisford Scot, standing behind John Lauder: Back, hausting him to read the rest of the Articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly Answers. For we may not abide them, quoth he, no more than the Devil may abide the sign of the Cross, when it is named.

16 Thou Heretick sayest, that it is in vain to build to the honour of God costly Churches, seeing that God remaineth not in the Churches made with Mens Hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as betwixt the Priests Hands.

My Lords, Solomon saith, If that the Heaven of Heavens cannot comprehend them, how much less this House that I have builded? And Job consenteth to the same Sentence. Seeing that he is higher than the Heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than Hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the Earth, and broader than the Sea. So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I never said that Churches should be destroyed, but of the contrary I affirm ever, that Churches should be sustained and upholden, that the people should be Congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wherefore is true Preaching of the Word of God, and the lawful use of the Sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself: so that both these sayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended in any place, and wherefore two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he present in the midst of them.

Then said he to his Accuser, If you think any otherwise than I say, shew forth your Reasons before this Auditory. Then he without all reason being dumb, and not answering one word, proceeded forth in his Articles.

17 Thou false Heretick contemnest fasting and sayest thou shouldst not fast.

My Lords, I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the Gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the Body; but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast.

18 Thou false Heretick hast Preached openly saying, that the Soul of Man shall sleep till the latter day of Judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day.

God full of mercy and goodnes forgive them that say such things of me: I wot and know surely by the Word of God, that he which hath begun to have the Faith of Iesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, I know surely that the Soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life. The which life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented; nor yet shall ever perill or have an end, but ever immortall shall live with Christ. To the which life all that beleeve in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory, Amen.

When the Bishops with their Complices had accused this innocent men in manner and form afore said, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an Heretick, not having respect to his godly Answers and true Reasons which he alledged, nor yet to their own Consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good Sacrifice, conformable to the saying of Saint John, They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall think that he hath done to God good service.

John 16.

The Prayer of Master George Wifhart.

O Immortal God, how long shalt thou suffer the wondres and great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy Servants which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to be contrary, that is, to cloke and destroy the true Doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast loved thy self unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy Name. O Lord, we know surely that thy true Servants must needs suffer, for thy Names sake, Persecution, Affliction and Troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast shewed to us, by thy Prophets and Apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend and help thy Congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy graces to hear thy word, and to be thy true Servants in this present life.

Then by and by they caused the common People to void away, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man to speak. Then the Sons of darkness pronounced their Sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and said, the Cardinal caused his Warders to pass again with the meek Lamb into the Castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Castle, then there came two gray fiends, Frier Seer and his mate, saying, Sir, ye must make your confession unto us. He answered and said, I will make no confession unto you: Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him. Then they sent for the Subprior of the Abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he said in this confession, I cannot shew.

When the fire was made ready, and the Gallows at the West part of the Castle near to the Priory, the Lord Cardinal dreading that Master George should have been taken away by his Friends, commanded to bend all the Ordinance of the Castle right against that part, and commanded all his Gunners to be ready and stand beside their Guns, until such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Master Georges hands behind his back, and led him forth with their Souldiers from the Castle, to the place of their wicked Execution. As he came forth of the Castle Gate, there met him certain Beggars asking him Alms for Gods sake. To whom he answered, I want my hands wherewith I should give you Alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities both unto your Bodies and Souls. Then afterward met him two false fiends, I should say Friers, saying, Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be Mediatrix for you to her Son. To whom he answered meekly, Cease, tempt me not, my Brethren. After this he was led to the fire with a Rope about his neck, and a Chain of Iron about his middle.

The martyrdom of master George Wifhart. The burning of the blessed Martyr Adam Wallace.



When that he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees and rose again, and thrice he said these words, O thou Saviour of the world have mercy on me. Father of Heaven I commend my Spirit into thy holy hands. When he had made this Prayer, he turned him to the People and said these words.

I beseech you Christian Brethren and Sisters, that ye be not offended in the Word of God for the Affliction and Torments, which ye see already prepared for me; But I exhort you that you love the Word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the

words sake, which is your undoubted Salvation, and everlasting comfort.

Moreover, I pray you shew my Brethren and Sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off the Word of God which I taught unto them, after the grace given to me, for any Persecutions or Troubles in this world, which last not; and shew unto them, that my Doctrine was no old Wives Fables after the Constitutions made by men. And if I had taught mens Doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men. But for the words sake and true Evangel, which was given to

The constant patience of this good man.

M. George Wijnart prayeth for his enemies and forgiveth them

M. George Wijnart prophesieth of the death of the Cardinal, which followed after.

to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christs sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim face I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if that any Persecution come unto you for the Words sake, and not to fear that it shall flay the Body, and afterward have no power to flay the Soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the Soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my Faith is such, that my Soul shall Sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours; for whom I suffer this. Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, I beseech thee Father of Heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me, I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.

And last of all he said to the People on this manner; I beseech you Brethren and Sisters to exhort your Prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked Error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew. Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel Torments, which were then prepared for him.

And at last of all the Hangman, that was his Tormentor, fate down upon his knees, and said; Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death. To whom he answered, come hither to me. When that he was come to him, he kissed his Cheek, and said, Lo here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine Office; and by and by he was put upon the Gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to Powder. When that the People beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent Lambs slaughter.

A Note of the just punishment of God upon the cruel Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews, named Beaton.

The just judgment of God upon D. Beaton, a bloody murderer of Gods Saints.

The death of David Beaton, Archbp. of S. Andrews.

Jo. Hamelton Archbishop of S. Andrews, J. Hamelton a Persecutor.

IT was not long after the Martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Master George Wijnart aforesaid, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody Archbishop and Cardinal of Scotland, as is above specified, Anno, 1546. the first day of March, but the said David Beaton Archbishop of St. Andrews, by the just revenge of Gods mighty Judgment, was slain within his own Castle of St. Andrews by the hands of one Leeb and other Gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake suddenly into his Castle upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year, the last day of May, crying out, *Alas, alas, slay me not, I am a Priest.* And so like a Butcher he lived, and like a Butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a Carrion buried in a Dughill, Anno, 1546. *Maii uli. Exhibitor. Impressa.*

After this David Beaton succeeded John Hamelton Archbishop of St. Andrews, Anno 1549. who to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferior to his Predecessour, in augmenting the number of the holy Martyrs of God, in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was Adam Wallace. The order and manner of whose Story here followeth.

The Story and Martyrdom of Adam Wallace in Scotland.

Adam Wallace Martyr.

THERE was set upon a Scaffold made hard to the Chancelary Wall of the Black-Friers Church in Edinburgh, on Seats made thereupon, the L. Governour. Above him at his back fate Master Gavin Hamelton Dean of Glasgow, representing the Metropolitan Pastor thereof. Upon a Seat on his right hand fate the Archbishop of Saint Andrews. At his back and side somewhat stood the Official Lenthame. Next to the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunblane, the

Bishop of Murray, the Abbot of Dunfermling, the Abbot of Glendace, with other Churchmen of lower estimation, as the Official of St. Andrews, and other Doctrs of that nelt and City. And at the other end of the Seat fate Master Uchillrie. On his left hand fate the Earl of Argyll Justice, with his Deputy Sir John Campbell of Lundy, at his feet. Next him the Earl of Huntley. Then the Earl of Angush, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Prior of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Orkney, the Lord Forbes, Dean John Wemyss Subprior of Saint Andrews, and behinde the seats stood the whole Senate, the Clerk of the Register, &c.

At the further end of the Chancelarie wall in the Pulpit was placed Master John Lauder Parson of Marbattle Accuser, clad in a Surplice, and red Hood, and a great Congregation of the whole People in the Body of the Church, standing on the ground. After that Sir John Ker, Prebendary of Saint Giles Church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a Sentence of divorce, whereby he falsely divorced and parted a man and his lawful Wife in the name of the Dean of Roscalrige and certain other Judges appointed by the holy Father the Pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant nor moved by the foresaid Judges, and was agreed to be banished the Realms of Scotland and England for his life time, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the mean time to leave his Benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

After that was brought in Adam Wallace, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cunnocke Servant to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, and set in the midst of the Scaffold, who was commanded to look to the Accuser; who asked him what was his name? he answered, Adam Wallace. The Accuser said he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Fene. Then asked he where he was born? Within two mile of Feyle, said he; in Kyle. Then said the Accuser, I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these Noble Lords to so great embarrassment this day by your vain speaking. And I must speak, said he, as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body. Would God (said the Accuser) ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for so horrible crimes of Heresie, as never were imagined nor heard of in this Country before, and shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it should be heard, for hurting of weak Consciences. Now I will ye thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of.

Adam Wallace, alias Fene: thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the Blasphemies and abominable Heresies under written. In the first thou hast said and taught that the Bread and Wine on the Altar, after the words of Consecration, are not the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He turned to the Lord Governour, and Lords aforesaid, saying; I never said, nor taught any thing but that I found in this Book and Writ (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English) which is the Word of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and his Word be judge to me, and this his holy Writ here it is, and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me; for I never said anything concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this Writ.

What didst thou say, said the Accuser? I said, quoth he, that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the Paschal Lamb in his latter Supper with his Apostles, and fulfilled the Ceremonies of the old Law, he instituted a new Sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took Bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *Take ye, eat.* *Much. 16.* *ye, this is my Body which shall be broken and given for you. And likewise the Cup, blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the Cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance.*

Then

The condemnation of Adam Wallace, a poor man, Conventus Scribae & Philistini adversus Dominum, & adversus Christum &c.

Tormentum legem, poor Christ taken and crucified.

Adam Wallace, alias Fene, brought in before the Scribes and Pharisees. J. Lauder his Accuser, Adam Wallace otherwise named J. Fene.

The Sacrament of the Popish Altar. The Doctrine of Adam Wallace touching the Sacrament of the Lords Body.

Then said the Bishop of Saint Andrews and the Official of *Louthain*, with the Dean of *Glasgow*, and many other Prelats, We know this well enough. The Earl of *Huntley* said, Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea thereto. He answered, if ye will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the Word, which is the Trial and Touchstone, faith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the World.

Why (quoth the Earl of *Huntley*) hast thou not a Judge good enough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his Word? Answer to that is spoken to thee. And then they made the Accuser speak the something over again. Thou sayst, quoth the Accuser, and hast taught, that the Bread and the Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration, are not the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

He answered, I never said more than the Writ faith, nor yet more than I have said before. For I know well by St. Paul when he faith, *Whosoever eateth this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation.* And therefore when I taught (which was but seldom, and to them only which required and desired me) I said, That if the Sacrament of the Altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his Divine Power, by the which he is over all.

The Bishop of *Orkney* asked him, Believest thou not, said he, that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration, is the very Body of God, Flesh, Blood, and Bone?

He answered, I wote not what that word Consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the holy Ghost, and born of the *Virgin Mary*, and hath a natural Body, with hands, feet, and other Members, and in the same Body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he suffered death under *Pontius Pilate*, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same Body again the third day; and the same Body ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to Judge both the quick and the dead. And that this Body is a natural Body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he sheweth well himself; for the which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear: when the Woman brake that Ointment on him, answering to some of his Disciples which grudged therat, he said, *The Poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always.* Meaning of his natural Body. And likewise at his ascension said he to the same Disciples that were fleshy, and would ever have had him remaining with them Corporally; *It is needful for you that I pass away; for if I pass not away, the Comforter the holy Ghost shall not come to you;* (meaning that his natural Body behooved to be taken away from them) *But be stout and be of good cheer, for I am with you unto the Worlds end.*

And that the eating of his very Flesh profiteth not, may well be known by his words which he spake in the sixth of *John*; where after that he had said, *Except ye eat my flesh and drink my Blood, ye shall not have life in you;* they murmuring therat, he reproved them for their grofs and fleshy taking of his words, and said, *What will ye think when ye see the Son of man ascend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing, to be eaten as they took it, and even so take ye it.*

It is an horrible Heresie, said the Bishop of *Orkney*. When he began to speak again, and bade the Lord Governor judge if he had right by the Writ, the Accuser cried, *Ad secundum.* *Nunc ad secundum*, answered the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*.

Then was he bidden to hear the Accuser, who pronounced the second Article, and said, Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach that the Mass is very Idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.

He answered and said, I have read the Bible and Word of God in three Tongues, and have understood

them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word *Mass* in it all: but I found, said he, that the thing that was highest and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the Word of God, was Idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say the *Mass* is holden greatly in estimation, and high amongst men, and is not founded in the Word, therefore I said it was Idolatry. and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by Gods Word, I will grant mine Errour, and that I have failed; Otherwise not. And in that case I will submit me to all lawful correction and punishment. *Ad tertium*, said the Archbishop.

Then said the Accuser, Thou hast said and openly taught, That the God which we worship; is but Bread, sown of Corn, growing of the earth, baked of mens hands, and nothing else.

He answered, I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the Heaven and Earth, and all that is therein of nought; but I know not which God you worship; and if you will shew me whom you worship, I will shew you what he is, as I can by my Judgment.

Believest thou not (said the Accuser) that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration betwixt the Priests hands, is the very Body and Blood of the Son of God, and God himself? What the Body of God, is said he, and what kind of Body he hath, I have shewed you, so far as I have found in the Scripture.

Then said the Accuser, Thou hast preached, said, and openly taught divers and sundry other great Errours and abominable Heresies against all the seven Sacraments, which for shortness of time I premit and overpass. Whether dost thou grant thy foresaid Articles that thou art accused of, or no, and thou shalt hear them shortly. And then repeated the Accuser the three Articles aforesaid shortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

He answered that which before he had said of his Answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he understood, so God judge him, and his own Conscience accuse him, and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and to the contrary proved, even to the death: and he said to the Lord Governour and other Lords, if you condemn and me for holding by Gods Word, my innocent Blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the Judgment Seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance, as it is written, *Vengeance is mine and I will reward.*

Then gave they forth Sentence, and condemned him by the Laws, and so left him to the Secular Power, in the hands of Sir *John Campbell* Justice Deputy, who also given delivered him to the Provost of *Edenborough* to be burnt on the *Castle-Hill*, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermost house in the Town, with *Sir Hugh* rons about his Legs and neck, and gave charge to *Sir Hugh Terry* to keep the Key of the said house, an ignorant Minister and Imp of Satan and of the Bishops; who by direction sent to the poor man two Gray Friars, to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two black Friars, an English Frier, and another subtle Sophister, called *Abraham*, with the which English Frier he would have reasoned and declared his Faith by the Scriptures. Who answered, he had no Commission to enter into disputation with him, and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a worldly wife man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the Truth, the Dean of *Roscalrige*, who gave him Christian consolation, amongst the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the Sacrament after the Consecration. but he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy Scripture, and so passed over that night in singing, and lauding God to the tears of divers hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without Book, to his consolation: For they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him where ever he went. After that *Sir Hugh* knew that he had certain Books to read and comfort his Spirit, he came in a

Answer.

The Mass is not found in Scripture. Argument.

Article.

The Popes God.

The words of Adam Wallace to the Lord Governour and the Lords.

Sentence of Condemnation given against A. Wallace.

Sir Hugh Terry an Imp of Satan.

The Deceit of Roscalrige sent to A. Wallace. The Books of the good man taken from him.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews speaketh.

The Earl of Huntley speaketh.

Adam Wallace answereth by his Creed.

Christ's natural Body cannot be in two places at once.

Matth. 26.

John 16.

Matth. 23.

The eating of the very flesh of Christ profiteth nothing. John 6.

The Bishop of Orkney speaketh.

The 2. Article. A. Wallace.

rage and took the same from him, leaving him desolate (to his power) of all consolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his devilish venom, to have perverted him a poor Innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour; but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and seers for the time.

So all the next Morning abode this poor man in Irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning, against the next day. Which day the Lord Governor, and all the Principal both spiritual and temporal Lords, departed from *Edinburgh* to their other business.

After they were departed, came the Dean of *Roscel* rige to him again, and reasoned with him after his wit. Who answered as before, he would say nothing concerning his Faith, but as the Scripture testifieth, yea, though an Angel came from Heaven to persuade him to the same; saving that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said Dean in other behalf as becometh a Christian.

Then after came in the said *Terry* again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would gar Devils to come forth of him ere Even. To whom he answered, You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do; therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace. Then he asked of one of the Officers that stood by, Is your Fire making ready? Who told him it was. He answered, as it pleaseth God; I am ready soon or late as it shall please him; and then he spake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the Faithful, being sure to meet together with them in Heaven. From that time, to his forth coming to the Fire, spake no man with him.

At his forth coming, the Provost with great menacing words forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him, as belike he had commandment of his Superiors. Coming from the Town to the *Castle-Hill*, the common People said, God have mercy upon him. And on you too (said he). Being beside the Fire, he lifted up his eyes to Heaven twice or thrice, and said to the People, Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the Truths sake; for the Disciple is not greater than his Master. Then was the Provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to Heaven again, and said, They will not let me speak. The Cord being about his Neck, the Fire was lighted, and so departed he to God constantly, and with good countenance to our fights. *Ex testimonio & literis à Scotia petitis, Anno 1550.*

The Schism that arose in Scotland for the Pater Noster.

After that *Richard Marshall*, Doctor of Divinity, and Prior of the *Black-Friers* at the *New-Castle* in *England*, had declared in his Preaching at *St. Andrews* in *Scotland*, that the Lords Prayer (commonly called the *Pater Noster*) should be done only to God, and not to Saints, neither to any other Creature; the Doctors of the University of *St. Andrews*, together with the *Gray-Friers*, who had long ago taught the People to pray the *Pater Noster* to Saints, had great indignation that their old Doctrine should be repugned, and stirred up a *Gray-Frier*, called *Frier Taitus*, to preach again to the People, that they should and might pray the *Pater Noster* to Saints. Who finding no part of the Scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the Pulpit the first of *November*, being the Feast of *All-hallows*, Anno 1551. and took the Text of the Gospel for that day read in their Mass, *Blessed are the poor in spirit, for so them pertained the Kingdom of Heaven.*

This feeble foundation being laid, the Frier began to reason most impertinently, that the Lords Prayer might be offered to Saints, because every Petition thereof appertaineth to them. For if we meet an Old man in the Street, said he, we will say to him, Good-day Father, and therefore much more may we call the Saints our

Fathers; and because we grant also that they be in Heaven, we may say to every one of them, *Our Father which art in Heaven*. Our Father, God, hath made their Names holy, and therefore ought we as followers of God, to hold their Names holy, and so we may say to any of the Saints, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, so that *hallowed be thy Name*. And for the same cause, said the Frier, as they are in the Kingdom of Heaven, so that Kingdom is theirs by possession, and so praying for the Kingdom of Heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, *Thy Kingdom come*. And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that Kingdom. And therefore seeing their will is Gods will we may say with every one of them, *Thy will be done*.

But when the Frier came to the fourth Petition, Touching our daily Bread, he began to be affronted and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistry began to fail him, not finding such a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partly because he spake against his own knowledge and Conscience; and so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the Saints power to give us our daily Bread, but that they should pray to God for us, said he, that we may obtain our daily Bread by their Intercession: and so glofed he the rest to the end. Not standing yet content with this detestable Doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemously, that *St. Pauls* Napkin, and *St. Peters* Shadow did Miracles, and that the virtue of *Eliseus* Cloak divided the Waters; attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other Errors of the Papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this, followed incontinent a dangerous Schism in the Church of *Scotland*: for not only the Clergy, but the whole People were divided among themselves, one defending the Truth, and another the Papistry: in such sort that there rose a Proverb, To whom say you your *Pater Noster*? And although the Papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost holden for Law (so great was the blindness of that Age,) yet God so inspired the hearts of the common People, that so many as could get the understanding of the bane words of the Lords Prayer in English (which was then said in Latin) utterly detested that Opinion, holding that it should in no wise be said to Saints: so that the Crafts-men and their Servants in their Booths, when the Frier came, exploded him with shame enough, crying, *Frier Pater Noster*, *Frier Pater Noster*. Who at the last being convict in his own Conscience, and ashamed of his former Sermon, was compelled to leave the Town of *St. Andrews*.

In the mean time of this brute there were two Papists set on the *Abbey-Church*, the one in Latin bearing these words:

*Doctores nostri de Collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero.
Quod sancti sunt similes altissimo:
Et se tunc gravatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad instantiam fiscalis,
Gaw & Harvey non vari
In premissis connotari.*

The other in English, bearing these words:

*Doctors of Theology, of fourscore of years,
And old jolly Lupops the bald Gray-Friers;
They would be called Rabbi and Magister nofter,
And woe not to whom they say their Pater Noster.*

Shortly, the Christians were so hotly offended, and displeased the Papists on the other side so proud and wilful, that necessary it was, to eschew greater inconveniences, that the Clergy at last should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the Lay-people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the University agreed, whoever had been present might have heard much subtle Sophistry. For some of the Popish Doctors affirmed that it should be said to God *formaliter*, and to Saints *materialiter*. Others, *ultimate*, &

Blasphemous Doctrine against the glory and name of God. A Frierly glossing up on the Pater noster.

The Friers Sophistry here killed him.

A Scottish Proverb.

Frier Taitus noster driven out of St. Andrews.

Mr. D. Grey and Mr. Th. Harvey two Protestants.

A Schism in Scotland by a Sermon of Mr. Marshall a Black-Frier, preaching that the Pater noster should not be said to Saints.

Math. 5.

The Doctrine of the Papists is such, that the Pater noster may be said to Saints, and why

non ultimarè. Others said it should be said to God *Principaliter*, and to Saints *minus Principaliter*. Others that it should be said to God *primariè*, and to Saints *secundariè*. Others that it should be said to God *capiendo strictè*, and to Saints *capiendo largè*. Which vain distinctions being heard and considered by the People, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulness than they were in before: so that a well aged man, and a Servant to the Subprior of Saint Andrews, called the Subprior *Thomas*, being demanded to whom he said his *Pater noster* ? he answered, to God only. Then they asked again what should be said to the Saints ? he answered, give them *Averand Creeds* enow in the Devils name, for that may suffice them well enough, albeit they do spoyl God of his right. Others, making their Vaunts to the Doctors, said, that because Christ (who madethe *Pater noster*) never came into the Isle of Britain, and so understood not the English Tongue, therefore it was that the Doctors concluded it should be said in Latin.

This perturbation and open slander yet depending, it was thought good to call a Provincial Council to decide the matter. Which being assembled at *Edenborough*, the Papists being destitute of reason defended their parts with lies, alleging that the University of *Paris* had concluded that the Lords Prayer should be said to Saints. But because that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reason, they used their will in place of reason, and some time despitelike, and injurious talk. As *Frier Scot*, being asked of one to whom he should say the *Pater noster*, he answered, saying, say it to the Devil Knave. So the Council perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, they were compelled to pass, voting.

But then incontinent they that were called Churchmen were found divided and repugned among themselves. For some Bishops, with the Doctors and Friers consented that the *Pater noster* should be said to Saints ; but the Bishops of *St. Andrews, Cairnes* and *Archebishops* with other more learned men, refused utterly to subscribe to the same. Finally with consent of both the parties, Communion was given by the holy Church to Dean *John Wynname*, then Subprior of *St. Andrews* to declare to the People how and after what manner they should pray the Lords Prayer. Who, accepting of the Communion declared that it should be said to God, with some other restrictions, which are not necessary to be put in memory. And so, by little and little, the brute and tumult ceased, *Ex testimo. è Scotia allato.*

The Martyrdom of the blessed Servant of God, Walter Mille.

Among the rest of the Martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancy of *Walter Mille* is not to be passed over with silence. Out of whose Ashes sprang thousands of his Opinion and Religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die than to be any longer over trodden by the Tyranny of the foresaid cruel, ignorant, and beastly Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and Friers; and so began the Congregation of Scotland to debate the true Religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and Papists, who sought always to depress and keep down the same; for it began soon after the Martyrdom of *Walter Mille*, of the which the form hereafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord, 1558. in the time of *Mary Ducheess of Longawry*, Queen Regent of Scotland and the said *John Hamilton* being Bishop of Saint Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, this *Walter Mille* (who in his youth had been a Papist) after that he had been in *Almain*, and had heard the Doctrine of the Gospel returned again into Scotland, and, setting aside all Papistry and compelled Chastity, married a Wife, which thing made him unto the Bishops of Scotland to be suspected of Heresie; and after long watching of him he was taken by two Popish Priests, one called *Sir George Trappen*, and the other *Sir Hugh Tarry* Servants to the said Bishop for the time, within the Town of *Dyers in Effie*, and brought to Saint Andrews and imprisoned in the Castle thereof. He being in Prison, the Papists earnestly tra-

velled and laboured to have seduced him, and threatened him with death and corporal Torments, to the intent they might cause him to recant and forsake the Truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered unto him a Monks portion for all the days of his life, in the Abbey of *Dunfermeling*, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were Heresie; but he, continuing in the Truth even unto the end, despised their threatnings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the Bishop of Saint Andrews, *Concilium Murray, Brechin, Cairnes*, and *Ardians*, the Abbots of *Dunfermeling, Landeris, Balindrinat*, and *Towper*; with Doctors of Theology of Saint Andrews, as *John Gresham Black Frier*, and Dean *John Wynname*, Subprior of *St. Andrews*, *William Tranfion*, Provost of the Old Colledge, with divers others, as sundry Friers Black and Gray. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of Prison, and brought to the Metropolitan Church, where he was put in a Pulpit before the Bishops to be accused, the twentieth day of April. Being brought into the Church, and climbing up into the Pulpit, they seeing him so weak and feeble of Person, partly by age and travel, and partly by evil treatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the Church to ring and found again, with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians which were present were no less rejoiced, than the Adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He being in the Pulpit, and on his knees at Prayer, *Sir Andrew Oliphant*, one of the Bishops Priests, commanded him to arise and to answer to his Articles, saying on this manner, *Sir Walter Mille*, arise and answer to the Articles for you hold my Lord here overlong. To whom *Walter*, after he had finished his Prayer, answered, saying, We ought to obey God more than men, I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord: and where ye call me *Sir Walter*, call me *Walter* and not *Sir Walter*, I have been overlong one of the Popes Knights. Now say what thou hast to say.

These were the Articles whereof he was accused, with his Answers unto the same.

Oliphant. What think you of Priests Marriage ? *Mille*. I hold it a blessed Band: for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you, ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other mens Wives and Daughters, and will not keep the Band that God hath made. Ye vow Chastity, and break the same. *Saint Paul* had rather marry than burn; to which I have done, for God never forbad marriage to any man, of what State or degree soever he were.

Oliphant. Thou saiest there be not seven Sacraments. *Mille*. Give me the Lords Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, Marriage, and give your selves to slanderous and ungodly Whoredom ?

Oliphant. Thou art against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and saiest, that the Mass is wrong, and is Idolatry.

Mille. A Lord or a King sendeth and calleth many to a Dinner, and when the Dinner is in readines, he causeth to ring a Bell, and the men come to the Hall, and sit down to be partakers of the Dinner; but the Lord turning his back unto them careth all himself, and mocketh them; to do ye.

Oliphant. Thou deniest the Sacrament of the Altar to be the very Body of Christ really in Flesh and Blood.

Mille. The Scripture of God is not to be taken Carnally but Spiritually, and standeth in Faith only; and as for the Mass it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the Cross for mans trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all Sacrifice.

Witness to God, was taken by two Popish Priests, G. Trappen, and Sir Hugh Tarry.

The Council of Edenborough could not agree to whom they should say their Pater noster. The Papists maintain their cause with lies and railing, when reason crying lacketh.

That is, to the naming of voices. The Friers and Prelates could not agree among themselves about saying the Pater noster.

W. Mille Martyr.

W. Mille contrary to his Popish wife married. W. Mille first suspected of Heresie.

W. Mille taken by two Popish Priests, G. Trappen, and Sir Hugh Tarry.

Concilium Murray, Brechin, Cairnes, and Ardians.

W. Mille for age could scarce climb to the Pulpit. God giveth strength contrary to mans expectation.

Andrew Oliphant one of the Archbishops Chaplains.

Oliphant Mille.

Oliphant Mille.

Mille. A similitude aptly applyed.

Oliphant Mille.

Mille. The Sacrament and Sacrifice of the Mass.

Oliphant.

Oliphant.
Mille.
Bishops, no
Bishops.

Oliph. Thou deniest the Office of a Bishop.
Mille. I affirm that they, whom ye call Bishops, do no Bishops works, nor use the Office of Bishops; (as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy) but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the Flock, nor yet regard they the Word of God, but desire to be honoured and called, my Lords.

Oliphant.

Oliph. Thou spakest against Pilgrimage, and calledst it a Pilgrimage to whoredom.

Mille.

Mille. I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your Pilgrimages, except it be in common Brothels.

Oliph. Thou preachedst secretly and privately in Houses, and openly in the Fields.

Mille. Yea man, and on the Sea also, saying in a Ship.

Oliph. Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous Opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce Sentence against thee.

W. Mille
constant in
the Truth.
Sentence
pronounced
against
W. Mille.

Mille. I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore as Christ said to Judas, *Quod facis fac citius*. Ye shall know that I will not recant the Truth, for I am Corn, I am no Chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; But I will abide both.

These things rehearsed they of purpose, with other light trifles, to augment their final Accusation, and then Sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced Sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the Temporal Judge, and punished as an Heretic, which was to be burnt. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the Bishops Steward of his Regality, Provost of the Town, called Patrick Learmond, refused to be his Temporal Judge, to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just. Also the Bishops Chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an Office. Yea, the whole Town was so offended with his unjust Condemnation, that the Bishops Servants could not get for their money so much use of as one Cord to tie him to the Stake, or a Tar-Barrel to burn him, but were constrained to cut the Cords of their Masters own Pavilion to serve their turn.

Nevertheless one Servant of the Bishops more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Simmerwall, entreprising the Office of a Temporal Judge in that part, conveyed him to the Fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardness did more and more increafe, so that the Spirit of God working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the People, that his Cause and Articles were most just, and he innocently put down.

Patrick
Learmond
the Arch-
bishops
Steward
and Provost
refused to
be his tem-
poral Judge.
Also the
Archbishops
Chamber-
lain refused
to be his
Judge.
The Town
was offend-
ed with the
Condemna-
tion of
W. Mille.
No Cord in
all the
Town could
be bought
to tie him
to the Stake.
Alexander
Simmerwall,
made tem-
poral Judge
for Walter
Mille.
The mira-
culous
working of
God in
W. Mille.

The Burning of Walter Mille.



Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with Armed men to the Fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the Stake: and he said, Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand and take part of my death, thou shalt see me pass up gladly; for by the Law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon my self. Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, *Intraibo ad Altare Dei*, and desired that he might have space to speak to the People; the which Oliphant and other of the Burners denied, saying, That he had spoken overmuch, for the Bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the Burners and the Bishops their Masters to the Devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day, and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

W. Mille
denied by 16
the Bishops
to speak.

W. Mille
permitted
by the
young men
to speak.

The words
of W. Mille
to the Peo-
ple.

And so after he made his humble Supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the Coals, said on his wife. Dear Friends, this cause why I suffer this day is not for any Crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miserable Sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the Faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New

and old Testament unto us; for which as the faithful Martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured after the death of their Bodies of eternal Felicity, so this day I praise God, that he hath called me of his mercy among the rest of his Servants to seal up his Truth with my life: which as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore as you will escape the eternal Death, be no more seduced with the Lies of Priests, Monks, Friars, Priors, Abbots, Bishops, and the rest of the Set of Antichrist; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation. All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the Multitude; for they perceiving his patience, stoutness and boldness, constancy and hardness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last Martyr that died in Scotland for the Religion. After the last of his Prayer, he was hoisted up upon the Stake, and being in the Fire, he said, Lord have mercy on me; Pray People while there is time: and so he constantly departed.

The con-
stant hardi-
ness of
W. Mille.
Who Mille
After the last
Martyr in
Scotland.

Epitaphium.

Non nostra impietas aut acta crimina vitæ
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces:
Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.

After this, by the just Judgment of God, in the same place where *Walter Mille* was burnt, the Images of the great Church of the Abbey, which passed both in number and costliness, were burnt in time of Reformation.

Ex fidelis testimonio è Socia misso.

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such Martyrs as suffered in the Realm of Scotland for the Faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his Truth.

Persecution in Kent.

IN revolving the Registers of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, I find moreover besides these above comprehended, in the time and Reign of King *Henry*, the Names of divers other, whereof some suffered Martyrdom for the like testimony of Gods Word, and some recanted, which albeit here they do come a little out of order, and should have been placed before in the beginning of King *Henries* Reign, yet rather than they should utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though somewhat out of time, yet not altogether, I trust, without fruit unto the Reader, being no less worthy to be Registered and preserved from oblivion, than other of their Fellows before them.

A Table of certain true Servants of God and Martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Diocess of *Canterbury*, under *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; with the Names of their Persecutors and Accusers, Anno 1511.

Persecutors, and Judges.	Accusers and Witnesses.
	<i>William Rich</i> of <i>Beninden</i> . <i>Agnes Ives</i> of <i>Canterbury</i> . <i>Robert Hills</i> of <i>Tenterden</i> . <i>Stephen Castelm</i> of <i>Tenterden</i> . <i>John Grebil</i> of <i>Tenterden</i> , Husband to <i>Agnes Grebil</i> the Martyr. <i>Christopher Grebil</i> , the Natural Son of <i>Agnes Grebil</i> the Martyr. <i>John Grebil</i> the younger, the natural Son of <i>Agnes Grebil</i> the Martyr. <i>William Olbert</i> of <i>Godmersham</i> . <i>Lawrence Chetenden</i> . <i>Tho. Harwood</i> of <i>Roxenden</i> . <i>Joan Harwood</i> his Wife. <i>Phil. Harwood</i> . <i>William Baker</i> of <i>Cranbrooke</i> . <i>Edw. Walker</i> . <i>Robert Reinold</i> of <i>Beninden</i> .
	The Martyrs.
<i>D. Sylvester</i> , Lawyer,	<i>William Carder</i> , of <i>Tenterden</i> , Weaver.
<i>Dr. Welles</i> .	<i>Agnes Grebil</i> of <i>Tenterden</i> , Wife of <i>John Grebil</i> the Elder, and Mother to <i>John</i> and <i>Christopher Grebil</i> , who with her own Husband accused her to death, being threescore years of Age.
<i>Dr. Clement</i> , Brown.	<i>Robert Harrison</i> , of <i>Halden</i> , of the age of sixty years.
<i>Dr. Job. Collet</i> , Dean of <i>Pauli</i> .	<i>John Browne</i> of <i>Ashford</i> .
<i>Dr. Widington</i> .	<i>Edward Walker</i> , of <i>Maidstone</i> , Cutler.

The Articles whereupon these five blessed Martyrs were Accused and Condemned by the for, and Judges and Witnesses, were these as follow.

- FIRST, For holding that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very true Body of Christ, but only material Bread in substance.
2. That Auricular Confession was not to be made to a Priest.
3. That no power is given of God to Priests, of ministring Sacraments, saying Mass, or other Divine Service, more than to Lay-men.
4. That the solemnization of Matrimony is not necessary to salvation of Souls, neither was instituted of God (for a Sacrament they meant.)
5. That the Sacrament of Extream Unction is not available nor necessary to Souls health.
6. That the Images of the Cross, of the Crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other Saints, are not to be worshipped; and that they which worship them do commit Idolatry.
7. That Pilgrimages to holy Places, and holy Relicks be not necessary, nor meritorious to Souls health.
8. That Invocation is not to be made to Saints, but only to God, and that he only heareth their Prayers.
9. That holy Bread and holy Waier have no more virtue after their Consecration than before.
10. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the same damnable Opinions before; as they did at that present.
11. That where they now have confessed their Errours, they would not have so done but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them, or else but for fear to be convicted by them, they would never have confessed the fame of their own accord.
12. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable Errours heretofore with divers other Persons, and have had Books concerning the same.

The order and form of Proceedings against these five Martyrs aforesaid: and first of *William Carder*, Anno 1511.

William Carder being convented before *William Warham* Archbishop, and his Chauceller *Cuthbert Tonstall*, Doctor *Sylvester*, Doctor *Welles*, *Clement*, *Brown*, with other more, the Notaries being *William Paking*, and *David Couper*, the Articles and Interrogatories above specified were laid unto him. Which Articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did; nor doth hold any such Opinion, otherwise than becometh that every Christian man should do, ready to conform himself in all points to their Doctrine; and therefore to clear himself the better against those Interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of the same. The like also did every of the other four Martyrs after him.

All which notwithstanding, the uncharitable Archbishop seeking all advantages against him that he might, and more then right Law would give, brought in against him such witnesses, as before were abjured, whom he knew, for fear of relapse, durst do none other but disclose whatsoever they knew, to wit, *Christopher Grebil*, *William Rich*, *Agnes Ives*, *John Grebil*, *Robert Hills*, and *Steven Castelm*. Whose Depositions being taken, and the said Carder being asked what he could say for himself, he had nothing, he said, to produce against their Attestations, but submitted him unto their mercy: saying moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the Sacraments of the Church, contrary to the common holding of the Catholicks, he now was sorry and repented him thereof. Which being done, the Archbishop, this his submission notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the Register maketh no mention of any Relapse, contrary to good Law, at least contrary to all Christian Charity, proceeded to the reading of his blind Sentence, and so condemned him: who neither stood stubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any thing

re Regis. W. Warh.

Their maintain- ing was this, That Priests can claim no more vertue or high estate by their Order, than can a Lay-man.

The protest or Judgment against W. Carder, Martyr.

The straight dealing of W. Warham Archb. of Canterbury, Witnesses against W. Carder.

thing contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, to the execution of burning.

Then after him was called forth *Agnes Grebil*, and examined of the said twelve Articles above recited, which she in like manner denied, as the other had done before, putting her Adversaries to their proof. Then the Archbishop called for *John Grebil* her Husband, and *Christopher* and *John Grebil* her two Sons (who before had been abjured,) caused them upon their Oath to depose against their own natural Mother, and so they did.

The Catho-
lick Clergy
of the Pa-
rish in the
Husband a-
gainst the
Wife.

The Catho-
lick sent the
Children to
accuse their
own Mother.

First *John Grebil* the elder, her Husband, examined by virtue of his Oath, to say how *Agnes* his Wife hath adth doth believe of the Sacrament of the Altar, of going in Pilgrimage, Offerings and worshipping of Saints, Images, &c. and how long she hath holden thus, deposed; that first about the end of King *Edwards* days the fourth, in his house, by the teaching of *John Iwe*, the was brought to that belief, and so forth from thence daily, until the time of detection, she hath continued.

And besides that, said he, when my Children *Christopher* and *John*, being about seven years of age, were then taught of me in my house the said Error of the Sacrament of the Altar, and by the said *Agnes* my Wife divers times, she was always of one mind in the said misbelief against the Sacrament of the Altar, that it was not Christs Body, Flesh and Blood, but only Bread. Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was steadfast in the said Error, he said that she always without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and said the said Opinion was good, and was well contented that her Children afore said were of the same Opinions against the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. *Ex verbis Registri.*

The Bishop, with his Catholick Doctors, not yet contented with this, to set the Husband against the Wife, proceeding further in their Catholick zeal, caused her two Children, *Christopher* and *John* to be produced, one of the age of two and twenty, the other of nineteen, against their own natural Mother. Who likewise, being pressed with their Oath, witnessed, and said, that the foresaid *Agnes* their Mother held, believed, taught, and defended, that the Sacrament of the Altar was but Bread, and not the very Body of Christs Flesh and Blood; That Baptism was no better in the Fount, than out of the Fount; That Confirmation was of no effect; that the solemnization of Matrimony was no Sacrament; That Confession to God alone was sufficient; Also that going in Pilgrimage and worshipping of Saints and Images was of none effect, &c. *Item*, That their Father and the said *Agnes* their Mother, held, taught, and commended of the said Errors within their house divers times, by the space of those three years past, as well on Holy-days, as Working days, affirming and teaching that the said Opinions were good and lawful, and to be holden and maintained, and agreement was made amongst them, that none of them should discover or betray either of these beliefs in any wise. Finally, that they never heard their said Father and Mother holding or teaching any other Opinions, than be the said Errors against the Sacrament of the Altar, and Pilgrimages, Offerings, worshipping of Saints and Images, as far as they could remember, &c. *Ex verbis Registri.*

Example of
an unnatural
Husband
and of un-
natural
Children.

Great Im-
piety of the
Husband to
ward the
wife
Greater im-
piety in the
Children to
accuse their
Mother.

Here hast thou (Christian reader) before thine eyes an horrible Spectacle of a singular, yea of a double impiety, first of an unnatural Husband, witnessing against his own Wife; and of as unnatural Children, accusing and witnessing against their own natural Mother. Which although they had so done, the cause being of it self just and true, (as it was) yet they had done more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such, as which by Gods Word standeth firm, found, and perfect, what Impiety were it for men to accuse a poor Innocent in case of Heresie, which is no Heresie? Now besides all this, the Husband to come in against his own Wife, and the Children to bring in the Knife whickeven to cut the Throat of their own natural Mother that bare them, that nourished them, that brought them up, what is this, but Impiety upon Impiety, prodigious and horrible for all Christian ears to hear! And yet the greatest Impiety of all! reflect in these pretended

Catholicks and Clergy men, which were the authors and causers of all this mischief.

The cause why this good Woman so stood (as she did) in the denial of these foresaid Articles objected, was this, for that she never thought that her Husband and her own Children, who only were privy of her Religion, would testify against her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceived to come in, and to depose this against her, denying still (as she did, before) that she did ever hold such manner of Errors, and being now destitute of all Friends, and comfort, braut out in these words openly (as the Register reporteth) that she repented the time that ever she bare those Children of her Body.

And thus the Archbishop with his Doctors having now the thing that they fought for, albeit she was ready to deny all Errors, and to conform her self to their Religion, yet notwithstanding, they refusing her readiness and conformity proceeded to their Sentence, and so condemned her to death.

After whose Condemnation, next was brought to Execution *Robert Harrison*, who in like manner because he stood in his denial, contrary witnesses against him were produced, to wit, *Christopher Grebil*, *William Rich*, *William Olberd*, *Agnes Iwe*, who a little before had been abjured, and therefore were so much the more apt and applicable to serve the Bishops humor for danger of rapine. After the deposition and conviction of which witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet notwithstanding it would not be received, but Sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two afore said to the fire.

And thus these three were condemned and burned, and Certificate given up of them together to the King, from *Warham* the Archbishop, upon the same Anno 1511. *Mart. 2. Ex Regist. Cantuariensi. Arch.*

Over and besides these three godly Martyrs above recited, I find in the foresaid Registers of *W. Warham* two other like godly Martyrs also in the same year, and for the same twelve Articles above specified, to be condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses brought in against them, to wit, *Thomas Harwood*, *Phil. Harwood*, *John Steven Capelyn*, *William Baker*, *Robert Reynold*, *John Bampton*, *Robert Bright*, *William Rich*, &c. Whereupon they were adjudged likewise for Heretics to be burned, the year afore said, 1511. The names of which two Martyrs were *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*. *Ex Regist. W. Warh. fol. 179.*

Now as you have heard the names of these blessed Martyrs, with their Articles recited, let us also hear the Tenor of the Bishops Sentence, by the which they were condemned one after another. Their Sentence containeth one uniform manner of words in form as followeth.

The Tenor of the Sentence.

IN Nomine Dei, Amen, Willielmus permissioe divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Anglie Primas & Apostolica sedis Legatus, in quodam negotio heretice pravitatis contra te Willielmum Carder de Tenderden nostr. aforesaid Cantuar. Diocesis laicum ac nostro imperio notorie subditum & subiectum, coram nobis in iudicio personaliter comparentem, nobis super heretice pravitatis huiusmodi detectum & delatum, ac per nostram Diocesim Cantuarie antedicta notorie & publice in ea parte apud bonos & graves diffamatum, ex officio meo me & caros meos procedentes, auditis & intellectis, visis & cognitis, rimatis, que ac matura deliberatione discussis & ponderatis, dicti negotii meritis, servatis, que in omnibus, & per omnia in eodem negotio de iure servandis ac quomodolibet requisitis, pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine invocato, & solum Deum pro oculis habentes: Quia per alia asseruit, deduxit, probavit & exhibuit coram nobis in eodem negotio irruimus te per probationes legitimas coram nobis in hac parte iudicialiter factas, nonnullos & varios errores, hereses & damnatas Opiniones, juri divine, & Ecclesiastico obvias, contrarias, & repugnantes, contra fidem orthodoxam, determi-

Great Im-
piety of all
in the Cler-
gy men, the
Authors
hereof.

Ex Regist.
W. Warham.
Folio. 179.
Ag. Grebil
condemned
by the Sen-
tence of the
Archbishop.

Ex Regist.
R. Harrison
examined,
by Carder,
Agnes Gre-
bil, R. Har-
wood, Mart.
1511.

The Bishops
Certificate
given to the King

J. Brown
Ed. Walker
Martyrs.
Witnesses
against these
two Mar-
tyrs.

The con-
demnation
of these five
Martyrs.

determinatam & observatam, tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, predicasse, & dogmatizasse, & præscribere contra Sacramenta Altaris, seu Eucharistie, Penitentie, Ordinis, & alia Sacramenta & sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Dogmata: Et quamvis nos Christi vestigiis inhaerendo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur & vivat, sæpenumero conati fuimus corrigere, ac viis & modis licitis, & Canonicis, quibus potuimus aut scivimus, ad fidem orthodoxam per universalem Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, determinatam & observatam, ac ad unitatem ejusdem sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ reducere, tamen invenimus te adeo duræ cervicis, quod tuos errores & hæreses hujusmodi noluisti sponte & incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem Catholicam & unitatem sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ antedictas debite reverti & redire, sed tanquam iniquitatis & tenebrarum filius in tantum indurasti cor tuum, ut non vultis intelligere vocem tui Pastoris tibi paterno compatiens affectu, nec vultis pium & paternis monitionibus allici, nec salubribus rebus blandiri: nos vero nolentes quod tu qui iniquus es flos regium, & gregem dominicum in futurum tuæ hæreticæ prævitæ labi (de quo plurimum timeamus) inficias, idcirco de consilio Jurisperitorum nobis in hac parte assistentium cum quibus communicavimus, te Willielmum Carder prædictum de meritis atque culpis per tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, de & super hujusmodi detestabili hæreticæ prævitæ reatu convictum, & ad Ecclesiæ unitatem penitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum hæreticisquæ credentem, ac eorum factorem & receptatorem prævisum præmissum fuisse & esse, cum dolore & amaritudine cordis judicamus & declaramus finaliter & definitivè in his scriptis, relinquentes te ex nunc tanquam hæreticum iudicio fore curiæ seculari, te quoque Willielmum Carder prædictum (ut præfatur) hæreticum nihilominus in majori Excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse & incurrisse, nec non Excommunicatum fuisse & esse pronuntiamus, & decernimus & declaramus etiam in his scriptis.

Moreover, besides these five blessed Saints of God, whom they to cruelly by their Sentence did condemn to death, we find also in the same Registers of William Warham, a great number of other whom they for the same Doctrine and like Articles caused to be apprehended and put to open Recantation; the Names of which Persons in the Catalogue here following be expressed.

Here followeth a Table containing the Names of them which were abjured the same time under William Warham, Archbishop, in the Diocess of Canterbury, Anno 1511.

A Table or Catalogue of them which were caused to abjure under W. Warham. Note what Doctrine here reign'd in England before the time of Luther.

John Grebil the Elder, of Benyn-den.
Christopher Grebil, his Son.
John Grebil, Son of John the Elder of Benyn-den.
W. Olbert the Elder, of Godmersham.
Agnes Iwe of Canterbury.
Agnes Chynden of Canterbury.
Thomas Manning of Benyn-den.
Joan Colyn of Tenderden.
Robert Hills of Tenderden.
Alice Hills his Wife.
Thomas Harwood,
Joan Harwood his Wife, } of Rowenden.
Philip Harwood,
Stephen Capelyn of Tenderden.
W. Baker of Cranbroke.
Margaret Baker his Wife.
William Olbert the younger, of Godmersham.
Agnes Reynold of Cranbroke.
Thomas Field of Boxley.
Joan Olbert Wife to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham.
Elizabeth White of Canterbury.
Thomas Church of Great Charte.
Vincent Lynch of Halden.
Joan Rich of Wirtysham.
Joan Lynch of Tenderden.
Thomas Browne of Cranbroke.

John Franke of Tenderden.
Joyce Bampton, Wife of John Bampton, of Bersfede.
Richard Bampton of Boxley.
Robert Bright of Maydfstone.
William Larkyn of East Folky.
John Bannes of Boxley 1512.
John Buckberst of Stapleberst.
Joan Dod Wife of John Dod.
John Benet of Stapleberst.
Rebecka Benet his Wife.
Joan Lower, Wife of Thomas Lower of Cranbroke.
Julian Hills, Wife of Robert Hills of Tenderden.
Robert Franke of Tenderden.

The Articles laid to these Abjurers appear in the Registers to be the same which before were objected to the other five Martyrs aforesaid, which was for believing and defending.

1. First, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the True Body of Christ, but material Bread.
2. That Confession of Sins ought not to be made to a Priest.
3. That there is no more power given of God to a Priest, than to a Lay-man.
4. That the solemnization of Matrimony is not necessary for the weal of mans Soul.
5. That the Sacrament of extreame Unction, called Aneyling, is not profitable nor necessary for mans Soul.
6. That Pilgrimages to holy and devout places, be not necessary nor meritorious for mans Soul.
7. That Images of Saints, or of the Crucifix, or of our Lady, are not to be worshipped.
8. That a man should pray to no Saint, but only to God.
9. That holy Water and holy Bread is not better after the Benediction made by the Priest, *Ex verbis Registr. W. Warham, fol. 176. An. 1511.*

Their Articles.

Ex Registr. W. Warham.

By these Articles and Abjurations of the fore-named persons, thou shalt to understand, Christian Reader, what Doctrine of Religion was here stirring in this our Realm of England, before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here amongst us.

Three divers sorts of Judgments amongst the Papists, against Hereticks as they call them.

As touching the penance and penalty enjoined to these aforesaid, as also to all other such like, first here is to be noted, that the Catholick Fathers, in their Processe of Heretical pravity, have three divers and distinct kinds of Judgments and proceedings.

For some they judge to be burned, to the intent that other being brought into terror by them, they might therefore more quietly hold up their Kingdom, and Reign as they list. And thus condemned they these five aforesaid, and notwithstanding they were willing to submit themselves to the bosom of the Mother Church, yet could they not be received, as by the words of the Register, and by the tenour of their Sentence above-specified, may well appear.

And this sort of Persons, thus by them condemned, consisteth either in such as have been before abjured, and fallen again into relapse; or else such as stand constantly in their Doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else such as they intend to make a terrour and example to all other, notwithstanding that they be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received: and of this last sort were these five Martyrs last named. So was also John Lambert, who submitting himself to the King could not be accepted. So was likewise Richard Mekin the silly Lad; and the three Women of Gernesey, whose submission would not serve to save their lives, with many other in like case. Against this sort of Persons, the Process which the Papists use is this. First, after they began once to be suspected by some Promoter, they are denounced and cried; then by virtue of Inquisition they are taken and clapt fast in Irons in Prison; from thence they are brought forth at

Three sorts of proceedings of these Papists against the Hereticks. The Processe of the Papists in condemning Hereticks.

list to examination, if they be not before killed by Famine, cold, or straightness of the Prison, then be Articles drawn, or rather wrested out of their writings or preachings, and they put to their Oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them. Which Articles if they seem to deny, or false by true expounding, then are Witnesses called in and admitted, what witnesses soever they are be they never so much infamous, Usurers, Ribalds, Women, yea, and common Harlots. Or if no other Witnesses can be found, then is the Husband brought in and forced to swear against the Wife or the Wife against the Husband, or the Children against the natural Mother, as in this example of *Agnes Greibell*. Or if no such witness at all can be found, then are they straitened upon the Rack, or by other bitter Torments forced to confess their knowledge, and to teach others. Neither must any be suffered to come to them, what need soever they have. Neither must any publick or quiet audience be given them to speak for themselves, till at last Sentence be read against them, to give them up to the Secular Arm, or to degrade them, if they be Priests, and so to burn them. *Ex biss. Coblai, contra Hussitas.*

Ex biss. Coblai, contra Hussitas.

And yet the malignity of these Adversaries doth not here cease. For after that the fire hath consumed their Bodies, then they fall upon their Books, and condemn them in like manner to be burned, and no man must be so hardy as to read them, or keep them, under pain of Heresie. But before they have abolished these Books, first they gather Articles out of them, such as they list themselves, and so perversely wrest and wring them after their own purpose, falsely, and contrary to the right meaning of the Author, as may seem, after their putting down, to be most Heretical and execrable. Which being done, and the Books then abolished, that no man may confer them with their Articles, to spie their falsehood; then they divulge and set abroad those Articles, in such sort as Princes and People may see what Hereticks they were. And this is the rigor of their process and proceeding against these Persons whom thus they purpose to condemn and burn.

To the second order belongeth that sort of Hereticks whom these Papists do not condemn to death, but assign them unto Monasteries, there to continue, and to fast all their life, *In pane doloris & aqua angustia*, that is, with Bread of sorrow, and Water of affliction; and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the said Monastery so long as they lived, without they were otherwise by the Archbishop himself or his Successors dispensed withal. Albeit many times the said persons were so dispensed withal, that their Penance of Bread and Water was turned for them to woolward *Wednesdays and Fridays* every week, or some other like punishment, &c.

The third kind of Hereticks were those whom these Prelates did judge not to perpetual Prison, but only enjoined them Penance, either to stand before the Preacher, or else to bear a Fagot about the Market, or in Procession; or else to wear the Picture of a Fagot bordered on their left sleeves, without any Cloak or Gown upon the same; or else to kneel at the saying of certain Masses, or to say so many *Pater noster, Ave, and Creed*, to such or such a Saint: or to go in Pilgrimage to such or such a place; or else to bear a Fagot to the burning of some Heretick; or else to fast certain *Fridays* Bread and Water; or if it were a Woman, to wear no smock on *Fri days*, but to go woolward, &c. As appeareth, *Regist. fol. 159.*

And thus much by the way out of the Register of *William Warham* aforesaid, like as also out of other Bishops Registers many more such like matters and examples might be collected, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largeness of this Volum would suffer all to be inserted that might be found. Howbeit, amongst many other things omitted, the story and Martyrdom of *Launcelot* and his fellows is not to be forgotten. The Story of whom with their names is this.

The Martyrdom of Launcelot one of the Kings Guard, John a Painter, and Giles German.

About the year of our Lord 1539. one *John a Painter*, and *Giles German* were accused of Heresie, and whilst they were in examination at London before the Bishop and other Judges, by chance there came in one of the Kings Servants named *Launcelot*, a very tall man, and of no less godly mind and disposition, than strong and tall of Body.

This man standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favour both the cause and the poor men his Friends. Whereupon he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day at five of the Clock in the morning was carried with them into Saint *Giles* in the field, and there burned, there being but a small concourse or Company of People at their death.

The Story of one Sile, Martyr.

In the Company and Fellowship of these blessed Saints and Martyrs of Christ, which innocently suffered within the time of King *Henries* Reign, for the Testimony of Gods Word and Truth, an other good man also cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppressed, and burned in *Smithfield* about the latter end of *Cuthbert Tonstalls* time, Bishop of London. Whose name was called *Sile*, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient Knight, named *Sir Robert Outred*, who was the same time present himself at his burning and Martyrdom, and eie witness of the same. With him there was burned also a Book of the *Apocalypse*, which belike he was wont to read upon. This Book when he saw fastened unto the Stake, to be burned with him; lifting up his voyce, O blessed *Apocalypse*, said he, how happy am I, that shall be burned with thee? And so this good man and the blessed *Apocalypse* were both together in the fire consumed.

And thus (through the gracious supportation of Christ our Lord) we have run over these seven and thirty laborious years of King *Henries* Reign. Under whose time and governance, such Acts and Records, Troubles, Persecutions, Recantations, Praefates, Alterations, and Reformation as then happened in the Church, we have here discoursed, with such Statutes, Injunctions and Proclamations, as by him were set forth in causes and matters to the said Church appertaining: Albeit not comprehending all things so fully as might be, yet pretermittting few things as we could, of such matters as came to our hands; save only that certain Instruments, with a few other occurrences somewhat pertaining to the course of this Kings History, have past our hands, as the false lying Bull of Pope *Leo* the tenth, against *M. Luther*, with the form also of the said *M. Luthers* appeal from the Pope unto a general Council. All which, with other matters more besides omitted, we have deferred by themselves hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the sequel of this present Story, as in his due place shall appear.

In the mean season, amongst other omissions here overpast, so far as as a certain instrument of the Popes Sentence definitive against King *Henries* first divorce with *Lady Katharine Dowager* hath of late come to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent nor unmeet to be committed to History, I thought here presently to place the same, to the intent that the Reader seeing the arrogant and impudent presumption of the Pope in the said Sentence, going about by force and Authority so to constrain and compel Kings and Princes against their wills, and against right and Scripture to apply to his imperious purpose, may the better understand thereby what was the true cause and ground why the King first began to take stomach against the Pope, and to send him clean packing out of this Realm. But before I shall produce this aforesaid Sentence definitive of the Pope, to make the matter more plain to the Reader, it shall not be amiss, first to decipher and rip up the original

One Sile, Martyr, burned in Smithfield with the Apocalypse. See testimony of Sir Robert Outred.

Pope Luthers Bull against Luther. M. Luthers appeal from the Pope to a general Council. The Sentence definitive of P. Clement 7. against the divorce of K. Henry

The use and manner how the Papists draw out Articles of Books after the authors be condemned.

The punishment of them whom the Papists condemn to perpetual Prison after their submision.

The punishment of them which be enjoined Penance after their recantation

original of such occasions, as shall induce the Reader to the better understanding of this falling out between the King and the Pope.

For so I find by the Letters of Dr. Stephen Gardiner, written to Cardinal Wolsey from Rome, (at what time he and Fox were sent Ambassadors by the King to Pope Clement the Seventh, about the expedition of the Kings Divorce, An. 1532.) that the said Pope Clement, with the counsel of the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* and other Cardinals, at first was well willing and very inclinable to the accomplishment and satisfaction of the Kings desire in that behalf, and that for divers respects.

The Causes moving the Pope to the first to favour the cause of the Kings Divorce.

As first, for the great benefits received, and the singular devotion of the King toward the See Apostolick, in taking War for the Churches cause, in surceasing War at the Popes desire, and especially in procuring the Popes deliverance, whereby the Pope then thought himself with his whole See much obliged to the King in all respects, to pass by his Authority whatsoever reasonably might be granted in gratifying the Kings so ample merits and deserts.

* This Book, called the Kings Book, was a certain Treatise concerning the Reasons and Arguments of divers Learned men for the liberal dissolution of the Kings Marriage, with Answer also to the contrary Objections of Azei and others.

And this Book here sent to the Pope. The sixth Cause.

Secondly, for the evident Reasons and substantial Arguments in the * Kings Book contained, which seemed well to satisfy the Popes liking, and to remove away all scruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence that the Pope had in the excellent Wisdom, profound Learning, and mature Judgment of the King, which the Pope (as he said in formal words) would sooner lean unto, than unto any other Learned mans mind or sentence, so that the Kings Reasons, he said, must needs be of great efficacy and strength of themselves to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cause moving the Pope to favour the Kings Request, was, for the quiet and tranquillity of his Conscience, which otherwise in that unlawful Marriage with his Brothers Wife could not be settled.

The fifth cause was for the consideration of the perils and dangers, which otherwise might happen to the Realm by the pretended Titles of the King of Scots, and other, without any Heir Male to establish the Kings Succession: for the avoiding of which perils, and also

for the other causes above rehearsed, the Pope shewed himself at that time propense and forward to promote and set forward the Kings desired purpose in that behalf.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought here to suggest and repeat to the Reader, albeit the same is also sufficiently expressed before: to the end that the studious Reader pondering these first proceedings of the Pope, and comparing them with this Sentence definitive which under followeth, may the better understand what inconstant levity, what false dealing, what crafty packing, and what contrariety in it self is in this holy See of Rome, as by this case of the Pope may well appear; who in short time, after all this, was so clean altered from that he was, that whereas before he pretended to esteem so gratefully the Kings Travel and Benefits exhibited to the See Apostolick, in his defence against the Emperour and the Spaniards, now he joyntly utterly with the *Cesarians* against the King. And where before he so greatly magnified the Kings profound Learning, and mature Judgment, esteeming his mind and sentence above all other Learned men, to be as a Judge sufficient in the direction of this case; now turning head to the tayl, he utterly refuseth to bring the matter in *judicium Orbis*, but will needs detain it at home.

Again, where before he pretended a tender provision for the State of this Realm, now he setteth all other Realms against it: and finally, where he before seemed to respect the quiet and tranquillity of the Kings Conscience, now he goeth about to command and compel the King, against his Will and Conscience, to do clean contrary to that which he himself before in his Judgment had allowed, thinking to have the King at his beck, and to do and undo what he listed and commanded; as by the tenour and true Copy of this his Sentence definitive ye may understand. Which as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibit unto the world, that all men might see what just cause the King had, being so presumptuously provoked by the Pope, to shake of his proud Authority, and utterly to exile him out of his Realm. Mark, I pray thee, the manner of the Popes proud Sentence how presumptuously it proceedeth,

The double dealing of the Pope. The Pope false, double and contrary to himself.

The Pope, how presumptuously he compels and commands Kings and Princes;

Anglici

Anglici Matrimonii Sententia diffinitiva:

The tenour
of the Popes
Sentence
diff. aſſive
againſt King
Henry 8.

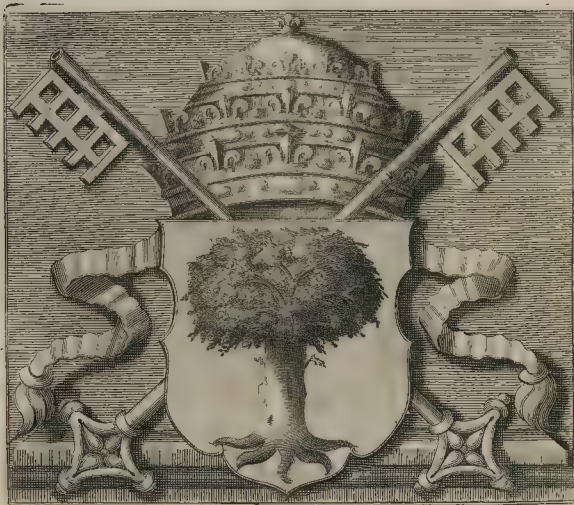
Lata per Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum D.Clementem Papam VII. in ſacro
Conſiſtorio de Reverendiſſimorum, S.R.E. Cardinalium Conſilio, ſuper
validitate Matrimonii inter Seneriſſimos Henricum VIII.& Catherinam Angliæ
Reges contracti.

P R O

Eadem Sereniſſima CATHARINA Angliæ Regina.

C O N T R A

Sereniſſimum HENRICUM VIII. Angliæ Regem.



Clemens Papa VII.

Ex Archetypo Rom.
Pontificis
ad Catherinam mulo.

Christi Nomine invocato in Throno Jusſitæ pro
Tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum præ oculis ha-
bentes, per hanc noſtram diffinitivam ſententiam
quam de Venerabiliſſimo Fratrum noſtrorum Sanctæ Ro.
Ec. Car. Conſiſtoriali coram nobis Congregatorum Con-
ſilio & aſſenſu ſerimus in his Scriptis, pronunciamus, de-
cernimus, & declaramus in cauſa & cauſis ad nos &
ſedem Apoſolicam per appellationem, per chariſſimam in
Chriſto filiam Catherinam Angliæ Reginam illuſtrem à
noſtris & ſedis Apoſolicæ Legatis in Regno Angliæ
Deputatis, interpoſitam legitime devolutis & advocatis,
inter prædictam Catherinam Reginam, & chariſſimum in
Chriſto filium Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem illuſtrem,
ſuper Validitate & Invaliditate Matrimonii inter eoſdem
Reges contracti & conſummati, rebusque aliis in actis
cauſæ & cauſarum hujusmodi laſitis deductis, & dilecto
filio Paulo Capiflucho cauſarum ſacri Palatii tunc De-
cano, & propter ipſius Pauli abſentiam venerabili fratri
noſtro Jacobo Simonetæ Epifcopo Piſaurien. unius ex dicti
Palatii cauſarum Auditoribus locum tenenti, audiendis,
inſtituendis, & in Conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto referendis
commiſſis, & per eos nobis, & eiſdem Cardinibus relatis,
& mature diſcuſſis, coram nobis pendentibus, matrimo-
nium inter prædictam Catherinam, & Henricum Angliæ
Reges contractum, & inde ſecuta quæcumque fuſſe & eſſe
validum & Canonarum validaque & Canonica, (uſque
debito debuſſe & debere ſortiri effectus, proleque ex-

inde ſuſceptam & ſuſcipiendam fuiſſe & fore legitimum,
& præſatum Henricum Angliæ Regem teneri, & obliga-
tum fuiſſe & fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta Catherina
Regina, ejus legitima conjuge, illamque maritali affectione
& Regio honore tractandam, & eundem Henricum An-
gliæ Regem ad præmiſſa omnia & ſingula cum effectu
ad implendum, condemnandum, omnibusque juris remediis
cogendum & compellendum fore, prout condemnamus, co-
gimus, & compellimus, moleſtationeſque & denegationes
per eundem Henr. Regem eidem Catherinæ Regine ſuper
invaliditate ac ſadere dicti matrimonii quomodolibet
factas & præſtitas, fuiſſe & eſſe illicitas & injuſtas; &
eidem Henrico Regi ſuper illis ac in invaliditate matri-
monii hujusmodi perpetuum ſilentium imponendum fore,
& imponimus, eundemque Henricum Angliæ Regem in
expenſis in hujusmodi cauſa pro parte dictæ Catherinæ
Reginæ coram nobis, & dictis omnibus legitime factis
condemnandum fore, & condemnamus, quorum expenſa-
rum taxationem nobis in poſterum referamus.

Ita pronuntiamus, I.

Lata fuit Romæ in Palatio Apoſolico
publice in Conſiſtorio die xxiii. Mar-
tii, M.D. XXXIV.

Blotius.

Tbe

The effect in English.

THe effect of this Sentence is as much to mean in English, That Pope Clement the Seventh, with the consent of his other Brethren the Cardinals assembled together in the Consistory, sitting there in the Throne of Justice, calling upon the Name of Christ, and having God only before his eyes, doth pronounce, define and declare in the cause and causes between his dear Daughter Katherine Queen of England appealing to the See Apostolick, and his beloved (d) Son Henry the Eighth King of England, concerning the validity and invalidity of the Matrimony heretofore contracted between them, and yet depending in the Consistory Court of the said Pope Clement; that the said Matrimony always hath, (e) and still doth stand firm and Canonical, and that the Issue proceeding, or which shall proceed of the same, standeth, and shall stand lawful and legitimate; and that the forsaide Henry King of England is and shall be bound and obliet to the Matrimonial society and cohabitation with the said Lady Katherine his lawful Wife and Queen, to hold and maintain her with such love and princely honour, as becometh a loving Husband, and his Kingly honour to do.

(a) The Pope saith in the Throne of Justice, with the like humility and true fashion, as Luther said in the fear of the highest, and notwithstanding saith in the Temple of God.

(b) And said never a word.

(c) I say, having no bribe of money in his hands, nor any fear of the Emperor in his heart.

(d) Not this a glorious Father that will have no beggars to his Son and Daughters, but Emperours, Kings and Queens?

(e) And why then did you send Queenes to England to dissolve the same Matrimony before as appeareth above?

(f) By his own Canon Law, he meaneth, and not by the Law of God.

(g) Here thou shalt see (good Reader) how the Pope may and doth erre like a false Prophet. For where he thought to put the King to silence, his silence was lighted upon himself, and whereby the Pope is driven himself to stand mute in England, and God grant he may so stand for ever, Amen.

Also, that the said Henry King of England, if he shall refuse so to perform and accomplish all and singular the premises, as he is effectually manner is to be condemned and compelled thereunto by all remedies of (f) the Law, and enforced, according as we do condemn, compel, and enforce him so to do, providing, that all maledictions and refusals whatsoever made by the said King Henry against the said Queen Katherine, upon the invalidity of the said Marriage, to have been and be judged unlawful and unjust; and the said King from henceforth for ever to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any Court hereafter (g) to speak touching the invalidity of the said Matrimony: like as we also do here will and charge him to hold his peace, and do put him to perpetual silence herein; willing moreover and adjudging the said Henry to be condemned, and presently here we do condemn him in the expenses on the said Queen Katherine's behalf here in our Court, expended and employed in traversing the forsaide cause, the valuation of which expenses we reserve to our selves to be limited and taxed, as we shall judge meet hereafter.

We do so pronounce. I.

At Rome in our Apostolical Palace publicly in our Consistory, 23. Mart. M.D.XXXIV.

Blosius.

Pope Leo his Bull against Luther, and the Appellation of M. Luther, from the Pope by way of Appeal.

Now as you have heard the presumptuous and arrogant Sentence of Pope Clement, wherein he taketh upon him, contrary to the Ordinance of God in his Levitical Law (as is before shewed) and contrary to the best learned Judgments of Christendom, to command and compel the King, against his Conscience, to retain in Matrimony his Brothers Wife; here followeth in like order to be inferred, according to my promise, another like wicked, blasphemous and slanderous Bull of Pope Leo against Martin Luther, with the just Appellation also of the said Martin Luther from the Pope to a general Council. Wherein may appear to all men the lying spirit of the Pope, both in teaching most Heretical Doctrine, derogating from the Blood of Christ, and also falsely depraving and perverting the sound Doctrine of Luther, falsely and untruly charging him with Heresie, when he is the greater Heretick himself. For what Heretick would ever say that the Church of Rome was consecrated and sanctified by the Blood of Peter, but only the Pope? Or who would call this Heresie, to refer all our

salvation and sanctification only and totally to the Blood of the Son of God, unless he were an Heretick of all Hereticks himself?

After the like dealing we read, 2 Reg. 18. of wicked King Abab, who being only the disturber of Israel himself, crieth out upon Elias for troubling Israel. So here in semblable wise Pope Leo, with what heaps of tragical words and exclamations doth he fare and rage against the true Servant of God, poor Luther, for disturbing the Church of God, when it is the Pope only and his Fathers House that troubleth, and long hath troubled the true Church of the Lord, as by his doings all the world may see enough and too much. In the mean time read, I beseech thee, with judgment this impudent and false slanderous Bull of the Pope, with the Appeal also of Luther again from the said Pope. The Copy whereof; because it is rare to be gotten, and hath not been hitherto commonly seen, being before omitted, I thought to commit here to history, as I had it out of certain Registers; the manner and tenour whereof is this that followeth.

A Copy of the Bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, no less slanderous than barbarous, against Martin Luther and his Doctrine.

Leo Papa X.

LEO Episcopus servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam: Exurge Domine & judica causam tuam. Memor esto opprobriorum eorum quae ab insipientibus sunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quoniam surrexerunt Vulpes quarentes demoliri vineam, cuius in torcular solus calcas, & ascensus ad Patrem, ejus curam, regimen, et administrationem Petro tanquam capiti, et tuo Vicario, ejusque successoribus in Christo triumphantis Ecclesiae commissisti, &c.

The said slanderous and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, against Luther, in English; with the Answer of Luther joyned to the same.

LEO Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a perpetual memory: Rise up, O Lord, and judge thy cause; remember the rebukes wherewith we are scorned all the day long of foolish Rebukers. Incline thine ear unto our Prayers; for Foxes are risen up, seeking to destroy thy Vineyard, the Vinepress whereof thou only hast troden, and ascending up to thy Father hast committed the charge and regiment thereof unto Peter as chief Head, and to thy Vicar and his Successors. The wild Boar out of the wood seeketh to exterminate and root up the Vineyard. Rise up Peter, and for this thy Pastoral charge committed to thee from above, intend to the cause of the holy Church of Rome, the Mother of all Churches and of our Faith, which thou by the commandment of God didst consecrate with thine own Blood; against which (as thou hast foretold us) false holders by liars have risen up, bringing in Seeds of perdition; to their own speedy destruction. Whose Tongue is like fire, full of unquietness, and replenished with deadly poison; who having a wicked zeal, and nourishing contentious in their hearts, do brag and lie against the Verity.

Rise up Paul also, we pray thee, which hast illuminated the same Church with thy Doctrine and like Martyrdom. For now is sprung up a new Porphyry, who as the said Porphyry then unjustly did slander the holy Apostles, so semblably doth this man now slandered, revile, rebukes, bite, and bark against the holy Bishops our Predecessors, not in beseeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he distrusteth his cause, there he falleth to opprobrious checks and rebukes, after the wonted use of Hereticks, whose uttermost refuge is this (as Hierom saith) that when they see their cause go to wreck, then like Serpents they cast out the venom with their Tongue, and when they see themselves near to be overcome, they fall to railing. For though Heresies (as thou saist) must needs be, for the exercise of the Faithful; yet lest these Heresies should further increase, and these Foxes gather strength against us, it is needful that by thy means and help they be suppressed and extinguished at the beginning.

Finally,

The Pope playeth with Luther, as Archad played with David, saying, he was the trouble of Israel, while he was the himself and his Fathers House that do did.

The Bull of Pope Leo against Luther.

Here beginneth and mark good Reader, how the Church of Rome of St. Peter, and notably the Blood of Christ.

Finally, let all the whole universal Church of Gods Saints and Doctors rise up, whose true expounding of holy Scriptures being rejected, certain Persons (whose hearts the Father of Israhel blinded) wife in their own conceits (as the manner of Hereticks is) do expound the Scriptures otherwise than the holy Ghost doth require, following only their own sense of ambition and vain glory; yea rather do wrest and adulterate the Scriptures. So that, as *Hierome* saith, now they make it not the Gospel of Christ, but of man, or which is worse, of the Devil.

Let all the holy Church, I say, rise up, and with the blessed Apostles together make intercession to Almighty God, that the Errors of all Schismatics being rooted and stocked up, his holy Church may be conserved in peace and unity.

Respectively.

For of late (which for sorrow we cannot express) by credible information and also by Publick Fame it hath come to our ears, yea we have seen also and read with our eyes divers and sundry Errors, of which some have been condemned by Councils, and Constitutions of our Predecessors, containing expressly the Heresies of the Greeks and of the Bohemians; some again respectively, either Heretical, or false, or slanderous, or offensive to good ears, or such as may seduce simple minds, newly to be raised up, by certain false pretended Gospellers; who, by curious pride, seeking worldly glory against the Doctrine of the Apostles, would be more wise than becometh them, whose babbling (as Saint *Hierome* calleth it) without Authority of the Scripture, would find no credit, unless they should seem to confirm their false Doctrine even with Testimonies of the Scripture, but yet falsely interpreted. Which worketh us so much the more grief, for that those Heresies be sprung in the noble Nation of the *Germans*, unto the which Nation we with our Predecessors have always born special favour and affection. For after the Empire first translated by the Church of *Rome*, from the Greeks unto the *Germans*, the said our Predecessors and we have always had them as special patrons and defenders of this our Church, and they have always shewed themselves as most earnest suppressors of Heresies; as witnesses whereof yet remain those laudable Constitutions of *German* Emperours; set forth and confirmed by our Predecessors, for the liberty of the Church, and for expelling Hereticks out of all *Germany*, and that under grievous penalty and loss of all their Goods and Lands. Which Constitutions, if they were observed this present day, both we and they should now be free from this disturbance.

The Germans in old times most addicted to Popery above all other Nations.

Furthermore, the Heresie of the *Hussites*, *Wicklows*, and of *Hierome* of *Prague*, being condemned and punished in the Council of *Constance*, doth witness the same. Moreover, so much Blood of the *Germans*, spilt fighting against the *Bohemians*, doth witness the same. To conclude, the same also is confirmed and witnessed by the learned and true Confutation, Reprobation, and Condemnation set forth by the Universities of *Colen* and *Leovine* in *Germany*, against the foresaid Errors. Many other witnesses also we might alledge, which here (left we should seem to write a story) we premit.

Wherefore we, for the charge of our Pastoral Office committed unto us, can no longer forbear or wink at the pestiferous poison of these foresaid Errors: of the which Errors we thought here good to recite certain; the tenor of which is this as followeth.

Articles of Luther.

It is an old Heresie to say, that the Sacraments of the new Law do give grace to them, qui non ponunt obicem, (i.) which have in themselves, to the contrary, no let.

To deny that sin remaineth in a Child after his Baptism, as to tread down Paul and Christ under foot.

The origine of sin, although no actual sin do follow after, doth stay the Soul, leaving the Body, from the entrance into Heaven.

Unperfect charity of a man departing must needs bring with it great fear, which is enough to deserve the pain of Purgatory, and stoppeth the entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

To say that Penance standeth of three parts, to wit, Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction, is not founded in holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian Doctors.

Contrition, which a man sheweth up in himself, by discussing, remembering and detesting his sins, in revelling his former years in bitterness of Soul, and in pondering the weight, number and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal Bliss, and getting of eternal Damnation: this Contrition maketh a man an hypocrite, and a great sinner.

It is an old Proverb, and to be preferred before the Doctrine of all that have written hundreds of Contrition: from henceforth to transgress no more. The chiefest and the best Penance is a new life.

Repentance is a new life.

Neither presume to confess thy venial sins, nor yet any thy mortal sins; for it is impossible to remember all the mortal sins that thou hast committed, and therefore in the Primitive Church they confessed the mortal sins which only were manifest.

While we seek to number up all our sins sincerely unto the Priest, we mean nothing else herein, but that we will leave nothing to the mercy of God to be forgiven.

In Confession no man hath his sins forgiven, except he believe, when the Priest forgiveth, the same to be remitted: yea, otherwise his sin remaineth unforgiven, unless he believe the same to be forgiven. For else remission of the Priest, and giving of Grace doth not suffice, except belief come on his part that is remitted.

Think not thy sin to be absolved for the worthiness of thy contrition, but for the word of Christ, Whatsoever thou dost, &c. When thou art absolved of the Priest, trust confidently upon those words, and believe firmly, thy self to be absolved, and then art thou truly remitted.

Admit the party that is confessed were not contrite, (which is impossible) or that the Priest pronounced the words of losing not in earnest, but in jest; yet if the party believe that he is absolved, he is truly absolved indeed.

Impossible, because it cannot be that the Faith of the true Confessor can be without caution.

In the Sacrament of Penance and Absolution, the Pope or Bishop do no more then any inferior Priest can do: yea, and where a Priest is not to be had, there every Christian man, yea or Christian Woman standeth in as good stead.

None ought to say to the Priest, that he is contrite; neither ought the Priest to ask any such matter.

He meaneth this, because that as no man knoweth all his sins; so no man can be contrite for them sufficiently.

It is a great Error of them which come to the holy Men, trusting upon this, that they are confessed, that their Conscience grudgeth them in no deadly sin, that they have said their Prayers, and done such other preparatives before; all those do eat and drink to their own judgment; but if they believe there to obtain Gods grace this Faith maketh them pure and worthy.

It were good that the Church should determine in a general Council, Lay-men to communicate under both kinds; and the Bohemians so doing be therein neither Hereticks nor Schismatics.

The Treasuries out of which the Pope doth grant his Indulgences, are not the merits of Christ, nor of his Saints.

Indulgences and Pardons be a deceitful seducing of the Faithful, and hindrance to good works, and are in the number of them which be things lawful, but not expedient.

This he correcteth in his assertions of these Articles, and saith, that Indulgences be neither lawful nor expedient. And likewise he correcteth and revoketh the Articles.

Pardons and Indulgences, to them which have them, avail not to remission of the punishment due before God for actual sins committed.

They which think that Indulgences are wholesome and conducive to the fruit of the Spirit, are deceived.

Indulgences are only necessary for publick Transgressions, and are only granted to them that are obstinate and impatient.

Indulgences and Pardons are unprofitable to six sorts of persons. First, To them that be dead, or lie in dying. Secondly, To them that be weak and infirm. Thirdly, To such as have lawful impediments. Fourthly, To them that have not offended. Fifthly, To such as have offended, but not publickly. Sixthly, To those that amend and do well.

Excommunications be only outward punishments, and do not deprive a man of the publick Spiritual Prayers of the Church.

Indulgences and Pardons taken clean away.

Christians are to be taught rather to love Excommunication, than to dread it.

The Bishop of Rome, Successor of Peter, is not the Vicar of Christ, ordained by Christ and St. Peter, to have Authority over all the Churches in the World.

The

The Words of Chriſt to Peter, Whatſoever thou looſeſt &c. Matth. 16. extend no further but onely to thoſe things which he bound of Peter himſelf.

It is not in the Hands either of the Church or of the Pope to make Articles of the Faith, yea, or Laws either of manners or good works.

Albeit the Pope with a greatpart of the Church teaching ſo or ſe, do not err therein; yet it is no ſin nor Hereſie for a Man to hold contrary to them, namely, in ſuch things which are not neceſſary to ſalvation, ſo long as it is not otherwiſe condemned or approved by a General Council.

We have a way made plain unto us to infringe the Authority of Councils and freely to gainſay their doings, and to judge upon their Decrees, and boldly to ſpeak our knowledge whatſoever we judge to be true, whether the ſame be approved or reproved by any General Council.

Some of the Articles of John Huſ, condemned in the Council of Conſtance, are Chriſtians, moſt true and Evangelical, whom the Univerſal Church cannot condemn. In every good work the Juſt Man ſinneth.

Every good work of ours, when it is beſt done, it is a venial ſin.

To burn Hereticks is againſt the will of the Spirit. To fight againſt the Turks is to repugn againſt God, Viſiting our Iniquities by them.

Free-will after ſin is a title, and name onely of a thing, and while man doth that which lieth in him, he ſinneth deadly.

Purgatory cannot be proved out of Holy Scripture which is Canonical.

Souls in Purgatory be not certain of their ſafety, at leaſt not all neither is it proved by Reaſons or by Scriptures, that they be utterly out of the State to deſerve or increaſe charity.

Souls in Purgatory do ſin without intermiſſion, ſo long as they ſeek reſt, and dread puniſhment.

The Souls being delivered out of Purgatory by the Prayers of the living be leſſe bleſſed, than if they had ſatisfied for themſelves.

Eccleſiaſtical Prelates and worldly Princes ſhould not do amiſſe, if they would ſcower away all the bags of begging Friars.

All which Errors there is no Man in his right wits but he knoweth the ſame, in their ſeveral reſpects, how peccant they be, how pernicious, how much they ſeducer godly and ſimple minds, and finally, how much they be againſt all charity, and againſt the Reverence of the Holy Church of Rome the Mother of all faithful, and Miſtreſs of the Faith it ſelf, and againſt the ſineſs and ſtrength of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, which is obedience, the Fountain and Welſpring of all vertues, and without the which every man is to be convinced eaſily to be an Infidel.

We therefore deſiring to proceed in the premiſſes more earnestly, as behooveth in things of moſt importance, and meaning to cut off the courſe of this peſtilentous and cankered diſeaſe, left it ſhould ſpread it ſelf further in the Lords field, like hurtful Brambles or Briars, and uſing upon the ſaid Errors, and every of them, diligent, debating, ſtreight examination, ripe deliberation: And further, weighing and thoroughly liſting all and every of the ſame together, with our reverend Brethren the Cardinals of the Church of Rome, the Priors of the Orders regular, or Miniſters General, alſo with divers other Protectors and Maſters of Divinity, and of both the Laws, and thoſe the beſt learned; do find the foreſaid Errors or Articles, reſpectively, as is aforeſaid, not to be Catholick, nor to be taught as Catholick, but to be againſt the Doctrin or Tradition of the Catholick Church, and againſt the true interpretation of Holy Scripture, received by the ſame; to whoſe Authority Auguſtine thought he ought ſo much to lean, that he would not (as he ſaid) have believed the Goſpel, if the Authority of the Church had not thereunto moved him.

For by theſe Errors, or at leaſt be ſome of them, it followeth conſequently, that the ſame Church, which is guided by the Holy Ghoſt, now doth, and ever hath

erred: which is utterly againſt that which Chriſt at the time of his aſcenſion (as we read in the Holy Goſpel of Matthew) promiſed to his Diſciples, ſaying, I am with you until the end of the world, &c. And alſo againſt the Determination of the Holy Fathers, againſt the expreſs Ordinances or Canons of Councils and head Biſhops, whom not to obey hath always been the cauſe and nurſe of all Hereſies and Schiſms, as Cyprian doth witneſs.

Wherefore by the Council and Aſſent of the ſaid our Reverend Brethren, upon due conſideration of all and ſingular the Premiſſes, by the Authority of Almighty God, and of the Bleſſed Apoſtles, of Peter and Paul, and our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject all and ſingular the Articles or Errors aforeſaid reſpectively, as ſome to be Heretick, ſome to be ſlanderous, ſome to be offenſive to godly ears, or elſe ſeducing ſimple minds, and regugnant to the Catholick truth, and by the tenour hereof we here decree, and declare that they ought of all Chriſtian People, both Men and Women, to be taken as damned, reprov'd and rejected. And therefore forbidding here under pain of the Greater Curſe and Excommunication, loſing of their Dignities, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and to be deprived and made uncapable of all Regular Orders and Priviledges, given and granted by the See Apoſtolick, of what condition ſoever they be; alſo of loſing of their liberties to hold General Schools, to read and profeſs any Science and Faculty; of loſing alſo their Tenures and Poſſeſſions, and of inhability for ever to recover the ſame again, or any other; moreover, under pain of ſecluding from Chriſtian Burial, yea and of Treafon alſo, and incurring ſuch pains and puniſhments expreſſed in the Law, as are due for all Hereticks and Fautors of the ſame ſame; we charge and command all and ſingular Chriſtian People, both Men and Women, as well of the Laity, as of the Clergy, both Secular and alſo Regular, of what Order ſoever they be, and briefly all other Perſons, of what degree or condition ſoever they be, or in what Dignity ſoever they are placed, either Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal; as firſt the Cardinals of the Holy Church of Rome, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, which the Prelates and Heads of the Churches Patriarchical, Metropolitan, or other Cathedral, Collegiate, and other ſmall and inferior Churches; alſo all Clerks and other Perſons Eccleſiaſtical, as Abbots, Priors, or Miniſters, general or particular, Brethren, or Religious Men, exempt and not exempt; Alſo Univerſities of Schools, and all other, as well Secular Priests, as Regular and Religious Perſons of all Orders, yea of the begging Friars alſo. Item, Kings, Electors of the Imperial Crown, Princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Barons, Captains, Conductors and Servitors, and all Officers, Judges, Notaries, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical, or Secular; Communalities, Univerſities, Dominions, Cities, Caſtles, Lordſhips, and places, with the Inhabiters of the ſame; and finally all other Perſons whatſoever, Eccleſiaſtical or Regular, diſperſed in whatſoever places through the whole "Univerſal World, or which ſhall be hereafter diſperſed, but eſpecially in high Germany, that they ſhall not preſume publicly or privately under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expreſſly, or how elſe ſoever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour the foreſaid Errors or any of them, or any ſuch perverſe Doctrin.

Over and beſides, ſoſomuch as the foreſaid Errors, and many other are contained in the Books or Writings of the foreſaid Martin Luther, therefore we condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, the foreſaid Books, and all the Writings of the ſaid Martin, with his Preachings, in what tongue ſoever they are contained, willing and commanding under the vertue of Holy Obedience, and incurring the Penalties aforeſaid, to all and ſingular Chriſtian People, both Men and Women above rehearſed, that they preſume not by any manner of ways, directly, colourably or expreſſly, privily or openly, either in their Houſes, in other publique or private places, to read, hold, preach, print, publiſh, or defend, either by themſelves or by others, but ſtraightways after

The Article
of Luther
condemned.

Whold how
Kings come
after bags
and wallers,
and begging
Friars.

Here may
be a doubt,
whether the
man in the
Moon be
exempt
with his hounds
of ſhooting on
his rock out
of this Ball
or not.

The Books
of Mr. Luther
condemned.

"This Article is true if the work should be brought to be tried by Gods judgment. And here also he correcteth himself in this word verbal, because all sins are damnable. He meaneth that we should especially reform our lives, which deserve the Turks to plague us. These Articles also Purgatory he correcteth and taketh Purgatory clean away.

Concilium malignatum.

the publishing hereof, they do burn or cause to be burned the said errors, by their Ordinaries diligently being searched out, and solemnly presented in the sight of the whole Clergy and the People, under all and singular the penalties aforesaid.

Let us see here what ye have not done. first Luther generally libelled himself; but you rejected him: he then referred him to the judgement of 4 Universities in Germany; it would not be taken he the Pope to the Pope rejected him: then he appealed from the Pope to the Council, neither did the Pope admit that: he required, to be convinced by the Scriptures, the Pope neither would nor could so do And yet the Pope faith he left nothing undone Item. 8. Here note, good reader, that Luther appealed from the Pope to the Council two years before this Bull which was Anno. 1518.

The Popes exhortation to Luther.

Now as touching the said *Martin*, O good Lord, what have we left undone? what have we left unattempted? what fatherly charity have we not shewed, whereby to have reduced him from these errors? For after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers Tractations had with our Legate, as by our own Letters, that he would relinquish the forefaid Errors, or else having safe Conduct offered to him, with Money necessary for his journey, to come to us without any fear or dread, which perfect charity ought to cast out, but openly to our Face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no less, but that reforming himself, he would have Recognized his Errors, neither should have found so many faults in the Court of Rome, which he being seduced with the Rumors of Malicious people, more than he ought, doth so much reprehend. Where we would have taught him to see more clearly than the light day, that the Holy Fathers of Rome our Predecessors, (whom he without all modesty most injuriously doth rail upon) did never erre in their Canons and Constitutions (which he so much depraveth.) For as faith the Prophet, *Neither is there Rofin or Phylitian lacking in Galaad.* But he hath always shewed himself disobedient, and refused at our citation to appear, and yet to this present day, continuing still in his stubborn Mind and Heart indurate, hath remained now more than a year under our Curse; yea and moreover, adding mischief to mischief, (which is worst of all) he hearing of this our Citation, burst out into a presumptuous Appellation from us, unto the next General Council, against the Constitution both of Pope *Pius* the second, and Pope *Julius* the second, our Predecessors, which so decreed, that all they which so did appeal should be punished as Hereticks.

In vain also he seeketh Refuge to the General Council, which professeth himself not greatly to regard such Councils. So that now we might lawfully proceed against him, as against one Notoriously suspected of his Faith, yea a very Heretick indeed, without any further Citation or delay, to the Condemnation of him, as of an Heretick, and to the severity of all and singular pains and censures afore written. Yet we notwithstanding by the Council of our Brethren aforesaid, following the Clemency of Almighty God, which will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, and forgetting all injuries heretofore done unto us and to the See *Apostolique*, have thought good to use all favourable means towards him that we might, and so to work, (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of mansuetude, might be brought to reformation, so that he forsaking his former Errors might be received as the lost Child, and return again into the lap of his Mother the Church.

Wherefore in most hearty wise we exhort and beseech the said *Martin* and all his Adherents, Receivers and Fautors, by the Bowels of the Mercy of our God, and by the sprinkling of the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom, and by whom, is made the Redemption of Mankind, and the edification of his Holy Mother Church, that they will cease to disturb the Peace, Unity and Verity of the said Church; for the which our Saviour so instantly prayed to his Father, and that they will abstain from such Pernicious Errors aforesaid. Who in so doing shall find with us (if they shall obey, or shall certify us by lawful witnesses to have obeyed) effectually herein the affection of fatherly charity, and a full fountain opened of all mercy and clemency; willing and charging the said *Martin* notwithstanding from henceforth, that he utterly desist in the mean time from all preaching and office of preaching, Or else if the love of Justice and Verue shall not restrain the said *Martin* from Sin, neither the hope of our Pardon shall reduce and bring him to Repentance; to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him, we require and admo-

nish the said *Martin* and his Adherents, Abettors, Fautors, and Receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the Veity of Holy Obedience, and under incurring all the penalties aforesaid, districly charging and commanding that within forty days (whereof twenty we assign for the first; ten for the second, and the other ten for the third and peremptory term) immediately following after the setting up of these present Letters, the said *Martin*, his Abettors, Fautors, Adherents, and Receivers aforesaid, do surcease from the forefaid Errors, and from the preaching, publishing, maintaining, and defending of the same also from setting out of Book or Scriptures upon the said Errors, or any of them; and furthermore, that they burn or cause to be burned all and singular such Books and Scriptures as contain the forefaid Errors, or any of them, by any manner of way.

Also that the said *Martin* do utterly revoke those Errors and Assertions, and so certify us of the revoking thereof by publick Testimony, in due form of Law, signed by the Hands of two Prelates, to be sent unto us within the term of other like forty days or else to be brought by him unto us, if he himself will come (which would please us much rather) with a full safe conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no scruple of doubt, touching his true Obedience should hereafter remain.

Contrariwise, if the said *Martin* (which God defend) his Abettors, Fautors, Adherents, and Maintainers aforesaid, shall otherwise do, or shall not fulfil, to every effect and purpose, all and singular the premises within the term aforesaid, we then following the Doctrine of the Apostles, which teacheth us to void an Heretical person after the first and second correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now, declaring by our Authority the said *Martin*, his Abettors, Fautors Adherents, Maintainers, and Receivers, as withered Branches not remaining in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary Doctrine, repugnant to the Catholick Faith, slanderous and damnable, to the great offence of Gods Majesty, to the detriment and slander of the Universal Church and Catholick Faith, and despising the Keys of the Church, to be, and to have been notorious and obdinate Hereticks, do condemn the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such of all Christian people aforesaid.

Over and besides, we forbid, under the incurring of all the all and singular the penalties afore expressed in so doing, that any man presume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, privily or openly, to read, hold, preach, praise, print, publish or defend, either by themselves or by any other, the said Books and Writings, not only those wherein the Errors aforesaid are contained, but also all others whatsoever have been or shall be set forth, written or made by the said *Martin*, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the Catholick Faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all Christian people or rather with fire to consume them, as is before declared.

We admonish moreover all and singular Christs faithful people, under the said pain of the Great Curse, to avoid or cause to be avoided, so much as in them doth lie, the forefaid Hereticks not obedient to our commandment, and to have no Fellowship nor any Conversation or Communion with them, or with any of them, neither to Minister to them things Necessary.

And moreover, to the more confusion of the said *Martin*, with his Abettors, Adherents, and Retainers aforesaid, thus being declared and condemned as Hereticks, after the expiring of the term aforesaid, we command all and singular Christs faithful people both Men and Women, as Patriarchs, Archbishops, Prelates of Churches, either Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other Cathedral, Collegiate, and other inferior Churches; to Deans and Chapters, and other Ecclesiastical Persons Secular, and of all other Orders, even of the begging Friars also, namely of that Congregation; where the said *Martin* is professed, or hath his abode; also to Regular, exempt, and not exempt; Item, to all and singular Princes

what

The Pope threatened M. Luther with penalties, which possibly were.

The Popes safe conduct to Luther offered.

All the Books of Luther both good and bad, were to be condemned, and by the Pope.

Apoc. 18. And he shall have power and commandment upon every country, &c. people, and tongue, and nation, &c.

The Pope here dreamt of a dry Summer, thinking all the World to be subject unto him.

what Dignity or Calling soever, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, they be of; to Kings, Princes Electors, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Captains, Conductors, Servitors, Communalities, Universities, Dominions, Cities, Lands, Castles, and Places, or the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; and briefly, to all and singular other aforesaid, through the Universal World dispersed, specially in *Almany*, that they, and every of them, under all and singular Penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said *Martin*, his Abettors, Adherents, Receivers, and Fautors, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and send them unto us (who in so doing, for their good work, shall receive of us and the See Apostolick condign reward and recompence) or at least, that they utterly drive them, and every one of them, out of their Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Houses, Monasteries, Convents, Cities, Dominions, Universities, Communalities, Castles, Lands, and places respectively, as well the Clergy-men, as the Regular and Lay-men, all and singular aforesaid.

These Cities, Dominions, Lands, Castles, Villages, Communalities, Holds, Towns and Places, wheresoever they be situate respectively, Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Monasteries also, Priories, Convents, and religious and devout places, or what Order soever (as is aforesaid) unto the which it shall chance the said *Martin* to come, so long as he or they shall these remain, and three days after their departing from thence, we here give over to the Ecclesiastical Interdiction.

And that the Premises may be known to all men, we command moreover all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates of the Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, to Deans and Chapters, and other persons Ecclesiastical, and of what Order else soever aforesaid, to Regular Brethren, Religious Monks, exempt and not exempt aforesaid, wheresoever they dwell, and especially within *Almany*, that they and every of them, under like Censures and Pains, do publicly denounce, and cause and command to be denounced of others, the said *Martin*, with all and singular his aforesaid Adherents, which shall not obey our Commandments and Monitions, within the term aforesaid, upon every *Sunday*, and other Festival days, within their Churches, when as the greatest concourse of people shall resort to Divine Service, to be declared and condemned for Hereticks, and that all Christs faithful People shall avoid them under the said Censures and Penalties as be afore expressed, and that they do set up these Presents, or cause to be set up, or the Transcript of them made under the form hereafter ensuing, in their Churches, Monasteries, Houses, Convents, and other places there openly to be seen and read.

Item, We do Excommunicate and Cuse all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, prebeminence, dignity, or excellency they be, which shall procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or other, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly, or expressly, whereby these Presents, or the Copies transcript, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, and published in their Lands and Dominions, &c.

Let no man therefore be so bold to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrary this Writing of our Damnation, Reprobation, Rejection, Decree, Declaration, Inhibition, Will, Commandment, Exhortation, Befeeching, Request, Admonition, Affignation, Grant, Condemnation, Subjection, Excommunication and Curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed Apostles *Peter and Paul*.

Given at Rome at S. Peters, Anno 1520. 17 Calend. Julii. And of our Popedom the eighth year.

Although it was somewhat long before this Bull aforesaid of Pope *Leo*, being sent and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of *Luther*, yet so soon as he by means of his Friends might get a sight thereof, he shaped again an Answer to the same;

in such sort, as I am sure the Pope himself will say that this Bull was never so baited, and so well-favourably shaken in all his days; as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his Answer, may evidently appear. The Contents and Copy of the which Answer I thought here, next after the said Bull, immediately to exhibit to the Christian Reader, that who is disposed to confer the one with the other, having them both at hand, may judge the better of the whole matter and cause, and also may see the true image of the Pope, out of his painted vizor, appear in his own perfect colours. The Answer now to the Bull here followeth.

J E S U S.

Martinus Lutherus Christiano Lectori, gratiam Christi in salutem eternam.

Adma pervenit ad me, Christiane Lector, existis Bullam quandam adversum me, pene in omnem terram, proutquam ad me, in quem unice fueris, & cui maxime erat inferenda, venerit. Forit, quid notis & regebrum scilicet filia, times lucem cultus mei. Hanc tamen ipsam notuam, vix tandem multum adjuvantibus amicis, in imagine sua, datum est videre, &c.

The answer of M. Luther to the Popes Bull in Lat.

Quam sequentem vide in posterore editione, p. 1465.

Here followeth the same Answer of Martin Luther against the execrable Bull of Pope Leo in English.

Martin Luther to the Christian Reader, witheth the Grace of Christ to eternal Salvation. I heard a fame afar off (Christian Reader) that a certain Bull to the World before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except peradventure it was for that the said Bull, like unto a night Crow, and as a Bird of darkness hatched in the night, durst not flee in the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night Fowl after long time, by help of Friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me in his own likeness to behold. Which causeth me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my Papists do dally and jest with me, in setting out such famous Libels without any name, against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad men so against me at *Rome*, or no. For first, neither do I see here the Title (as it is called) nor the Process of the Court of *Rome* observed. And again (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought and condemned such Articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most Christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, the said Monster to be hatched by *John Eckius*, a man wholly compact and franted altogether of lies, dissimulations, errors, and heresies.

The said suspicion this also partly confirmeth, for that I hear it so bruted abroad, that the said *Eckius* is thought and said to be the Apostle of such a goodly Bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet Apostle for such an Apostleship than he. And indeed I heard no less long since, that a Bull was in working against me at *Rome*, partly by the workmanship of *Eckius*; which because (as the stile and composition thereof declarerh) it displeaseth the good and learned men there) was therefore deferred) and should have been suppressed.

But whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, wheresoever this Apostle *Eckius* beareth rule, there to be the Kingdom of Antichrist, and all kind of madness there to reign. In the-mean time I will so deal, that I will not seem to believe Pope *Leo* the Tenth, with his learned Cardinals, to be the Authors of this furious madness: Which I do not so much for the honour of the See of *Rome*, as because I will not be put up too much with pride, and seem to my self as one worthy to suffer such, so great, and so glorious things for the Verity of God. For if it were so indeed, that the Bishop of *Rome* did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as *Luther*, to be condemned for so manifest a Truth of such a proud Prelat? Wherein what were more to be wished for of me, than that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that so doltish and unlearned, wicked and furious Antichrist?

Z z

M. Luther
thinketh
himself not
worthy to
fight in the
good cause.

christ? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be received with all joy and thankfulness to God, if it might be my hap at any time, in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death. But give the honour of this cause unto others, and let this matter find his Martyr worthy for the fame; I for my Sins am not worthy to come to that honour.

M. Luther
protestation.

Let other men therefore think of these Romanists what they list; thus I think, that whosoever was the Author of this Bull he is a very Antichrist; and against Antichrist these things I write, to redeem the verity of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he labourerth to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtain no part of his Will in any thing against me, here I protest before God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy Angels, and all the World, that I dissent with all my heart from the condemnation of this Bull, which Bull I also do curse and execrate, as an Enemy, a Church-Robber, and Blasphemy against Christ the Son of God, our Lord, Amen.

Mark here
how Luther
reneweth
his
c

Furthermore, I hold, defend, and embrace with the full trust of my Spirit, those Articles in the said Bull condemned and excommunicate, and affirm that the same ought to be holden of all Faithful Christians, under pain of eternal malediction, and that they are to be counted for Antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said Bull, whom I also, together with the Spirit of all them which know the truth, do utterly detest, and shun them, according to the Precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen: And let this stand for thy revocation, O Bull, *verè Bullarum filia*: (i) O thou Bull, which art the very Daughter of all vain * bubbles.

* Bulls in
Luther's
signifi-
cantly
in such
a bubble
in the
Water.

This my Confession and Protestation made (for witness whereof I take them all that shall read these presents) before I proceed to defend and declare these foresaid Articles, I will first begin with certain Arguments for the confusion of the said Bull; whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorance of this blockish Antichrist. For the Apostle *Peter* so commandeth, that we should be ready to render a Reason of that Faith and Hope which is in us. And the Apostle *Paul* willetth a Bishop to be mighty to exhort in found Doctrine, and to refute the gain-sayers. And these things be they which now three years ago I have desired and looked for out of *Rome*, or from them which take part with *Rome*. Which things also we do read to be observed most diligently amongst the ancient Fathers, whosoever they condemned Heresie. Neither do we read that the Apostles did ever decree any thing in their Councils, but they first alleged the holy Scripture. So I also when I waited that they would answer me with Grapes, and enform me with true Testimonies of the Scripture, behold they bring to me fowre and wild Grapes, condemning me with nothing else but bare words, whereas I have fortified my matter with plain Scriptures.

Tit. 1.

The Papist
will not
budge the
trial of
the
Scripture.

I say unto thee, O thou most unlearned Antichrist, hast thou joynd such brain-sick rashness together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to think all men to be turned into Stocks and blocks, and to think that thou with thy bare and naked words only canst triumph against the invincible force and power of Gods holy Word? Hast thou learned this manner of condemning the Magistralities of *Colen* and of *Lo-vaine*?

If this be the manner of the Church to damn Errors, only to say, I like it not, I deny it, I will not; what Fool, what Patch, what Ass, what Block cannot condemn after this manner? Is not thy whorish face alumed, in the publick sight of the Church to dare once to set the trifling vanities only of thy naked and bare words against the Thunderbolts of Gods eternal Word? O impudent condemnation and right seemly for Antichrist! which hath not one jot or tittle to bring against such evident Scriptures inferred against him, but only with one word cometh and saith, I condemn thee. And why then do we not believe the Turk? Why do we not admit the Jew? Why do we not honour the Hereticks which also condemn our writings as well as he, if it be enough only to condemn? unless we do not therefore peradventure give place unto them, because they condemn us not utterly without some Scriptures and Reasons: but these men after a new found fashion,

utterly without all Scriptures or Reason, do condemn us. What then shall I think to be the cause why they proceeded against me with their Bull condemnatory, so vain, so ridiculous, so trifling, but only their meer blockishness, whereby they seeing my allegations to be true, and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrifie me with their vain railing of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee Antichrist, that *Luther*, being accustomed to War, will not be terrified with these vain Bulls; and hath learned to put a difference between a piece of Paper and the omnipotent Word of God.

Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they, against their own Conscience, durst not particularly digest all and singular the Articles in their Orders; for they feared lest they should note him for an Heretic, whom they were not able perhaps to convince either to be erroneous or offensive; and therefore they have found out this Adverb *respective*: and after the numbering of the Articles, then come they and say that some be respectively ly. Heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive, which is as much to say, as we suppose them to be Heretical, some erroneous, and some slanderous, but we cannot tell *qui, qualis, quanti*, i. which, what manner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignorance, how slippery and cowardly art thou! how art thou afraid of the light? how dost thou turn and return all things, lest thou shouldst be taken like a *Protesus*? and yet for all that thou shalt not so escape, yea in thy wiliness thou shalt the rather be overtaken and subverted.

Respective.

Protesus is a
certain Ad-
verb among
the Poets,
which turn-
eth himself
into all co-
lours.

Come out therefore, O thou Ass-headed Antichrist, shew forth thy wisdom, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell us if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou, when thou sayest this Article is Heretical, this is erroneous, this is offensive. For it becometh such a worshipful condemner to know what he condemneth. And too shameful it is to condemn an Article for Heretical, and yet cannot name the same. Neither will I be answered here with respectively, but I look to be taught simply and plainly, for I am one of *Occams* faction which condemneth these respectives, and love to have all things simple and absolute.

Thou seest therefore (good Reader) the ignorant dotage of this Antichrist, how craftily, and yet grossly he thinketh to walk in a net under his adverb, respectively, who not only doth not teach the truth, and cause of his condemn-ment, but neither also dare prove any error, nor shew forth what it is that he condemneth, and yet must he needs condemn. Is not this trow you a proper kind of damning, to damn and cannot tell what he dam-neth? Is not this a fine manner of loquution, passing all Rhetorick, to speak, and yet not to know what he speaketh? what Purgatories might we with sufficient to purge the dolts brains of these Bull bragging Bedlems? with such blindness and doltsiness are all these Adversaries of Gods truth worthy to be plagued.

The dotage
of Anti-
christ.

But I know whereupon all this grief riseth. The origine whereof is this; *Eckius* mine old Adversary remembering how he was put to shame enough at *Lypsia*, when he routing himself upon his stage, and frothing at the mouth like a Bore, with a furious mouth called me three hundred times Heretic, for the Article of *Hals*, and yet afterward was was not able to prove the same, whereas the Sentence Condemnatory of the Council of *Constance*, alleged by me otherwise than *Eckius* looked for, noted there no certain note for Heretical; and also the same condemnation, much like to this of ours, with the like foolishness called some of his Articles Heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; and *Eckius* hearing this, being confounded in himself for his impudent rashness, perceiving that he had called me Heretic falsely and untruly: he thought then to heal this wound again at *Rome*, and there to stablith his false and impudent lying. But the lying Sophister shall not prevail by the help, I trust, of Christ: for I ask and require you still, that they absolutely and not respectively, distinctly and not confusedly, simply and not dissemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, particularly and not in general, do shew what is, and what is not Heretical. But when will they so do? when Christ and *Behshah*, or when Light and darkness shall agree together.

Eckius.

Eckius taken
with a lye.

And

And what shall I do then in the mean time? first I will condemn these dastardly Dotipoles and unlearned Papists and Apostles of Antichrist. And I will scorn them as Helias did, and say, *If Baal be God, let him answer: peradventure he is drunk, or husie in his journey, cry out higher, for he is a God and peradventure sleepest.* For what other thing do these Bull-bragging Asses deserve else, which condemn that they know not, and confesse all their own ignorance?

Secondly, I will not be troubled nor disquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretick, erroneous, or offensive, so long as I shall not be proved and plainly convicted with simple and manifest words in what Article I am so judged. Neither do I here charge my Papists, these Blockheads, that I will put them to their proofs, but only that they will shew me at least my errors, that is, that they will shew me, if they know what it is that they themselves do prattle of, or have any feeling of their own doings. For so long as they assign me no Heretical Article, I am at free liberty to deny what Article soever they lay unto me to be heretical, and say it is Catholic.

Again, what a rudeness it is in this wicked and dolish Antichrist, worthy to be laughed at, whereas these Dromedaries do distinguish heretical Articles from those that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offensive, and those again from slanderous? By the which subtle distinction of those gross headed Dols this we do gather, That that Article which is erroneous is not heretical, and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertain to these Ecclesiastical Condemners, which ought to condemn those things only which be heretical? For that which is not heretical is Catholic, as Christ himself saith, *He that is not against us is with us.* Yea, I would wish that these jolly Sophisters would shew me in all the Church an Article that is erroneous and not heretical: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothing from heretical, but only in stiffness of defending. For all things be equally either true or false, although affection, in some one thing which is true or false; may be greater or lesser. Ye see therefore again, how these men for all their bragging Bulls are not able to produce me one Article which is erroneous and not heretical, and yet like wise brain-fick men, they will needs babble they know not themselves what, condemning that which they find erroneous and not heretical, which cannot stand either in matter or in words, so that such are the Articles, such is the Condemnation.

The like wisdom also they shew in affirming that to be scandalous, which is neither heretical nor erroneous. That Article I would fain see either in my Books, or in the words and works of any Writer else from the beginning of the World to the latter end. What made my Papists then to excogitate these so prodigious Monsters, but only their monstrous fury and madness? Unless peradventure they mean those Articles to be scandalous, as commonly all true and Catholic Articles are wont to be. For what is more scandalous than Verity? Yea, only Truth and Verity is scandalous to all proud and senseless persons, as it is said of Christ, *1 Cor. 1. We preach, saith S. Paul, Christ crucified, a stumbling stone to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness.* And in Luke 2. *He is set to be the fall and rising up of many in Israel.* wherefore, whereas my Papists do distinguish scandalous Articles from heretical and erroneous, and so much as that which is not heretical or erroneous must needs be Catholic and true; it followeth thereof, that these scandalous Articles be underfoot and condemned of them for such as be very Catholic and sound. O worthy commendations and meet for the Papists!

Mark here, good Reader, the impiety of these blind Buzzards, whether they roll themselves, how they deride and mock themselves, how easily they are taken in their own words, how fond and foolish they are in their studies, not only in not proving any error or slander in these Articles, but also in going about only to express them, how they cast out things impossible and most foolishly repugnant to themselves. Where is then, thou most presumptuous and shameless Bull, thy dolish respect now become? whether respectedst thou? Verily into the bottomless pit of impiety, and thine own brutish stupidity.

The like also is to be said touching the Articles offensive, which must be neither slanderous, neither erroneous, nor heretical, seeing they are made distinct by such great Rabbles. Who will not now marvel at the deep and profound wisdom of these Papists, which could find out that to be offensive in the Church, which is neither false, neither heretical, nor slanderous, but true, sound, Catholic and edifying, and yet must that also be condemned. And who would not now desire and covet to be condemned also of such hair-brained Idots, who by their own condemning, do utter themselves to approve things damnable, and to condemn things justifiable, that is, which openly shew themselves, to their own great ignominy and shame, to be more senseless than stocks, rocks, or blocks. Go ye now therefore, O ye impious and brainless Papists, and if ye will needs write, shew your selves more sober: for this Bull, it appeared, was either spued out in your night Feasts, among Drabs and Harlots, or else huddled up in the Canicular days, or mad Midsummer Moon: for never were there any Dizards that would shew themselves so mad.

Let us now return this durt of Antichrist, and cast it in his own teeth, and of his own words let us judge him and condemn him, that hereafter he may learn to take better heed, and to be better advised in his lying. For as the Proverb saith, *A liar had need to have a good memory.* If some Articles be offensive, and other heretical, and thou condemnest him which is no Heretic, and consequently a true Catholic, although he be six hundred times offensive; Doth not thy shameless mouth then condemn thy self, not only of Heresie, but of extreme Impiety, Blasphemy and Treason against Gods holy Truth, shewing thy self to be the Man in deed which is the Adversary, and is extolled above all which is called God, or worshipped? Art not thou then the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, which denieth God his Redeemer, and taketh away the love of Truth, to establish the setting forth of his Error, for men to believe iniquity, as Paul foretold? for if the Article be not heretical, it cannot be offensive or slanderous, but only to such Heretics as Antichrist is, and Satanists of all Piety. See therefore how his shameless and most foolish Bull, whilst it condemneth in me one thing to be heretical, and another offensive, doth manifestly declare the Authors thereof to be true Heretics, and the Enemies of God indeed. So that now it may appear that there is no knowledge nor counsel against the Lord, seeing blind Impiety is thus caught in the words of his own mouth; so truly it is said, *That Prov. 12. he which calleth up a stone on high, it falleth down again upon his own pate.*

And (which is chiefeft of all) by this their wicked contradiction it cometh to pass, that the cogitations of their own hearts be revealed, and that they themselves chiefly do utter and disclose their own wickedness which they covet most to conceal, that all men may see how ready they are to condemn all Verity even at once. For when they affirm such Articles to be heretical which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare shew or name to be heretical, what have we thereby to understand, but that they are Adversaries of Christ from the bottom of their hearts, and ready to impugn all Truth, and yet notwithstanding with their damnable hypocrisy, they pretend themselves to be Condemners of Heresies? Learn, learn, ye beetle-headed Asses with your blustering Bulls, learn, I say, what it is, *Christ to be a sign of contradiction, and a stone of offence.* How soon and easily is all your inward impiety and your ignominy disclosed with the same covert of words, wherewith in vain you went about to cloak the same? Thus then have we here proved by this first and manifest Argument, that the foresaid Bull proceedeth from none other, than very Antichrist himself, the chiefeft Adversary of God and of all Godliness. And now let either *Eckius*, or the Pope, acknowledge if he dare, and then consider what Opinion we ought to have of him, or what Name to give him; in whom all cursed names, as in one heap, do concur together and agree, as impiety, blasphemy, ignorance, foolishness, hypocrisy, lying, yea briefly Satan himself with his Antichrist.

Neither doth this impiety any thing less appear in that also which I will now say. For this worshipful Bull decreeth in plain and most impudent words, that those

Z z z

Books

Books also of mine ought to be burned, in the which are no Errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

Canst thou, O Christian Reader, now doubt that the great Dragon of Hell himself speaketh in this Bull? It is an old Proverb, *That the Ass singeth therefore evil favouredly, because he taketh his nose too high.* So this Bull in like manner should have piped more tuneable, if he had not set out his blasphemous throat so open against Heaven, so impudently and devilishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hitherto Satan, whosoever he oppressed the truth, did it under the colour of truth; but this Man of Sin, the Adversary which is extolled above God, without all colour, not privily but apertly, and that in the open Church of God, without all shame taketh upon him to condemn, and commandeth to be burned the sincere verity of Christ, known and allowed both of him and of all others. What could be more done amongst the Turks? what place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of Hell? And are ye not afraid, ye Antichrists, with your brutish Bulls, least Stones and Trees should sweat with blood, at the most horrible fight of this your execrable impiety and blasphemy?

Where are thou now, good Emperour Charles? Where are ye Christian Kings and Princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in Baptism, and can ye now abide these Infernal Voices of such an Antichrist? Where be ye Bishops, Where be ye Doctors, Where be all ye that confess Christ? Can ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious Monstrosities of the Papiſts? O miserable Church of God, which art made now so great a scorn, and a very mocking stock of Satan! O miserable are all they which live in these times! The wrath of God is finally come upon the Papiſts, Enemies to the Cross of Christ and Verity of God, resisting all men, and forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached, as S. Paul said of the Jews. Admit, I pray you, that I were such a one indeed, as that cursed and malicious Bull doth make me to be, an Heretic, erroneous, schismatical, offensive, scandalous, in certain of my Books; yet why should the other Books of mine be condemned which are Catholic, Christian, true, edifying and peaceable. Where have these wretched Papiſts learned this Religion, that, for the persons cause being evil, they should damn and burn the holy and sound Verity of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye pluck up the good Wheat also with the Cockle? Will ye also scatter the Corn away together with the Chaff? And why then receive ye Origen in his Catholic Books, and do not utterly reject him altogether? Yea, why suffer ye wicked Ariſtotele (in whom is nothing taught but Errors) and do not at least in some part condemn him? Why burn ye not and set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical Decretals of the Pope? Why do ye not all this I say? but only for that ye are set in this holy place for none other cause, but only to be the abomination spoken of in Daniel, which should put down truth, and set up lies, and the operation of error. For this thing, and none other, becometh the Seat of Antichrist.

Wherefore this I say to thee (Pope Leo the Tenth, and to you Lord Cardinals, and all other whosoever is in any part or doing in that Court of Rome) and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if you will so acknowledge it for your own, then will I likewise use my power, by the which I am made in my baptism the Son of God, and Coheir with Christ, being founded upon a sure Rock, which neither feareth the gates of Hell, nor Heaven, nor Earth, and say, monish, and exhort you in the Lord, that you will reform your selves, and take a better way, and refrain hereafter from those Diabolical Blasphemies, and too much exceeding presumptuous impieties; and this I alledge, That unless ye so do, know it for certain, that I, with all them that worship Christ, do recount your Seat, possessed and oppressed of Satan himself, to be the damned Seat of Antichrist, which we not only do not obey, and will not be subject, nor congregate unto, but also do detest and abhor the same, as the principal and chiefest

Enemy of Christ, being ready in this our Sentence and Profession, not only to suffer gladly your fond foolish Censures, but also do pray you heartily that you will never assail us again, nor ever number us in your Fellowship; and moreover, to fulfil your bloody tyranny, we do willingly offer our selves to dye for the same. And according to the power and might; that the Spirit of Christ and efficacy of our Faith can do in these our Writings, if ye shall persist so fill in your fury, we condemn you, and together with this Bull, and all the Decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the Flesh, that your Spirit in the day of our Lord may be delivered, in the Name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth (in whom I do nothing doubt) who I firmly trust will shortly come and slay with the Spirit of his Mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, this Man of Sin, and Son of Perdition; forasmuch as I cannot decide, if the Pope be the Author and Doer of these misshapen and monstrous doings, but he is the true, final, most wicked, and that famous Antichrist, that subverteth the whole World by the operation of his delusions, as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

But whither doth the burning zeal of Charity carry me? neither am I as yet fully persuaded this to be the Popes Bull, but to proceed from his wicked Apostle Ezechiel, who with his Fautors, furiously gaping at me like a Wolf, would swallow me clean up, linging with the wicked thus, *Let us swallow him up quick and whole like Peew.* Hell, and like one descending down into the Pit. For little careth this furious Madbrain how the verity of God be extinguished, (yes, he would count that for a lucre,) so he might fill his malicious desire with the blood of his Brother. O miserable state of the Church at this time, worthy to be bewailed with tears of blood! But who heareth our groanings? or who comforteth our weepings? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be inexorable against us.

Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or pretty figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest business, writing, That besides other great friendship which they have shewed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, and to bear my charges with their liberality, in my journey to Rome. Will ye see what a charity is newly come upon the City of Rome, which after it hath pillled and polled the whole World of their money, and hath consumed and waited the fame by the intolerable tyranny, now cometh, and to me only offered money. But this impudent I know with whose hammer it was coined: *Cajetanus* the Cardinal, a man born and formed to lye for the Whetstone, after his worshipful Legacy depeached in Germany, coming home to Rome, there forged and signed that he promised me money, whereas he being at *Ausperge*, was there in such miserable penury, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his Family. But thus it becometh the Bull to be *verè Bulla*, that is, a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

And so these great Judges and Condemners, after all this, yet have Authority to command us to believe them to say truth, when they do nothing but lye, and that they are good Catholics, when they be stark Heretics; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very Antichrist; and all by the virtue of this Universal, *Quodcumque ligaveris, &c.* *Whatsoever thing thou bindest, &c.* So that where nothing is excepted, they think they may do all things. Who not only do lye most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudency) do vaunt and commend their liberality before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men falsely to believe that they offered friendship and money unto me: Whereas these Tyrants of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodness, or godliness in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no Adversary might conceive any suspicion of evil against them. But now if there were no other matter else to bring this Bull out of credit, only this gross and foolish lie were sufficient to declare, how light, vain, and false this Bull is? What? Would Rome

The Papiſts purposed to know and maintain the verity of Christ, and ye cannot abide it.

The Pope condemneth as well the good Books of M. Luther as the other without all respect of truth, or of the cause.

Dan 9.

M. Luther warning to the Pope.

M. Luther exhorting the Pope.

The Pope threateneth Antichrist.

The Pope lieth in his Bull, where he saith that he offered money to Luther to come to Rome.

The Pope by the virtue of this Universal binds all things, even those which he himself doth not think.

(think ye) offer money to me? And how then cometh this (which I know to be most certain) that out of the Bank (as they call it) two or three hundred Crowns were assigned in Germany to be disposed and given to Ruffians and Catchpoles, to murder Luther? For these be the Reasons and Arguments whereby now fighteth, reigneth, and triumpheth the holy Apostolick See, the Mistress of Faith, and Mother of all Churches, which long since should have been proved to be the very seat of Antichrist, and manifold ways Heretical, if she had fought with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; whereof she herself is nothing ignorant, and therefore because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth and taketh on like as she were mad in the Church of Christ, confounding and confuming all things, with wars, murders, bloodshed, death, and destruction, and yet for all this they must needs be counted most holy Fathers in God, Vicars of Christ, and Pastors of his Flock.

But go to (that I may also dally with them a while) let them yet send me the money they speak of; for as touching their promise and false conduct (because I will not overcharge them) that I gladly resign to them again, seeing I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But here I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horsemen to conduct me safe to Rome, and so, for any other promise of false conduct I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in Rome, which devourereth up her Inhabitants, neither keepeth, nor ever did keep promise with any; where these most holy Fathers do flay their beloved Children in the Charity of God, and Brethren destroy their Brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and stile of Rome. In the mean time I will keep my self free and safe from the citation of this most reverend Bull. O ye miserable Varlets, which are so confounded with the truth, and with your own Conscience, that neither ye can lye handsomely, neither dare ye speak the truth, and yet neither can ye keep your selves quiet, to your perpetual ignominy and confusion.

Furthermore, here in this Bull is brought in a strange fashion of stile not heard of before. For where Augustine would have said, that he would not believe the Gospel, except he had been moved by the Authority of the Church, now cometh in this goodly Bull, and maketh this Catholick Church to be a few reverend Cardinals, his Brethren, and Priors of Regular Orders, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of the Law, out of whose counsel the said Bull boasteth her self to be born and brought forth; blessed Babe, forsooth, of such an Universal Church. O happy travel (no doubt) of this Catholick Church, never seen nor heard of before, and such as Augustine the valiant impugner of Sects, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the Synagogue of the Devil. See therefore the madness of these Papists: the Universal Church is a few Cardinals, Priors, and Doctors, scarcely perhaps twenty persons in all, when also it is possible enough, that never a one of them all is the Member of one Chappel or Altar. And whereas the Church is the Communion of Saints, as we say in the Creed; out of this Communion of Saints, that is, out of this Universal Church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons; and so whatsoever these holy men do think or judge, by and by the Universal Church must needs hold and believe the same, albeit they be Liars, Heretics, and Antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

Would there ever any man think such foolishness and madness to be in Rome? Is there any brains in these men's heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? Austin speaketh of the Church dispersed thorow the whole World, confessing the Gospel with one consent. Neither would God that any Book else should be received with such consent of the whole World as the holy Scripture, (as the said Augustine in his Confessions affirmeth) left by the receiving of other Books, Schisms may take occasion to rise, according as the wicked See of Rome hath long sought by her Decrees, and hath for a great part brought the same to pass already. But yet the Universal Church did never agree thereto. For in the East, West, and

South there have been Christians; which being content only with the Gospel, have not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular Church to make her self an Universal Church, and accuseth other Churches as Schismatical, when as she hath cut off her self from the Universal Church; and striveth in vain to draw the whole Universal Church to her, being the Mother and Fountain of all Schisms, and all by the means of this tyranny.

Let no man therefore ever think, that this true Catholick Church aforesaid will believe or maintain those things which this detestable Bull here prateleth, when as neither that which is the very true Church of Rome indeed doth her self so think, neither taketh that by and by to be Catholick, whatsoever is known to proceed from the Church of Rome. For as I said, there is no Book which shall be called Catholick hereafter, as neither it hath been heretofore, besides only the holy Scripture. For the Church of Rome, it may suffice to glory her self to be a little parcel or piece of the Universal Church; and so let her vex her self only with her own Decrees.

Neither let any man think this to be the Bull of the Catholick Church, but rather to proceed out of the Court of Rome. For such wisdom and Religion may well be seem that Seat of Satan, which seeketh to be counted for the whole Universal Church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked Bulls most arrogantly and vainly to the whole World, in the stead of sincere Catholick Doctrine. Whose pride and presumption hath grown so far, that the trusting upon her own power, without all learning and holiness of life, proudly taketh upon her to prescribe Laws to all men, of all their doings and sayings, as though for dominion only and lustiness of spirit she were to be counted the House and Church of Christ; whereas by this means Satan also, the Prince of the World, or the Turk, might be counted the Church of Christ. Again, neither can the Monarchies of the Gentiles abide mighty Princes to reign over them without wisdom and goodness. Furthermore, in the Church the Spiritual man only judgeth all things, and is judged of no man, and not the Pope alone, or the Court of Rome, unless they be Spiritual.

But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible Champion of the Church, S. Paul, who, 1 Cor. 14. faith; If any thing be revealed to another, let that first man hold his peace. Here have ye plainly, that the Pope, or any other Elder whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to other in the Church that is inferior. I therefore upon his Authority, condemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling Bull, do confidently take upon me to defend the Articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yea of the Pope himself, with his whole Church, unless he shall inform me by the Scriptures. Whereof the first Article is this.

The first Article.

It is an heretical Sentence, and also common, to say, That Sacraments of the new Law do give grace to them which have no offence in themselves to the contrary.

The Answer.

I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and I ask of you, good Masters Respectively, which make these Articles respectively, some to be Heretical, some erroneous, some slanderous, &c. whither respected this Article I pray you? To heretic, to error, to slander and offence? Or else whither respected you in condemning the same? To the holy Scripture? To the holy Fathers? To Faith? To the Church? To which of these I beseech you tell me? Neither do I here put you to the labor of proving, but only require you to shew your judgment what you think, that I may know wherein I lay amiss. Will you that I should tell you (you babish Infants and Noddies) whether this Article respected? I will. This Article hath two respects. Whereof the one respecteth the Papists, the condemnors hereof, amongst whom it respecteth some to be Mules, some to be Horses, which have no understanding, and to be void of all sense, and yet notwithstanding,

The Catholick Church, and the Church of Rome, are two things.

The pride and presumption of the Church of Rome.

Dominion and Power maketh not the Church, 1 Cor. 14.

1 Cor. 14.

Answer of M. Luther to the first Sentence.

Two respects in this Article.

The sixth Article.

Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembering and detesting our Sins, whereby a man calleth to mind his years past in the bitterness of his Soul, in pondering the greatness, the multitude and filthiness of his Sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and purchasing of eternal Damnation; this contrition maketh an Hypocrite, yea rather a man to be more a Sinner.

The Answer.

O the incredible blindness and brutishness of these Romish Bulls. This Article is truly mine, and very Christian, which I will not suffer to be wrested from me, for all the Popes and Papists in the World. For this I meant by that Doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unless it be done in Faith and Charity, which thing they also teach themselves, but that they do neither know nor teach, neither what Faith nor Charity is. And therefore in condemning my Doctrine, they condemn also their own, foolishly repugning against themselves in their own contradiction. I say therefore that he which teacheth repentance in such wise and manner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and Faith in the same, than to this afflicting and vexing of the mind, he teacheth the repentance of Judas Iscariot, he is pestilent, a Devil to mens Souls, and Tormentor of Consciences. Read the Books of these Sophisters, where they write of Repentance, and thou shalt see there no mention made either of promise or Faith. For these lively parts of repentance they clean omit, and only do vex men with these dead contritions. But heretofore we have, and will hereafter increase more at large.

But what should I here stand upon every Article, seeing my Books be abroad, wherein I have given a reason of all sufficiently, and more would have done, if mine Adversaries also had brought to light theirs? For what foolishness is this, that they think to answer me with this one saying, that they count all my sayings as damned, whereas I did write to this end only, that they should acknowledge their errors, wherewith they have so long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I look that I should be condemned, which understanding and knowing the same right well, have justified those things, which they have condemned, before with sufficient Authority both of Scripture, and Reason. Neither looked I that they should tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough) but that which I sought of them, was, to know whether they thought right thereto, or not. Here looked I to be taught, and behold, none of them all durst once put forth his head. Wherefore I see these Atlas nothing to understand either in things that I say, or yet themselves. But they be such blind Buzzards, that they perceive not what it is that I seek in my Books: for they count that I have such an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their side, when there is nothing at all I less think to be true. For I, foreseeing that they had condemned all these things before, came forth and freely myself as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned of them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blasphemous, and so openly to denounce them as Heretics and Erroneous, unless they showed some better reason and ground of their doings and Doctrine; whereas they on the other side, like foolish Minstrels harping all on one string, have nothing else in their mouths, but we condemn that we have condemned, proving, after a new kind of Logicks, the same thing by it self. O most idiot huddibooks, and blockish condemnors, where is the saying of Peter? Be always ready to render an account of that Faith and hope which is in you.

Wherefore seeing these ignorant Papists, being thus confounded, do so flee away from the face of the manifest verity, that they dare not once open their mouths in defence of themselves, or of their cause, and have belied out with much ado this timorous Bull of theirs, I being comforted with the flight of these nine adversaries, do account this their dastardly damnation instead of bull allowing and justifying of my cause, and I rebuke again their own damnation upon their own heads:

How could they more condemn themselves, if I wish they (fearing to be found in evil) culpable of Heresy, they should be doted on to give account of this Doctrine) do flee to this miserable and desperate refuge, willingly to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and to say I will not, I damn thee, I hear thee not, I allow thee not? If I should have played any such mad-part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed against me? This dastardly fear declareth what cowards they are.

Wherefore not to burthen the Reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in prosecuting every Article, I here protest by these presents, that I *confess all these things here condemned by this miserable Bull, for pure, clear, and Catholick Doctrine; whereof I have sufficiently given account in my Books which be extant abroad.

Furthermore, I will also that the said my Books being extant abroad shall be taken as a publick accusation against these wicked Sophisters and seducers of the people of God; so that unless they shall give an account of their Doctrine, and shall convict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lieth denounce them as guilty of Errors, Heresies, and Sacrilege, admonishing, desiring, and in the Lord exhorting all them which truly confess Christ, that they will beware and take heed of their pestiferous Doctrine, and not to doubt, but that the true Antichrist reigneth by them in the World amongst us.

And if any shall condemn this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and clean from his Blood, and excused from the last judgment of Christ. For I have left nothing undone, which Christian Charity can bind me to do.

Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may resist these babbling and trifling condemnors, the utmost and last which I have I will give and bestow in the quarrel, that is; this Life and Blood of mine. For better it were for me a thousand times to be slain, than to revoke one syllable of these Articles, which they have condemned. And now as they do curse and excommunicate me for their damnable Heresies, so I again likewise do curse and excommunicate them for the holy verity of God Christ, which is only the judge of all, judge and determine this matter between us, whether of these two excommunications, his or mine, shall stand and prevail before him. Amen.

In storying the life of Luther, before, it was declared how the said Luther in the beginning, first being rejected of the Cardinal Cajetan, appealed from the Cardinal unto the Pope. When that would not serve, neither could any tolerable submission of Luther to the Pope be received, but that the Pope with his Cardinals, contrary to all Equity and Conscience, would needs proceed against him, and against the express trusts of Gods Word, taking by meer Authority to bear down the verity as he had used before to do; Luther, following the justice of his cause was then compelled to appeal from the Pope to the next general Council, and so did, as before you may read? Which was two years before the Popes Bull against Luther came out. The tenour of which appellation, before omitted. I thought here to exhibit; whereby the Reader, considering the great change of Religion and State of the Church which since hath ensued, may also perceive the true original cause and occasion how it first began, by what order and degrees it after increased, what humility and submission first on Luthers part was shewed, and again, what insolency, wrong and violence of the Popes part was declared. And further where Pope Leo, in his Bull above prefixed, seemeth to pretend certain conditions of favour, charity, and money offered to Luther in the beginning, how false and vain that is, by this present appeal may appear. The copy whereof, as it was drawn by the publick notary, and exhibited, is this as in form here followeth.

The tenour and form of the Appeal of Martin Luther, from Pope Leo to the next General Council.

IN nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a natiuitate eiusdem, 1518. indictione sexta, die vero solis vigesima prima mensis Novembris. Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri, Domini Leonis, decem Generalis Council.

* More here
good Reader
that amongst
these Articles
is a certain
there be
which because
they termed
formalists to
bear with
the Pope
and his Cardinals,
Luther
congratulated
me a more
knowing that the
Pope was
Antichrist,
confessed
himself in
his affliction,
that he
utterly cal-
led backe
some por-
tions, them
as the Pope
would have
had him, but
rather as I
prevailing
them against
the Pope.

Read above.

Read above.

The answer
of M. Luther
to the 6.
Article.

The purpose
of Luther in
setting forth
his Articles.

* Pet. 3.

The appeal
of M. Luther
from the
next
General
Council.

*nina providentia Papæ, decimi, anno sexto in mea No-
rarii publicæ testimoniaque infra scriptorum ad hoc spe-
cialiter vocatorum & rogatorum præsentia constituta, &c.*

The effect of the said Appeal of Luther, in English.

Luther Ap-
peal from the
Pope in
English.

The effect of the Appeal aforesaid is this, That for-
asmuch as the liberty of appealing is provided for
a remedy to relieve the oppressed from injury and violence
of the Superiour, it was therefore lawful for *Martin*
Luther so to do, especially being manifold ways injured
and molested by the See of *Rome*, and other the Popes
Confederates, as he in the said Appeal declareth. For at first
whereas he modestly disputing of the errors and abuses
of the Popes Pardons, did somewhat withstand the im-
pudent ravine and blasphemies of them that came a-
bout with the Popes Pardons to poll and rob the people,
he was therefore openly railed upon and defamed by them
in their publick Sermons to be an Heretick, and conse-
quently upon the same accused to Pope *Leo* for an Heret-
ick, by *Marius* the Popes Proctor and others.

Then was obtained of the Pope a Commission to cite
up the said *Luther* to appear at *Rome* before the Cardinals,
by *Hieronymus*, and *Sylvester Trieras*, his mortal ene-
mies, whereas he could by no way appear without mani-
fest danger of his life, both by the way, and also in the
City of *Rome*.

For the consideration whereof, Duke *John Fredrick*,
Prince Elector, and the Landgrave intreated for him to
have his cause indifferently to be heard, and to be com-
mitted to two parties that were equal, and not partial:
yet notwithstanding the earnest sute of these Princes,
the contrary labours of the Cardinals, which were his ca-
pital Adversaries, so prevailed at *Rome*, that the cause
of *Luther* was still detained in their own hands, and
contrary to all indifferency, was committed to the
hearing of the Popes Legate then in *Germany*, called
Cardinalis Sancti Sixti. Who being no less En-
emy against *Luther* than the other, and notwithstanding
that *Luther* obediently appeared at his call, and with
humble protestation submitted himself to be answered by
the Scriptures, and referred himself to the judgment of
the See of *Rome*, and of our Universities, to wit, *Basil*,
Friburge, *Loovaine*, and *Paris*, yet contrary to all
equity, throwing forth no Scripture nor Reason, reject-
ing his gentle protestation, submission, and honest offer,
with all other his Requestes and Suits, he would needs
forthwith have him to revoke his errors, threatening and
menacing him most cruelly, and commanded him no more
to come in his sight.

Whereupon *Luther*, being thus proudly rejected of the
Cardinal, made his Appeal from the said Cardinal to Pope
Leo, being better informed.

This Appellation also being contemned of the Pope,
who would neither come to any agreement, nor take
any reasonable condition, nor then *Luther* his Errors by
the Scripture, nor yet refer the matter by learning to
be decided, but would needs perforce proceed against him
by meer Authority and Oppression at *Rome*; *Luther* then
seeing there was no other refuge or remedy for his own
defence, and seeing moreover the truth of Gods Word
to ly under foot, by Might and Authority oppressed, so
that none durst almost confesse the same, and that the
poor flock was so roused in errors and vain opinions,
to the seduction of their Souls; for these and other such
causes, he being necessarily thereunto compelled, com-
menced this Appeal from the Pope misinformed, to the
next General Council that should be, calling for the help
of the publick Notary, and testimony also of sufficient
witnesses, requisite in that behalf accordingly.

*The death of King Henry the eighth, with the manner
thereof.*

And thus closing up this eighth Book with the death
of King *Henry* the eighth, I will now (the Lord
Christ assisting me with his Grace) proceed next to the
time and Reign of King *Edward* his Son, after that
first I shall interpose a few words touching the death
of the said King *Henry* his Father, and the manner of the same;
Who after long languishing, infirmity growing more

The order
and manner
of the Kings
death.

and more upon him, lay from *S. Stevens* day (as is
above mentioned, to the latter end of *January*. His Phy-
sician at length perceiving that he would away, and yet
not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the
Act past before in Parliament, that none should speak
any thing of the Kings death (the Act being made only
for soothsayers, and talkers of Prophecies) moved them that
were about the King to put him in remembrance of his
mortal state and fatal infirmity. Which when the King
rest were in dread to do, *M. Denny*, who was speci-
ally attendant upon him, boldly coming to the King, told
him what case he was in, to mans judgment not like to
live, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to
death, calling himself to remembrance of his former life,
and to call upon God in Christ betime for Grace and Mer-
cy, as becometh every good Christian man to do.

Although the King was loth to hear any mention of
death, yet perceiving the fame to rise upon the judgment
of his Physicians, and feeling his own weakness, he
disposed himself more quietly to hearken to the words
of his exhortation, and to consider his life past. Which
although he much accused, yet (said he) is the mercy of
Christ able to pardon me all my Sins, though they were
greater than they be. Master *Denny* being glad to hear
him thus to speak, required to know his pleasure, whe-
ther he would have any learned man sent for to confer
withal, and to open his mind unto. To whom the King
answered again, that if he had any, he would have
Doctor *Cranmer*, who was then lying at *Croydon*.
And therefore Master *Denny* asking the King whether
he would have him sent for, I will first, said the King, take
a little sleep, and then as I feel my self I will advise upon
the matter.

After an hour or two, the King awaking, and feeling
feebleness to increase upon him, commanded Doctor *Cran-
mer* to be sent for; but before he could come, the King
was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding,
perceiving Doctor *Cranmer* to be come, he reaching his
hand to Doctor *Cranmer*, did hold him fast, but could
utter no words unto him, and scarce was able to make
any sign. Then the Archbishop exhorted him to put
his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired
him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token
with his eyes or with his hand, as he trusted in the Lord.
Then the King, holding him with his hand, did wring his
hand in his as hard as he could, and so shortly after de-
parted, after he had reigned in this land the term of
thirty seven years and nine months, leaving behind him
three Children, *Edward*, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*.

Moreover, forasmuch as mention is inserted in this
place of the good inclination of King *Henry* in his latter
days to the reformation of Religion, by the occasion
hereof it cometh also to mind, somewhat likewise to add
by way of appendix touching the talk between the Arch-
bishop of *Canterbury* *Thomas Cranmer*, and the Duke of
Suffolk *Charles Brandon*, as concerning the Kings
purpose and intent conceived against the Bishop of
Winchester *Steven Gardiner*, in that he could never
allow any reformation in Religion in this Realm, and
namely, being offended with this, that men should use
in their talk, The Lord, as well as our Lord; the said Duke
said unto the said Archb. We of the Council had him once
at a good list, and should well have dispatched him from
his Authority, if the Kings Majesty our Master had
stay'd himself from admitting him to his presence,
is then his Highness was content that we should tho-
wly have sifted and tryed him. It was, my Lord (quoth
the Duke to the Archbishop) at that time when *Gardiner*
his Secretary was attached, and suffered for defending
the Popes Authority. For then I and certain of the Coun-
sell having conference with the Kings Majesty for that
matter, his Highness was fully perswaded, that the
Bishops Secretary, being in such special favour with
his Master, would never stand to stiff in defence of
the Bishop of *Rome* usurped Power and Authority,
without his said Masters both advice, knowledge, and
perswasion. For already (quoth the King) he played but
in homely part with me, when he was Embassador to
the Pope concerning my cause of divorce. And therefore
quoth the King to me, I will first, my Lord, incontinent-
ly, and by assistance of two or three more of the Council,
whom

of the Act
that none
should speak
of the Kings
death, while
the same Anne
Rea. 8.

The King at
his death
should talk
with
Cranmer.

D Cranmer
someth to
the King.

The Kings
Children.

Talk be-
tween the
Cranmer,
Archb. of
Canterbury
and the
Duke of
Suffolk.
about St.
Gardiner.

whom you think good, let him be committed to the Tower, to answer to such things as may be objected against him. This communication was in the evening, so that we purposed to have executed the Kings pleasure and commandment the next morning. Howbeit our talk was not so secret, but that some of his friends of the Privy Chamber (where he had many friends then) suspecting the matter, sent him word thereof. Who incontinently repaired to the Kings Presence, and finding some matter to minister unto the King, his Highness said to the Bishop, We do marvel that your Secretary hath thus notoriously offended against us and our Laws.

St. Gardiner
privily com-
mends to the
King.

K. Henry lay-
eth to Win-
chesters
charge.

Winch. con-
fesseth his
popery to the
King.

K. Hen. in-
quire to par-
don them
that come to
him, and
counsel their
fault.

Winch. com-
mended no
more to
come in the
Kings light.

Winch.
though he
were en-
dowed, yet
would seem
him to be
of the Kings
Council.

Winch. ex-
cluded out
of the Kings
Will.

Sir Anthony
Denny a
great friend
to Winch.

It is surely thought that you are not all clear in this offence, but that you are of the same opinion with him, and therefore my Lord be plain with me, and let me know if you be that way infected or no. If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault; but if you halt or dillymally with me for no favour at my hand.

With this monition *Winchester* fell down upon his knees, and besought his Majesty of Mercy and Pardon, manifestly confessing that he had long time been of that opinion with his said Secretary; and there bewailing himself promised from that day forward to reform his opinion and become a new man. Well, quoth the King, this way you have of me that which otherwise you should never have obtained. I am content to remit all things past, and pardon you upon your amendment.

The next morning I had word how the matter was handled, whereupon I came to his Highness and said; your Majesty hath prevented our Commission, which I and other had from your Grace concerning my Lord of *Winchester* committing to the Tower. Wot you what, quoth the King? He hath confessed himself as guilty in this matter as his man, and hath with much sorrow and penitence sued for my Pardon; and you know what my nature and custom hath been in such matters, ever more to pardon them that will not dillymally but confess their fault.

Thus wilily and politicly he got himself out of our hands. But if I had suspected this, I would have had him in the Tower over night, and stopped his journey to the Court. Well, said my Lord of *Canterbury*, he was evermore too good for you all.

Moreover as touching this foresaid Bishop of *Winchester*, forasmuch as he in King *Edwards* time bragged so much of his old Master of famous memory King *Henry* the eighth, to the intent that the glorious vanity of this Bishop, and of all other like unto him, may appear more notoriously to all men, here is to be noted by the testification as well of Master *Denny* as also of Sir *Henry Nevil*, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record was this, that King *Henry* before the time of his sickness, taking his Horse upon the Tarras at *Windfor* to ride out on hawking, fain standing before him the Lord *Wriothley* Lord Chancellor, with divers other Counsellors, and amongst them the Bishop of *Winchester*. Whereupon he called the Lord Chancellor, and said, Did not I command you he should come no more amongst you (meaning the Bishop)? Whereupon the Lord Chancellor answered, That his coming was to bring his Majesty word of a benevolence given unto him by the Clergy. Whereat the King said, Ah, let him come hither, and so he did his message, and the King went straight away.

Item, another time the King immediately after his repair to *London* fell sick, and caused divers times his whole Council to come unto him about his Will, and other his grave affairs. At what time the Bishop also would come up with them into the utter Privy Chamber, and there remain until the Council came from the King, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the Will withal.

Furthermore, as the King grew more in sickness, he considering upon his Will and Testament made before, at his going over to *Bullain*, willed the same to be drawn out again, with leaving out and excluding the Bishop of *Winchester* by Name from amongst his Executors. Which being to him no small cossey, and a cutting off of all their purposes; a way was found, that Sir *Anthony Brown* a principal Pillar of *Winchesters* side, pretending unto the King, as though by the negligence of the writer the

Bishops Name had been left out of the Kings Will, kneeled down to the Kings Majesty lying in his Bed, and said; My Lord of *Winchester* I think by negligence is left out of your Majesties Will, who had done your Highness painful, long and notable service, and one without whom the rest shall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them.

Hold your peace, quoth the King, I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out. For surely if he were in my Testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Mary, quoth the King, I myself could use him, and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me, but so shall you never do, and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf. Sir *Anthony Brown*, perceiving the King somewhat stiff herein, gave place to the Kings words at that time. Howbeit, seeking further occasion upon more persuasions put into his head, he took in hand once again to move the King to have the Bishop one of his Executors. When the King perceived that this instant sute would not cease, have you not yet done, quoth the King, to molest me in this matter? If you will not yet cease to trouble me, by the Faith I owe unto God, I will surely dispatch thee out of my Will also, and therefore let us hear no more of this matter. All this Sir *Anthony Denny* was heard to report to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* *Thomas Cranmer*, of the said Archbishops Secretary who is yet alive, and witness unto the same.

And thus much touching the end of King *Henry*, who if he had continued a few months longer (all those obites and Masses, which appear in his Will made before he went to *Bullain* notwithstanding) most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the Church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he would not have left one Mass in all *England*. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me. The one is, the assured Report and Testimony of *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hearing the King declare the same out of his own mouth, both to himself, and to *Monsieur de Annebault* Lord Admiral of the French Embassadour, in the Month of *August* a little before his death, as above may appear more at large. The other cause which leadeth me thereunto is also of equal credit, grounded upon the Declaration of the Kings own Mouth after that time, more near unto his death unto *Bruno* Embassadour of *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*: Unto the which Embassadour of *Saxony* the King gave this answer openly, that if the quarrel of the Duke of *Saxony* were nothing else against the Emperour, but for Religion, he should stand to it strongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt nor fear; and so with this answer he dismissed the Embassadour unto the Duke, openly in the hearing of these four sufficient witnesses, as the Lord *Seymer* Earl of *Harford*, Lord *Lesley* then Admiral, the Earl of *Bedford* Lord Privy Seal, the Lord *Paget*. But the secret working of Gods holy providence, which disposeth all things after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good rather by taking the King away to reserve the accomplishment of this reformation of his Church to the peaceable time of his Son *Edward* and *Elizabeth* his Daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any Blood, and life unsupported with any violence or cruelty.

And thus to finish this Book, I thought here to close up King *Henries* Reign. But because a little vacant space of empty Paper remaineth behind needful to be filled up, to imploy therefore and to replenish the same with some matter or other, I thought to annex hereunto one story which happened in this King *Henries* Reign. Which albeit it serveth not to the purpose of this our matter now in hand, yet nevertheless to supply the room it may stand in some place, easier to refresh the travelled mind of the Reader wearied with other Stories or else to disclose the detestable impiety of these Counterfeit Sects of Monks and Friars, who, under the Hypocritical visour of pretended Religion, have so long seduced and deceived the World. Although the deceitful parts and practices of these fantastical Orders be so many and in all places so notorious; that they are not able to be expressed; yet

the purpose of the King is he had lived, was to make a perfect reformation of Religion,

Credit of this narrative on that it is true.

The Kings Answer to the Duke of Saxony, a little before his death,

amongst

amongst many, one you shall hear that chanced in this Kings days in the City of Orleance in France, by the Gray Friars, about the year of our Lord, 1534. The Story is this.

A Tragical History of certain Friers in France, in the City of Orleance, Anno 1534.

Ex Com-
ment Jact.
Said
A Story of
certain Fri-
ers in Orle-
ance.

THe Majors Wife of the City of Orleance provided in her Will, to be buried without any pomp or solemnity. For when any departeth there, in some places the Belmen are hired to go about the City, and in places most frequented to assemble the people with the found of the Bell, and there to declare the Names and the Titles of those parties deceased, also where and when they shall be buried, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the Coarse is carried forth, the most part of the begging Friers go withal to the Church, with many Torches and Tapers carried before them, and the more pomp and solemnity is used, the more is the concourse of people. But this Woman (as I said) would have none of all this gear done for her. Wherefore her Husband, which loved her well, followed her mind herein, and gave unto these greedy Cormorants the Friers which waited for their prey (in whose Church she was buried besides her Father and her Grandfather) six Crowns for a reward; whereas they gaped for a great deal more. And afterward when he cut down a Wood and sold it, the Friers craving to have part thereof freely and without money, he denied them: this took they wonderful grievously, and whereas they loved him not before, they devised now a way to be revenged, saying, that his Wife was damned everlastingly.

The workers of this Tragedy were *Colyman* and *Steven of Arras*, both Doctors of Divinity; and the first indeed was a Conjuror, and had all his Triquets and his Furniture concerning such matters in readiness, and they used the matter thus.

They set a young man which was a novice, above over the Vault of the Church, and when they came to mumble up their Mattins at Midnight, after their accustomed manner, he made a wonderful noise and shrieking aloft. Then went this *Colyman* to crossing and conjuring, but the other above would not speak. Being charged to make a sign to declare if he were a dumb Spirit, he ruffled and made a noise again, and that was the sign and token.

When they had laid this foundation, they went to certain of the chieftest in all the City, and such as favoured them most, and told them what an heavy case was chanced, yet did they not utter what it was, but intreated them to take the pains to come to their Service at night. When they were come, and the Service was begun, he that was aloft made a great noise. Being demanded what he would, and what he was, he signified that he might not speak, then was he commanded to answer to their Interrogatories by Signs and Tokens. Now, there was a hole made for the purpose, whereby, laying to his ear, he might hear and understand what the Conjuror said unto them. There was also a Table at hand, and when any question was asked, he strook and beat upon the Table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then first the Conjuror demanded whether he were any of them that had been buried there. After that, reckoning up many of their Names in order, whose bodies had been buried there, at the last he named the Majors Wife. Here he made a sign that he was the Spirit of that Woman. Then he asked whether she were damned, and for what desert or offence? Whether it were for covetousness, pride, or lechery, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new sprung up Heresie and Lutheranism? Moreover, what was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet? Whether it were that the Body being buried within holy ground should be digged up again, and carried to some other place? To all these things he answered by signs in like case as he was commanded; whereby he affirmed, or denied every thing, striking twice or thrice upon the Table.

The conjuror
what he
demanded of
the Spirit.

Lutheran He-
resie a great
buggining
the Friers.

When he had thus signified that *Luthers* Heresie was the cause of her damnation, and that her Body must be taken up, the Friers desired the Citizens that were there present, to bear witness of such things as they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing. But they taking advicement left they should both offend the Mayor,

and bring themselves in trouble, refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the Friers took the Pixe with the Host and the Lords Body (as they call it) and all their Saints Reliques, and carried them to another place, and there they laid their Mals; which they are wont to do by the Popes Law, when a Church is suspended and must be hallowed again: and when the Bishops Official heard of this, he came thither to understand the matter better, and associating to him certain honest men, he commanded the Friar to conjure in his presence, and would have appointed certain to go up to the Vault, to see if any Spirit did there appear. But *Steven of Arras* was fore against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not so do, saying, that the Spirit ought not to be molested. And albeit the Official did earnestly urge them to conjure before him, yet could he not bring them to it. In the mean time the Mayor, making his friends privy what he would do, went to the King, and informed him of the whole matter. And because the Friers, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come in judgment, the King chose certain out of the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to examine the matter, and gave them full Authority so to do. Whereupon they were carried to *Paris*, and constrained to make answer, but they would confess nothing.

Then they were sent again to Prison, and kept apart, one from another; and the Novice was kept in *Famous* House a Senator, and being oftentimes examined, he would confess nothing, fearing lest he should after be murdered of them for slandering their Order. But when the Judges promised him that he should have no harm, and should come no more in the Friers hands, he declared to them the whole matter in order, and being brought before the others, he avouched the same. But they, albeit they were convicted, and in manner taken with the deed, yet refused they their Judges, and bragged of their privileges: but it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried again to *Orleance*, and committed to Prison, and afterwards brought openly to the Cathedral Church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactors are executed, and there should make open confession of their wickedness.

But even at the same time chanced a persecution against the *Lutherans*, which was the cause that this Sentence, albeit it was too gentle for so great offence, was not put in execution. For because the Name of the *Lutherans* was most odious, they feared lest the punishment of these men should not have been so much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproach of the Order; and many thought that whatsoever should be done to them, it would be to the *Lutherans* a pleasant spectacle, and cause them much to rejoice.

This Order of the *Franciscans* were esteemed of the common people very holy; so that what time they were carried out of *Paris*, certain Women moved with pity followed them unto the Gate of the University, with many tears and sighs.

After they came to *Orleance*, and were bestowed in several Prisons, they began to boast again of their liberties and privileges: and at length, after long Imprisonment, they were discharged and set at liberty without any further punishment. Had not these persecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the King had determined, as it was certainly reported, to pluck down their House, and make it even with the ground. Ex *Jean. Sleid. lib. 9.*

But to leave the memory of this Idolatrous Generation, persecution not worthy any further to be named, let us occupy the God-time with some better matter, in remembering the Story of a good and constant Martyr, of the Lord before overpast, time, which suffered in *Kent* for the Word of God before *Luthers* time, as here in Story followeth.

John Brown a Blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus burned at Ashford by Archbishop Warham, and Doctor Fisher Bishop of Rochelster, about the second year of King Henry the eighth. Anno 1511.

Persecutors.

Wil. Warh.
Arch. of
Canterbury.

THe first occasion of the trouble of the Story is this *John Brown*, the blessed Servant of God, was by a certain Priest; who passing down to *Graveland* in the common Barge (where the said *John Brown*

The Mayor
complained
to the King
of the Friers.

The Friers
condemned
to Prison
and to pass
thence.

The Priests
escaped, and
the Luther-
ans punish-
ed.

* The Story
of St. Brown

Fisher Bishop of Rochester.
A Chauntry Priest.
Walter More Gentleman.
Wil. More his Brother.
Children of Wye.
Baily errant.
Beare of Wilsborough.
Two Servants of W. Warham.

do you leave it, Sir, when the Mass is done? I cannot tell thee, said the Priest. Neither can you tell where to find the Mass is done, nor where you leave it when the Mass is done, how can you then save the Soul, said he? Go thy ways, said the Priest, I perceive thou art an Heretic, and I will be even with thee.

So at the landing, the Priest taking with him *Walter More* and *William More* two Gentlemen and Brethren, rode straightways to the Archbishop, who at that time was *William Warham*. Whereupon the said *John Brown*, within three days after, was sent for by the Archbishop. His bringers up were *Children of Wye Baily Errant*, and one *Beare of Wilsborough*, with two of the Bishops Servants. Who, with certain other being appointed for the same, came suddenly into his House upon him, the same day when his Wife was Church'd, as he was bringing in a Mef of Pottage to the board serving his guest: and so laying hands upon him, they let him upon his own Horse, and binding his feet under the Horses Belly, carried him away to *Canterbury*, neither he nor his Wife nor any of his friends knowing whether he went, nor whither he should: and there continuing the space of forty days, from *Low Sunday* till the *Friday before Whit Sunday*, through the cruel handling of the said Archbishop and the Bishop of *Rochester* Doctor *Fisher*, he was so pitiously treated, that his bare feet were set upon the hot burning Coals, to make him deny his Faith; which notwithstanding he would not do, but patiently abiding the pain, continued in the Lords quarrel unremovable. At length after all this cruelty sustained, his Wife yet not knowing where he was become, on *Friday before Whit Sunday* he was sent to *Alford* where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

In the mean time, as he was brought to the Town over night, there to be set in the Stocks, it happened as God would, that a young Maid of his House coming by, and seeing her Master, ran home and told her Mistress.

Then the coming to him, and finding him in the Stocks appointed to be burned the next morning, sat by him all the night long. To whom he then declared the whole Story or rather Tragedy how he was handled, and how his feet were burned to the Bones, by the two Bishops afore said, that he could not set them upon the ground, (he thanked God therefore) and all to make me, said he, to deny my Lord, which I will never do, for if I should deny him, said he in this World, he would deny me hereafter. And therefore I pray thee, said he, good *Elizabeth*, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy Children veritously in the fear of God.

And so the next day, which was on *Whitsun-Even*, this Godly Martyr was burned, where he standing at the Stake said this Prayer which followeth, holding up his hands.

The Prayer of John Brown at his death.

O Lord I yield me to thy Grace.
Grant me mercy for my trespasses.
Let never the Fiend my Soul chase.
Lord I will bow and thou shalt beat:
Let never my Soul come in Hell beat.

Into thy hand I commend my spirit, to whom it belongeth.
And so this blessed Martyr ended his life in peace, Ann. 1511.

This Story the said *Elizabeth Brown* his Wife did oft times relate to Alice her Daughter, who dwelt yet in the Parish of *S. Laurence*, testified the narration hereof unto me and certain others upon whose credible information I have recorded the time.

Furthermore, it is to be noted, that the said *John Brown* bare a fagot seven years before this, in the days of King *Henry the seventh*. Whose Son also Named *Richard Brown*, for the like cause of Religion, was imprisoned at *Canterbury* likewise, in the latter time of *Queen Mary*, and should have been burned with two more besides himself the next day after the death of *Queen Mary*, but that by the proclaiming of *Queen Elizabeth* they escaped.

Amongst other Injunctions and Letters of King *Henry the eighth*, written and set forth for reformation of Religion, he wrote one Letter to *Edmund Boner*, for abolishing of Images, Pilgrimages, Shrines, and other Monuments of Idolatry. Which letter being before expressed, we should also have annexed to the same the Letter or Mandate of *Boner*, directed in Latin to *Richard Cloney* his Sumner, appertaining to the due execution thereof. Which Letter because we have omitted before, the defect thereof I thought here in this vacant space to supply. The Letter written to *Cloney* in Latin thus beginneth.

Boners Letter to Cloney Keeper of the Cole-House, for the abolishing of Images.

Edmundus permissio Divina Lond. Episc. Dilecto This Chas nobis in Christo Richardo Cloney literato, Apparitori nostro generali salutem. grat. & benedictionem. Cum nos 13. die mensis instantis Octob. circa noctem, literas forensissimas

Wrote to this Story.
Ric. Brown stayed burning by the coming in of Queen Elizabeth.

This Chas could neither understand the Latin, nor yet in English, and yet here he is called literatus.

The same in English.

Forasmuch as the thirteenth day of this present, we have received the Letters of our Sovereign Lord, by the Grace of God King of England, &c. to us directed, and containing in them the commandment of his Majesty, by us to be executed in tenour of words which here I send unto you: We therefore willing and desiring according as our duty bindeth us, to put the same in Execution with all diligence possible, according to the effect and tenour hereof, in the Kings behalf, and for the fidelity which we have in you assuredly approved, that you incontinent upon the receipt hereof, do effectually warn all and singular Parsons and Vicars of this City of London, and of all our Dioceses, that they immediately upon the sight and intimation of these present Articles and interrogatories here under written, do cause diligent and effectual inquisition thereof to be made, to wit:

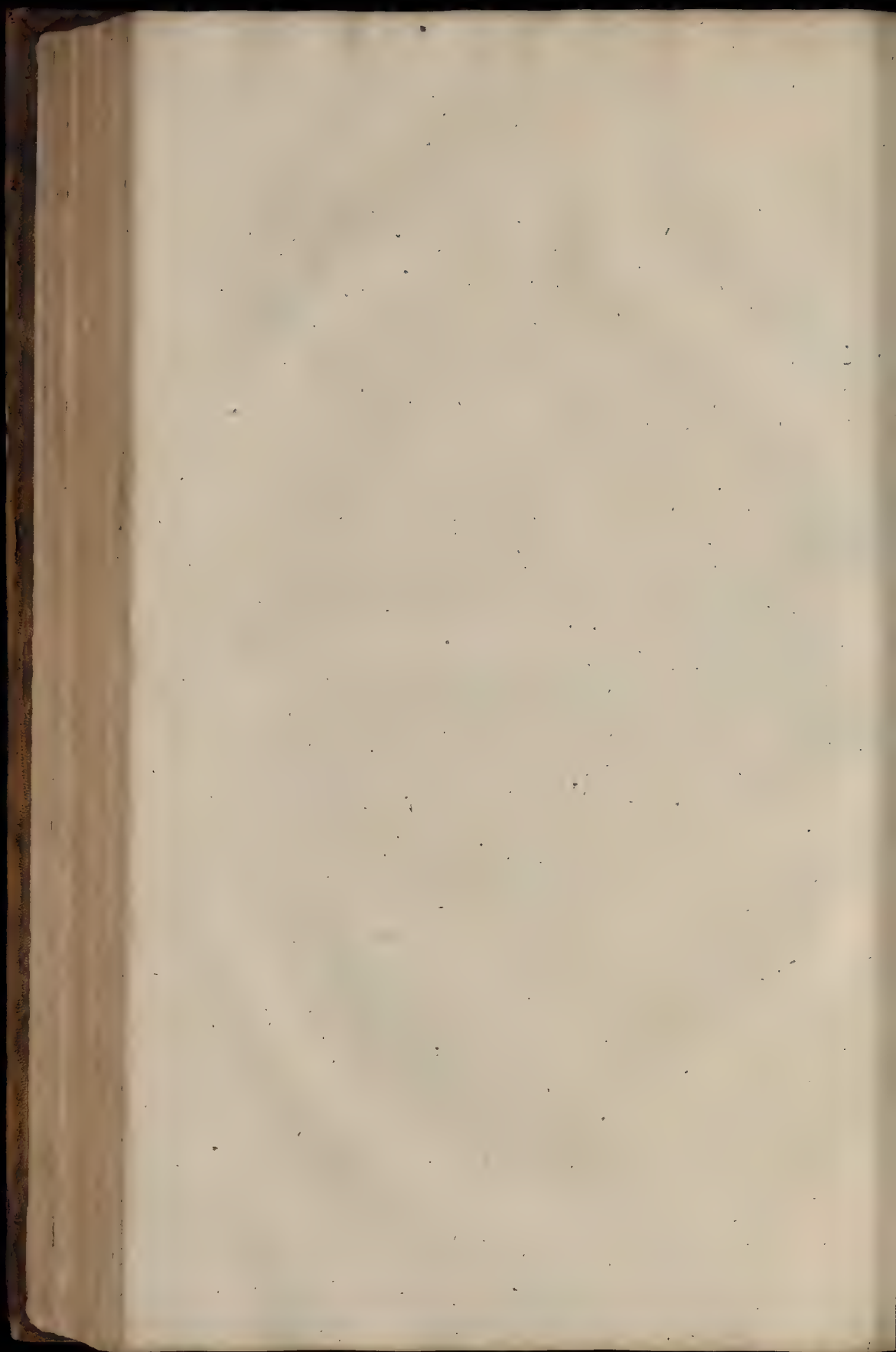
Whether there be used and continued any Superstition, Hypocrisie, or Abuse within any their Parishes or Cures, contrary to any Ordinance, Injunction, or Commandment given and set forth by the Kings Majesty, or by his Authority.

Item, Whether they have in their Churches, or within their Parishes, any shrines, coverings of shrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images, and bones resorted and offered unto, and other monuments and things where-with the people have been illuded, or any offering or setting up of lights or candles, other than be permitted by the Kings Majesties Injunction: or whether the said Injunctions be duly observed and kept in their Parishes or Cures, or else transgressed and broken, and in what part.

And further, after the said Inquisition done by them and every of them respectively being made, that you do certify us, or our Vicar General, what is done in the premises, upon the Even of *Simon and Jude*, or thereabouts, under the peril thereof following:

Dat. 14. die Oct. Anno 1541. Et nostra. translat. 2.

The end of the Eighth Book.





THE NINTH BOOK.

CONTAINING

*The Acts and things done in the Reign of King EDWARD
the Sixth.*

King Ed.
ward deſt-
roying
the Bible
to the Pre-
ſent.
Anno 1547.

The Reign
and time of
King Ed-
ward.

NExt after the death of King Henry ſucceed-
ed King Edward his Son, being of the age
of nine years. He began his reign the eight
and twentieth day of January, and reigned
ſix years and eight months, and eight days, and de-
ceased, Anno 1553, the ſixth day of July.

Of whoſe excellent vertues and ſingular graces wrought
in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be ſaid
enough to his commendation, yet becauſe the renowned
fame of ſuch a worthy Prince, ſhall not utterly paſs our
Story without ſome grateful remembrance, I thought in
few words to touch ſome little portion of his praiſe ta-
ken out of the great heaps of matter, which might be in-
ferred. For to ſtand upon all that might be ſaid of him,

it would be too long : and yet to ſay nothing, it were too
much unkind. If Kings and Princes, which have wiſely
and vertuouſly governed, have found in all ages Writers
to ſolemnize and celebrate their Acts and memory, ſuch
as never knew them, nor were ſubject unto them, how
much then are we *Engliſh* men bound not to forget our
duty to King Edward ? a Prince although but tender in
years, yet for his ſage and mature ripeneſs in wit and all
prinly Ornaments, as I ſee but few to whom he may
not be equal, ſo again I ſee not many to whom he may not
juſtly be preferred.

And here to uſe the example of *Plutarch* in compar-
ing Kings and Rulers, the Latins with the Greeks toge-
ther, if I ſhould ſeek with whom to match this noble
King

Comment-
tion of
King Ed.
ward.

ANNO
1547.
Comparison
between
King Josias
and King
Edward.

King Edward, I find not with whom to make my match more aptly, than with good Josias. For as the one began his Reign at eight years of his age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in Gods cause much discrepant. For as mild Josias plucked down the high Altars, cut down the Groves, and destroyed all Monuments of Idolatry in the Temple; the like corruptions, dross and deformities of Popish Idolatry, crept into the Church of Christ of long time, this Evangelical Josias King Edward removed, and purged the true Temple of the Lord: Josias restored the true worship and service of God in Jerusalem, and destroyed the Idolatrous Priests; King Edward in England, likewise abolishing Idolatrous Masses and false invocation, reduced again Religion to a right sincerity, and more would have brought to perfection if life and time had answered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as Josias did, the Idolatrous Sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

K. Josias and
K. Edward
only differ
in continu-
ance of
reign.

Moreover, in King Josias days the holy Scripture and Book of Gods Word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repaired and restored again. And did not King Edward the like with the self same Book of Gods blessed Word, and with other wholesome Books of Christian Doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his Fathers days by sharp Laws and severe Punishments here in England? Briefly in all points and respects, between him and this our godly King no odds is to be found, but only in length of time and reign. Who if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josias Reign; proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have infused to this Church and Realm. But the manifold iniquities of English-men deserved another Plague as after fell amongst us; as in sequel of the Story hereafter (God willing) shall be declared.

In the mean time, to proceed in the excellent virtues of this Christian young Josias (as we have begun) although neither do we know, nor will leisure serve us to stand upon a full description of all his acts; yet will we (God willing) give a little taste of the Noble nature and Princely qualities of this King, whereby the Reader may esteem with himself what is to be thought of the rest of his doings, though they be not here all expressed.

K. Edward
beloved of
his Subjects.

And first to begin with that which is the chiefest property of all other exten things in a Prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his Subjects; such were the hearts of all English people toward this King inclined, and so toward him still continued, as never came Prince in this Realm more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his Subjects; but especially of the good and learned sort, and yet not so much beloved, as also admirable by reason of his rare towardness and hope both of virtue and learning, which in him appeared above the capacity of his years. And as he was intirely of his Subjects beloved, so with no less good will he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemency. He always spared and favoured the life of Man; as once appeared in a certain differtation of his had with Master Cheek in favouring the life of Hereticks; in so much that when Joan Butcher should be burned, all the Council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Doctor Crammer to perswade with him, and yet neither could he with much labour induce the King so to do, saying; What my Lord? Will ye have me to send her quick to the Divil in her error? So that Doctor Crammer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the King to put to his hand, saying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Crammer before God. There wanted in him no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, ripeness of judgment. Favour and love of Religion was in him from his Childhood; Such an Organ given of God to the Church of England he was, as England had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies, and other great virtues in him, add moreover skill and knowledge of tongues and other Sciences, whereunto he seemed rather born than brought up.

K. Edward
well skilled
in the
Tongues.

Moreover, there wanted not in him to this felicity of wit and dexterity of nature, like happiness of institution of good Instructors. Neither did there lack again in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him: inasmuch that in the midst of all his play and recreation he would always observe and keep his hour appointed to his study; using the same with much intention, till time called him again from his Book to pastime. In this his study and keeping of his hours he did so profit, that Doctor Crammer, the Archbishop then of Canterbury, beholding his towardness, his readiness in both Tongues in translating from Greek to Latin, form Latin to Greek again, in declaiming with his School-fellows without help of his Teachers, and that *ex tempore*, would weep for joy, declaring to Doctor Cox his School master, that he would never have thought that to have been in him, except he had seen it himself.

The read-
iness of King
Edward to
his Book.

Doctor Cox
K. Edwards
School-
master.

To recite here his witty sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did proceed from him, and how he would sometimes, in a matter discoursed by his Council, add therunto of his own moe reasons and causes touching the said matter, than they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seem notorious and admirable, that he in these immature years could tell and recite all the Ports, Havens, and Creeks, not within his own Realm only, but also in Scotland, and likewise in France, what coming in there was, how the Tide served in every Haven or Creek; moreover, what burthen and what wind served the coming into the Haven.

Also of all his Justices, Magistrates, Gentlemen that bare any authority within his Realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation what it was. Few Sermons or none in his Court, especially in the Lord Protectors time, but he would be at them. Again, never was he present at any commonly, but he would except them, or note them with his own hand.

K. Edward
knew the
names and
religion of
all his Magi-
strates.

Besides and above all other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest point which ought most to touch all Men, for the maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealous, and defending the true cause and quarrel of Christs holy Gospel, what was his study, his zealous fervency, his admirable constancy therein, by this one example following, amongst many other, may notably appear.

In the days of this King Edward the Sixth, *Caroles* the Emperor made request to the said King and his Council, to permit Lady Mary (who after succeeded in the Crown) to have Mass in her House without prejudice of the Law. And the Council on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, having that in question, sent Crammer then Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley then Bishop of London, to entreat the King for the same. Who coming to his Grace, alledged their reasons and perswasions for the accomplishing thereof. So the King hearing what they could say, replied his answer again out of the Scriptures, so groundedly, gravely, and full, that they were enforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this manner with his Majesty, laboured politicly in another sort, and alledged what dangers the denying thereof might bring to his Grace, what breach of amity of the Emperors part, what troubles, what unkindness, and what occasions sundry ways it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the King answered, willing them to content themselves, for he would (he said) spend his life and all he had, rather than to agree and grant to that he knew certainly to be against the Truth. The which when the Bishops heard, notwithstanding they urged him still to grant, and would by no means have his Nay: Then the good King seeing their importunate suits that needs they would have his Majesty to consent thereto, in the end his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping, and sobbing, he desired them to be content. Whereat the Bishops themselves, seeing the Kings zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his Grace; and coming from him, the Archbishop took Master Cheek his Schoolmaster by the hand, and said, Ah, Master Cheek, you may be glad

The singular
constancy
of King Ed-
ward in
maintaining
true religio-
on.

The zealous
heart of K.
Edward.

RING
Edward
The Lady
Marie Maie
flayed by
the tears of
K. Edwards.

K. Edwards
skilful in
the Ex-
change.

K. Edwards
skilful for
keeping of
acts and
doing of the
Council.

Ex. Maren.
Cardan. in l.
de Genituris.

glad all the days of our life that you have such a Scholar, for he hath more Divinity in his little Finger, than all we have in all our Bodies. Thus the Lady *Marie Maie* for that time was flayed.

Over and besides these Heavenly graces and virtues, most chiefly to be required in all faithful and Christian Magistrates which have governance of Christs Flock, neither was he also unprovided of such outward gifts and knowledge as appertain to the governance of his Realm politick. Inasmuch that neither he was unexpert or ignorant of the Exchange, and all the circumstances of the same touching doings beyond the Sea, but was as skilful in the practices thereof, and could say as much therein, as chiefest Doers in his affairs. Likewise in the entertaining of Embassadors, to whom he would give answer, and that to every part of their Oration, to the great wonder of them that heard him, doing that in his tender years by himself, which many Princes at their mature age seldom are wont to do but by other. And as he was a great noter of things that pertained to Princely affairs, so had he a Chelt severally to himself for every year, for the keeping of such records and matters as pait and were concluded by the Council. Of whom also he would require a reason and cause of every thing that should pass their judgments. And of this Chelt he would evermore keep the Key about him. His notes also he cyphered in Greek Letters, to the end that those that waited upon him should not read nor know what he had written.

He had moreover great respect to Justice, and to the dispatch of poor mens Sutes, and would appoint hours and times with Master Cox, then Master of his Requests, how and by what order they might be sped in their causes without long delay and attendance, and so also debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equity accordingly.

What *Hieronymus Cardanus* saith of him, concerning his knowledge in liberal Sciences, I thought here to express in his own words, both in Latin and English, so much the rather, because he speaketh of his own experiment, and upon the present talk which he had with the King himself. The words of *Cardanus* first in Latin be these.

Hier. Card. de Genituris.

Aderant enim illi gratie. Linguas enim multas ad-
huc puer callebat. Anglicam natalem, Latinam,
Gallicam, non expers (ut audio) Græcæ, Italianæ, & Hi-
spanicæ, & forsitan aliarum. Propriam, Gallicam & La-
tinam exacte tenebat, & ad omnia docilis erat. Non
illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis Philosophiæ prin-
cipia, non musica. Humanitas mortalitatis nostræ imo-
do, gravitas Regiæ majestatis, in dolo tanto principe dig-
na. In universum magno miraculo humanarum rerum,
tanti ingenii, & tantæ expectatiōis puer educabatur.
Non hæc Rhetoricæ exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt
minoræ.

Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat
(Latine non minus quam ego polite & prompte loquebatur)
quid continerent libri tui de rerum veritate? hos enim no-
minis Majestatis sue dedicaveram. Tum ego Cometarum
primum causam diu frustra quesitam in primo capite offen-
do. Quenam, inquis ille? Concursum, ego aio, luminis
erraticorum siderum. At Rex, Quomodo, cum diversis
moribus astra moveantur, non statim dissipantur aut move-
antur eorum motu. At ego, moventur equidem, sed longe ce-
lerius illis ob diversitatem aspectus, velut in Chrysallo &
Sole cum iris in pariete relucet. At Rex, & quam patet
magnam facit loci differentiationem. At Rex, & quam patet
absque subiecto illud fieri potest, iridi enim paries sub-
iectum est? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminum re-
flectione, cum plures candelæ prope accessæ medium quod-
dam lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaque ex ungue
Leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut
bonorum aut eruditorum expectatiōe ob ingeniositatem atque
suavitatem morum. Prius cæperat favere artibus quam
virescere, & noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus qui-
dam humane conditionis, quem non solum Angliæ, sed or-
bis crepimur immature desistere debet. O quam bene dixit
ille,

Immodicus brevis est ætas & rara senectus.

*Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Ubi
gravitas Regia requirebatur, senem videres, ut blandus
erat, & comis, ætatem referebat. Chelt pulsat, pub-
licis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atque in his
patrem amulabatur, &c.*

Hæc Cardanus.

The same in English.

There was in him a towardly disposition and pregnancy
apt to all human literature; as who being yet a
Child, had the knowledge of divers Tongues, first of the
English his own natural Tongue, of the Latin also and
of the French; neither was he ignorant (as I hear) of the
Greek, Italian, and Spanish Tongues, and of other
Languages peradventure more. In his own, in the
French, and in the Latin Tongue singularly perfect, and
with the like facility apt to receive all other. Neither
was he ignorant in Logick, in the principles of natural
Philosophy, or in Mute. There was in him lacking
neither humanity, the Image of our mortality, a Prince-
ly gravity and majesty, nor any kind of towardness be-
coming a noble King. Briefly, it may seem a miracle
of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardness
that appeared in him being yet but a Child. This I
speak not rhetorically, to amplify things, or to make
them more than truth is, yea the truth is more than I do
utter.

Being yet but fifteen year of age, he asked of me in
Latin (in which Tongue he uttered his mind no less readi-
ly and eloquently than I could do myself) what my Books
which I had dedicated unto him, *De varietate rerum*,
do contain; I said that in the first Chapter was shewed
the cause of Comets, or blazing Stars, which hath been
long sought for, and yet hitherto source fully found. What
cause, said he, is that? The concourse or meeting,
said I, of the Light and wandering Planets and Stars.
To this the King thus replied again: Forasmuch, said he,
as the motion of the Stars keepeth not one course, but
is divers and variable by continual alteration, how is it
then that the cause of these Comets either doth not quick-
ly vade and vanish, or that the Comet doth not keep one
certain and uniform course and motion with the said Stars
and Planets? Whereunto I answered, that the Comet
hath his course and moving, but much more swifter than
they, because of the diversity of aspect, as we see in
Chrysal, and in the Sup when the form of the Rainbow
reboundeth on the Wall. For a little mutation maketh a
great difference of place. Then said the King, and how
can that be, having no subject: for of the Rainbow the
Wall is the subject? Like, said I, as in *Lactea via*, or in
reflection of lights, as where many Candles be lighted
and set near together, in the middle they cause a certain
bright and white light to appear, &c.

And so by this little trial a great guess may be given
what was in this King. In whom no doubt was a great
hope and expectation amongst all good and Learned Men,
both for the ingenious forwardness and amiable sweetness
which in his conditions appeared. First he began to love
and favour liberal Arts and Sciences, before he knew
them, and to know them before he could use them, whose
mortal condition and sudden decay and decay in those
tender and unripe years, not only England, but all the
world hath cause to lament. O how truly is it said of the
Poet,

Things that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.

A few or light only of excellency he could give us;
example he could not give. Where a Kingly Majesty re-
quired gravity, there you should have seen him a sage and
an old man, and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as
the condition of his age then required. He played well up-
on the Lute, he had also to do in handling of weighty af-
fairs of the Realm. He was liberal and bountiful in heart,
and therein he imitated his Father, &c.

¶ 2

¶ Fleete

The words
of Cardanus
in the com-
mendation
of King
Edwards.

What cause
of Comets.

Lactea via
is a white
and bright
part of the
firmament
like a long
white
cause or
way appear-
ing in the
night a-
mong the
thick stars.

Carmen Epitaphium Cardani, in obitu Reg. Edwardi.
Flete nefas magnum, sed into flebitis ordo,
Mortales; vesper corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, & juvenum flus, spesq; bonorum,
Deliciae scilicet, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lacrymis doctaeq; Minervae
Flocculus, heu misero! concidit ante diem.
Te tumulo dabimus musae, supremasq; stantes
Funeris, Melpomene tristitia fata canet.

Ex Hier. Cardano.

Thus after the godly disposition and properties of this King briefly in this wife declared, now, God willing, we will intermeddle something to describe the order and proceedings which he followed in his administration and government of both the States, as well Politick as especially Ecclesiastick. Who after the decease of his Father coming into the Crown, because he was of young and tender age, he was committed to sixteen Governours. Amongst whom, especially the Lord Edward Semer Duke of Somerset his Uncle was assigned and joyned to him as Protector and Overseer of him and of the Commonwealth. A Man not so highly advanced for his consanguinity, as also for his noble virtues, and especially for his favour to Gods Word, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the indeavour and industry of which Man, first that monstrous *Hydra* with six Heads, the six Articles I mean (which devoured up so many Men before) was abolished and taken away: By reason whereof the Councils and proceedings of *Winchester* began to decay, who, storming at the same matter, wrote to the Lord Protector in the cause thereof, as by the Letters is to be seen.

Reformation by King Edward.

The holy Scriptures he restored to the mother Tongue, Masses he extinguished and abolished. Furthermore, after softer beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of the Churches. Then such, as before were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were again received to their Country. To be short, a new face of things began now to appear, as it were in a Stage new players coming in, the old being thrust out. For the most part the Bishops of Churches and Diocesses were changed. Such as had been dumb Prelates before, were compelled to give place to other then, that would preach and take pains.

Annos 1547. Petrus Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Pagninus.

Besides other also, out of foreign Countries men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for and received, among whom was *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Pagninus*. Of whom the first taught at *Oxford*; the other two professed at *Cambridge*, and that with no small commendation of the whole University. Of the old Bishops some were committed to one ward, some to another. *Bonner* Bishop of *London* was committed to the *Marthaleys*, and estoons for his contempt and misdemeanour depoled from his Bishoprick, as in further process followeth to be seen. *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, with *Tonitall* Bishop of *Durham*, was cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his *Christmas* three years together, more worthy of some other place without the Tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to have meant a further Plague to this Realm by that man.

Edm. Bonner Bishop of London committed to the Marthaleys.

Gardiner and Tonitall committed to the Tower.

But these meek and gentle times of King Edward, under the government of this Noble Protector, have this one commendation proper unto them, that amongst the whole number of the Popish sort, of whom some privily did steal out of the Realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest adversaries, yet of all that multitude there was not one man that lost his life. In sum, during the whole time of the six years of this King, much tranquillity, and as it were a breathing time was granted to the whole Church of *England*: so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting mens minds, than any time of persecuting or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in *Smithfield* nor any other quarter of this Realm, any was heard to suffer for any matter of Religion, either Papist or Protellant, either for one opinion or other, except only two, one

an Englishwoman, called *Joan of Kent*, and the other a Dutchman, named *George*, who died for certain Articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed.

Besides these two, there was none else in all King Edwards Reign, that died in any cause of Religion, but one *Thomas Dobbe*, who in the beginning of this Kings Reign was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the Idolatry of the Mass, and in the same prison died; as in the Story here insueth to be seen.

The Dobbe imprisoned, and in prison died.

This *Thomas Dobbe*, being a Student and a Master of Art in *Cambridge*, was brought up in the College called *Saint Johns* College, and Fellow of the same, where he increased in the study of good Letters, among his equals very forward, of nature and disposition simple and modest, of zeal toward God fervent, patient in injuries, injurious to no man, of much like fort and condition as in Doves, which without all bitterness of Gall are more apt to receive injury than to work wrong at any.

Doves as Philosophers do write, naturally have no Gall.

At length this godly Man, intending with himself and adding his mind to the Christian state of Matrimony, resorted to a certain Maiden not far off where he dwelt. For the which cause he was greatly molested, and wickedly abused by three of that College, whose names were *Hutchinson*, *Pindare*, and *Taylor*, who with their malicious handling, scornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, so much vexed the virtuous simplicity of the man, that they never left him, till at length they wearied him out of the College. Who there having no rest nor quietness, by reason of the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, was compelled to seek some other place wherein to settle himself. Upon the occasion whereof coming up unto *London*, it chanced him to pass through *Pauls* Church, where it happened that at the South side of the Church at the same time there was a Priest at Mass, more buffy than well occupied, being at the elevation as he passed by. The young Man replete with godly zeal, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honouring that so devoutly which the Priest lifted up, was not able to forbear, but opening his mouth and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honour the visible Bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honoured, &c. with such other words moe of Christian information. For which cause straightway he was apprehended by the Maior, and afterward accused to the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and committed to the Counter then in *Breadstreet*, where he not long continued, but falling into a sickness, how or whereupon I cannot tell, shortly upon the same changed this mortal life. Whose Pardon notwithstanding was obtained of the Lord Protector, and should have been brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concerning *Thomas Dobbe* and other.

Over and besides, I find, that in the first year of the Reign of King Edward, which was Anno 1547, there was one *John Hume*, Servant to Master *Lewman* of *Wresel* apprehended, accused, and sent up to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the said Master *Lewman* his Master and *Margaret Lewman* his Mistress, for these Articles.

1. First, for denying the Sacrament (as it was then called of the Altar) to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.
2. For saying that he would never rail his Bonet unto it, to be burned therefore.
3. For saying that if he should hear Mass, he should be burned.

For this was he sent up by his Master and Mistress aforesaid, with special Letters unto the Archbishop, requiring him severely to be punished by the Law for the same. But because I find no execution following thereupon, I therefore pass over this story of him.

These things premised, when this virtuous and godly young Prince (induced as you have heard with special graces from God) was now peaceably stablished in his Kingdom, and had a Council about him, grave, wise, and zealous in Gods cause, especially his Uncle the Duke of *Somerset*, he then most earnestly likewise desired, as well the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, and the planting of his sincere Religion, as also the utter sup-

{ KING suppression and extirpation of all Idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his Realms and Dominions : and therefore following, as is before expressed, the good example of King *Josias*, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of Religion in the Church of *England*.

And forasmuch as at his first entry (notwithstanding his Fathers good beginning in abolishing the usurped power of Antichrist) he yet found most of his Laws greatly repugning against this his zealous enterprise, he therefore purposed by the advice of his said wife and honourable Council, and of his own regal power and authority, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, until such time as by the consent of the whole estate of Parliament he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniform order therein.

Whereupon intending first a general Visitation over all the Bishopricks within his Realm, (thereby as well to understand, as also to address the abuses in the same) he chose out certain wise, learned, discreet and worshipful Personages to be his Commissioners in that behalf, and to dividing them into several Companies, assigned unto them several Diocesses to be visited; appointing likewise unto every Company one or two godly learned Preachers, which at every Session should in their preaching both instruct the people in the true Doctrine of the Gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to the same, and also earnestly dehort them from their old superstition and wonted Idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their Commission, there were delivered unto them certain Injunctions and Ecclesiastical Orders drawn out by the Kings learned Council, the which they should both inquire of, and also command in his Majesties behalf to be thenceforth observed of every person, to whom they did severally appertain within their sundry Circuits.

In the which amongst other things, it was first enjoyned, that all Ecclesiastical persons should themselves observe, and cause to be observed of other, all such Statutes as were made for the abolishing of the Bishop of *Romes* usurped power, and establishing of the Kings supreme Authority, and that they should every one, four times in the year at the least, in their publick Sermons declare unto the people, that the one, being most arrogantly usurped against the Word of God, was now justly taken away, and the other (according to the very true meaning of the same word) was of most loyal duty only to be obeyed of all his Graces subjects.

And again, that every the foresaid Ecclesiastical person, having Cure, should preach, or cause to be preached within their several Cures, one Sermon every quarter of the year. In the which they should sincerely set forth the Word of God, and exhort the people unto the works of Faith and mercy prescribed in the same word, and not unto works devised by mans fantasies, as going on Pilgrimages and otherlike Idolatrous Superstitions; the which they should also to the uttermost of their powers reprove and speak against, declaring that all grace and goodness ought only to be sought for at Gods hand as the alone giver thereof, and not at any other creature: And that they should not only forthwith take down and destroy all such Images as had been heretofore abused by Pilgrimage or offerings, within their said Cures; but also should not thenceforth suffer any Lights or other Idolatrous oblation to be made or set up before any other Image than was yet suffered in the Church.

Also that every Holy-day (having no Sermon in their Church) they should immediately after the Gospel distinctly read in the Pulpit the Lords Prayer, the Belief and the Ten Commandments of Almighty God in the English Tongue; exhorting the people not only to learn them their selves, but also to teach them to their Children and Families, and also should charge all Parents and Governors of Households, to bring up their youth in some good exercise or occupation, whereby they might afterwards serve the Commonwealth, and not run about like Vagabonds and idle Loyerers, and thereby incur the danger of the Laws.

And furthermore, that the said persons, having Cure, should see the holy Sacraments of Christ reverently ministered within their Cures, and that if any of them (by special licence or other causes expressed in the Statutes of this Realm) should be at any time absent from their Benefices, that then they should leave in their rooms some godly, learned, and discreet Curate, that were able to instruct the people in all truth and godliness, not seeking themselves, but rather the profit of their Flock.

And likewise, that they should see provided and set up in some most convenient and open place of every their several Churches, one great Bible in English, and one Book of the Paraphrases of *Erasmus* upon the Gospels, both in English, that the people might reverently, without any argument or contention, read and hear the same at such times as they listed, and not to be inhibited therefrom by the Parson and Curate, but rather to be the more encouraged and provoked thereto.

And that the said Parsons and Curates should not at any time (but for necessary causes) haunt any Tavern or Alehouse, neither should spend their time idly in unlawful Games, but at all their convenient leisures should give themselves to the reading or hearing of the holy Scriptures.

Moreover, that in the time of Confession every *Lent* they should examine their Parishioners, whether they could say the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of the Christian Faith: and that if they could not, they should then reprove them, declaring further unto them, that they ought not to presume to come unto the Lords Table, without the true knowledge thereof, and earnest desire to fulfil the same.

Also that they should not admit any Man to preach within their Cures, but such as were lawfully licensed thereunto; and that they having at any time before extolled and praised any Idolatrous Pilgrimage, or other superstition, should now openly recant the same before the people.

And if there were any open hinderer or disturber of the reading or preaching of the Word of God within their Parishes, that then they should forthwith detect the same unto the Kings Council, or unto some Justice of Peace to them next inhabiting.

And further, that learning and knowledge might be the better maintained, it was also ordained herein, that every Beneficed person that might yearly dispend twenty pounds or upward, and not resident upon their Cures, should pay, towards the relief of the Poor within their Parish every year, the fortieth part of their Fruits and profits: and likewise that every such as might dispend one hundred pounds yearly, or more, should for every hundred pound give a competent exhibition to some poor Scholar within one of the Universities of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or else in some other Grammar school of the Realm.

And also that every Priest, being under the degree of a Bachelor of Divinity, should have of his own one New Testament in English and Latin, with the Paraphrases of *Erasmus* upon the same, and should diligently read and study thereupon, and should collect and keep in memory all such comfortable places of the Scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons, that they might thereby comfort their Flock in all danger of death, despair, or trouble of conscience: and that therefore every Bishop in their Visitations should from time to time try and examine them how they had profited in these their Studies.

And although the Mass was then still by the Law retained, yet was it enjoined, that at every high Mass the laye or finger thereof should openly and distinctly read the Gospel and the Epistle in English, in the Pulpit, or in some other convenient place that the people might hear the same. And in like place and manner should read every Holyday and Sunday at *Mattins* one Chapter of the New Testament in English, omitting therefore three of their nine Latin Lessons, with there Responds; and at *Evening* likewise, immediately after *Magnificat*, one Chapter of the Old Testament instead of their wonted Responds and memories.

Furthermore, because of the vain contentions that often fall among the people for going on Procession, it was ordained, that thenceforth the Priests and Clerks should kneel in the middit of the Church, and there distinctly

The Bible in English of the largest Volume to be set up in every Church with the Paraphrases of *Erasmus*.

Ecclesiastical persons not to haunt Taverns or play at unlawful game.

None to preach but lawfully licensed.

That all hinderers of Gods word, and favourers of the contrary proceedings should be detected. Ecclesiastical and beneficed persons, what they must give to the poor. Every Benefice of 100 pounds, to find a scholar at the University.

Certain things to be provided for the Churches.

The Gospels and Epistles to be read in the hearing of the people.

Processions laid down.

of the Realm, there were also certain others particularly appointed for the Bishops only, which being delivered unto the Commissioners were likewise at their Visitations committed: unto the said Bishops with charge to be inviolably observed and kept upon pain of the Kings Majesties displeasure; the effect whereof is as in manner followeth.

First that they should, to the uttermost of their wit and understanding, see and cause all and every singular the Kings Injunctions theretofore given, or after to be given from time to time, in and through their Diocets, duly, faithfully, and truly to be kept, observed, and accomplished, and that they should personally Preach within their Diocets, every quarter of a year once at the least, that is to say, once in their Cathedral Churches, and thrice in other several places of their Dioceses, whereas they should fee it most convenient and necessary, except they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain in their service or household any Chaplain, but such as were Learned, or able to Preach the Word of God, and those they should also cause to exercise the same.

Moreover it was ordained that every Dean, Archdeacon,

Moreover it is ordained that every Dean, Archdeacon, Master of Collegiate Churches or Hospitals, and Prebendaries (being Priests) should himself personally preach twice every year at least, in some place place where he had jurisdiction and living; and that they and all other Curates should teach the people, that no rian of any private affection ought maliciously to violate any Ceremony in the Church, then not abrogated by the Kings authority; so likewise they ought not on the other side to use them superstitiously or idolatrously, in attributing to them remission of sins, driving away of evil Spirits, and other such like dreams and fantasies of Men, or, in setting an confidence of obtaining grace by any

them. And further that they should utterly take away and destroy all Shrines and Monuments of fained Miracles, Pilgrimages, and other Idolatrous superstition, as well in their Churches, as within their private Houses.

Also that the should fee provided within their Churches
 a Froing and chit Cheft for the fafe keeping of the peoples
 benevolence given towards the relief of the poor, and that the faid Curates fhould earnestly exhort and move
 their Parishioners (efpecially at the making of their Testaments) that as they had been theretofore willing to be-
 flow much of their fubftance upon vain, fuperftitious and
 blind devotions contrary to Gods Word, fo now they
 would be much more ready to give fome Portion there-
 of unto their poor and needy Brethren, knowing the
 fame to be not only commanded in the Word of God,
 but alfo promifed to be rewarded. And for the better re-
 lief of the Poor, it was alfo appointed that all money and
 profits rifing upon Fraternities, Guilds, Stocks, &
 Churches, or given to the hindring of Idolatrous Lights,
 fhould be converted for that prelent unto the fame use.
 Laft of all, for the want of Learned Curates and other
 good Teachers, it was enjoyed that the Curates (having
 no Preacher) fhould every *Sunday* read unto the people in
 their Churches one of the Homilies which fhould be fhortly
 fet forth for the fame purpofe by the Kings authority; and
 that when any Homily or Sermon fhould be preached or
 read, then the Prime and Hours fhould be omitted.

There were to be divers other Articles in the same Injunctions appointed for Commines and due order in the Churches; as for repairing of Chancels, and Priests Houses; for keeping of a Register Book of Weddings, Christnings and Burials, for reading of these Injunctions every quarter, for due paying of Tithes, for forbidding of any other Interuption of Service in the Church, or Fasting days, for making of comely Pulpits for the Preachers, for avoiding of Idleness in buying and selling of Benefices, for the charitable using of Priests, for praying only upon the English and Latin Primers set forth by King Henry the Eighth, for the teaching of his Grammar in the common Schools, and lastly, that the Chantry Priests should teach young Children either to Write and Read, or else some other good and profitable exercises; as it doth more fully and amply appear in the same Injunctions at large set forth in the 684th Page of the first Book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church heretofore Imprinted.

Besides these general Injunctions for the whole Estate

Moreover, that they should not give Orders to any person, but such as were learned in holy Scripture: neither should deny them that were learned in the same, being of honest conversation and living. And lastly, that they should not at any time or place Preach or set forth unto the people any Doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent contained and set forth in the Kings Highness Homilies, neither yet should admit or give licence to any to Preach within their Dioceses, but to such as they should know (or at least assuredly trust) would do the same. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proved, they should perceive the contrary, they should then incontinent not only inhibit that person so offending, but also punish him and revoke their licence.

Now during the time that the Commissioners were occupied abroad in their Circuits about the speedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous Orders and Decrees of the King and his Council, his Majesty (with the advice of the same) yett fill desiring a further reformation as well in this case of Religion, as also in some others of his civil Government, appointed a Parliament of the three Estates of his Realm to be summoned against the fourth day of *November*, in the first year of his Reign, and the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred forty and seven, which continued unto the twenty fourth day of *December* then next following. In the which Session, inasmuch as his Highness minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true Faith and Religion of God, and therewithal also duly weighed the great dan-

A Parliament called in the first year of King Edward.

that his loving Subjects were in for confelſing the
 Goſpel of Chriſt, through many and divers cruel Statutes
 made by ſundry his Predeceſſors againſt the ſame, (which
 being fill left in force might both cauſe the obſtinate to
 contemn his Graces godly proceedings, and alſo the weak
 to be fearful of their Chriſtianlike Profeſſion) he there-
 fore cauſed it among other things by the authority of the
 ſame Parliament to be Inacted, That all Acts of Parliament
 and Statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe con-
 cerning Religion or opinions, that to ſay, as well the
 Statute made in the firſt year of the Reign of King *Richard*
 the Second, and the Statute made in the ſecond year of
 the Reign of King *Henry* the Fifth, and the Statute made in the
 five and twentieth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the
 Eighth, concerning puniſhment and reformation of Hereticks
 and Lollards, and every proviſion therein contained, and
 the Statutes made for the abolithment of diverſity of opinions
 in certain Articles concerning Chriſtian Religion, commonly
 called the fix Articles, made in the one and thirtieth
 year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and alſo the
 Statute made in the Parliament begun the ſixteenth day of
January in the three and thirtieth year of the Reign of the
 ſaid King *Henry* the Eighth, and after Prorogued unto the
 one and twentieth day of *January* in the four and thirtieth
 year of his ſaid Reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe
 concerning Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* in Eng-
 liſh, and the printing, uttering, ſelling, giving, or delivering
 of Books or writings, and retaining of Engliſh books or
 writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding
 the

KING
Edw. 6

{ Anno }
{ 1547. }
Injunctions
given to the
Bishops.

A Parli.
ment called
in the first
year of K.
Richard

Stat., An. 1.
Reg. Edw. 6.
cap. 12.
The Statute
made An. 1.
Reg. Rich. 2.
an. Reg. Hen.
5. An. 25.
Reg. Hen. 8.
Item an. 31.
Hen. 8. an. 34
Hen. 8. an. 35
Hen. 8. re-
pealed.
Item, note
for the Sta-
tute, an. 2.
Reg. Hen. 4.
cap. 15.
because
that Statute
was repealed
by a Sta-
tute made,
29 an. H. 8.
therefore
the same is
here omit-
ted.
The bloody
Statute of
the 6 Articles
repealed.

KING the Scriptures, or in any wife touching, mentioning or concerning any of the said matters; and also one other Statute made in the five and thirtieth year of the Reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, concerning the qualification of the Statute of the six Articles, and all and every other Act or Acts of Parliament, concerning Doctrine or matters of Religion, and all and every Branch, Article, Sentence, Matter, Pains, or Forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wife declared in any of the same Acts and Statutes, should from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect.

By occasion whereof, as well all such his godly Subjects, as were then still abiding within the Realm, had free liberty publicly to profess the Gospel; as also many learned and zealous Preachers, before banished, were now both licensed freely to return home again, and also encouraged boldly and faithfully to travel in their Function and Calling, so that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same Session his Majesty with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the same Parliament assembled, thoroughly understanding by the judgment of the best Learned, that it was more agreeable unto the first Institution of the Sacrament of the most precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practise both of the Apostles, and of the Primitive Church, by the space of five hundred years and more after Christs Ascension, that the said holy Sacrament should be ministered unto all Christian people under both the kinds of Bread and Wine, than under the form of Bread only; and also that it was more agreeable unto the said first Institution of Christ, and the usage of the Apostles and Primitive Church, that the people being present should receive the same with the Priest, than that the Priest should receive it alone; did by their Authority moreover enact, that the said holy Sacrament should be from thenceforth commonly delivered and ministered unto the people, throughout the Churches of England and Ireland, and other the Kings Dominions, under both the kinds of Bread and of Wine, except necessity otherwise required: and also that the Priest, that should minister the same, should at the least one before exhort all persons which should be present, likewise to reform and prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day prefixed, after some godly Exhortation made by the Minister, wherein should be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them which worthily receive this holy Sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatened to them which presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conscience before he should come thereunto; the said Minister should not without a lawful cause deny the same to any person that would devoutly and humbly desire it; any Law, Statute, Ordinance, or Custom contrary thereunto in any wife notwithstanding.

After which most godly consent of the Parliament, the King being no less desirous to have the form of Administration of the Sacrament truly reduced to the right Rule of the Scriptures and first use of the Primitive Church, than he was to establish the same by the Authority of his own Regal Laws, appointed certain of the most grave and best learned Bishops, and other of his Realm, to assemble together at his Castle of Windsor, there to argue and intreat upon this matter, and conclude upon and set forth one perfect and uniform Order according to the rule and use aforesaid.

Candles not to be born on Candlemas-day. Alms forbidden on Ash-Wednesday.

And in the mean time while that the Learned were thus occupied about their Conferences, the Lord Protector and the rest of the Kings Council, further remembering that that time of the year did then approach, wherein were practised many superstitious Abuses and blasphemous Ceremonies against the Glory of God, and truth of his Word (determining the utter abolishing thereof) directed their Letters unto the godly and reverend Father Thomas Crammer, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan of England, requiring him that upon the receipt thereof he should will every Bishop within his Province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the Curates of their Dioceffes, That neither Candles should be any more born upon Candlemas-day, neither yet Alms used in Lent, nor Palms upon Palm-Sunday.

Whereupon the Archbishop, zealously favouring the good and Christian-like purpose of the King and his Council, did immediately in that behalf write unto all the rest of the Bishops of that Province, and amongst them unto Edmund Bonner then Bishop of London. Of whose rebellious and obdurate contumacy for that we have hereafter more to say, I thought not to stand now long thereupon, but only by the way somewhat to note his former dissimulation and cloaked hypocritie, in that he outwardly at the first consented as well unto this, as also unto all other the Kings proceedings, but whether for fear or for any other subtil fetch I know not, howbeit most like it is, rather for one of them or both, than for any true love. And therefore receiving the Archbishops Letters, as one of them seeming to allow the contents thereof, he did presently write unto the Bishop of Westminster, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give such knowledge thereof in their Dioceffes, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appeareth by these his own Letters here inserted, which here do follow:

Ed. Bonner.

A Letter missive of Edmund Bonner, sent to the Bishop of Westminster, with the tenor of the Archbishops Letter for abolishing of Candles, Alms, Palms, and other Ceremonies.

My very good Lord, after most hearty Commendations, these be to advertise your good Lordship, That my Lord of Canterburys Grace this present 28th day of January sent unto me his Letters missive, containing this in effect, That my Lord Protector's Grace, with the advice of other the Kings Majesties most honourable Council, for certain Considerations them moving, are fully resolved that no Candles shall be born upon Candlemas-day, nor also from henceforth Alms or Palms used any longer: requiring me thereupon by his said Letters, to cause admonition and knowledge thereof to be given unto your Lordship and other Bishops with celerity accordingly. In consideration whereof I do send at this present these Letters unto your said Lordship, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertisement thereof within your Dioceffes as appertaineth. Thus I commit your good Lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can best desire.

Bonners Letter for the abolishing of alms, palms, &c. Anno 1548.

Written in haste at my house in London, the said twenty eighth day of January, 1548.

Your good Lordships to command,
Edmund Bonner.

Now about that present time credible and certain Report was made unto the Lords of the Council, that great contention and strife did daily arise among the common people in divers parts of this Realm, for the pulling down and taking away of such Images out of the Churches, as had been idolatrously abused by Pilgrimages, Offerings, or otherwise (according to the tenor of one of the Injunctions given by the King in his late Visitation) some affirming that that Image was abused, others that this, and most that neither of them both; so that if speedily remedy were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one advice thinking it best (of good experience) for avoiding of all discord and tumult, that all manner of Images should be clean taken out of all Churches, and none suffered to remain, did thereupon again write their Letters unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his ready Aid therein, in manner following.

Contention amongst the people for Images.

Another Letter of the Council sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the abolishing of Images.

After our right hearty Commendations to your good Lordship: Where now of late in the Kings Majesties Visitations, among other godly Injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his Highnesses Realm,

Letters from the Council to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for abolishing of Images.

Realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such Images as had at any time been abused with Pilgrimages, Offerings, or Censings, albeit that this said Injunction hath in many parts of this Realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath risen and daily riseth, and more and more encreaseth about the execution of the same; some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good will retain all such Images still, although they have been most manifestly abused. And in some places also the Images, which by the said Injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again. And almost in every place is contention for Images, whether they have been abused or not. And while these men go on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that Image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parts have in some places been taken in such sort, as further inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this Realm is any sure quietness, but where all Images be clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of the Realm for this matter, may be clearly taken, and that the lively Image of Christ should not contend for the dead Images, which be things not necessary, and without the which the Churches of Christ continued most godly many years; we have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order that all the Images remaining in any Church or Chappel within your Diocess, be removed and taken away, but also by your Letters signify unto the rest of the Bishops within your Province, that his Highness's pleasure, for the like Order to be given by them and every of them within their several Diocesses. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the rest of the said Bishops to use such foresight as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordship heartily well.

From Somerset place the eleventh of February, 1541.

Your Lordships assured loving friends,

Edward Somerset,
Henry Arundel,
Amb. Wingfield,
John Russell,
Thomas Smer,
William Paget.

The Archbishop writeth to Bonner.

When the Archbishop had received these Letters, he forthwith directed his Precept unto Bonner Bishop of London, requiring, and in the Kings Majesties Name commanding him, That with all speed he should as well give in charge unto the rest of the Bishops within the Province of Canterbury, to look immediately without delay unto the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the said Letter through all places of their Diocess; as also that he himself should do the like within his own City and Diocess of London. Whereupon he feeling then, with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by virtue of the said Precept) did fend out his Mandatum as well unto the rest of the Bishops, as also again unto the Bishop of Westminster, in form following.

The Letter of Edmund Bonner sent with the Archbishops Mandate, to the Bishop of Westminster, for abolishing of Images.

Bonner Letter to the Bishop of Westminster, for abolishing of Images.

Edmundus permissioe Divina London. Episcopus per illustissimum in Christo Principem & Dominum nostrum, Dominum Edwardum sextum, Dei gratia, Anglie, Francie, & Hibernie Regem, fidei Defensorem, & in terra Ecclesie Anglicane & Hibernie supremum caput, sufficienter & legitime autorisatum, Reverendo in Christo confratri nostro Domino Thome eadem permissione Well. Episc. salutem & fraternam in Domino chari-

tatem. Literas reverendissimi in Christo patris & Domini D. Tho. permissioe divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopi, totius Anglie Primatis, & Metropolitanis, renorem literarum missarum clarissimum & prudentissimum Dominorum de privato consilio dicti illustr. Dom. Regis in se continen. nuper cum ea qua decuit reverentia humiliter recepimus exequend. in hac verba, Thomas permissioe divina Cantuar. &c. And then making a full recital as well of the Archbishops Precept, as also of the Councils Letters above specified, he concluded with these words, Quocirca nos Edmund. Episcop. antedictus, literis predictis pro nostro officio obtemperare, uti decet, summo opere cupientes, vestrae fraternitati tam ex parte dicti excellentissimi Domini nostri Regis, ac prefatorum clarissimum Dominorum de privati suis consiliis, quam predicti Reverend. Patris Domini Cantuar. Archiepiscopi, tenore presentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus avertitis & per vos diligenter consideratis literarum huiusmodi tenores, eos in omnibus & per omnia, iuxta vim, formam, & effectum earundem, cum omni qua poteris celeritate accommeda, per totam Diocesi vestram Well. debite & effectualiter exequi faciatis & procuratis.

Datum in aedibus nostris London. vicesimo die Febr. Anno Dom. 1548. Et Regni dicti illustrissimi Domini nostri Regis, Anno secundo.

Now by the time that these things were thus determined, the learned men which the King had appointed (as ye have heard before) to assemble together for the true and right manner of administering the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and first usage of the Primitive Church, after their long, learned, wise, and deliberate advices, did finally conclude and agree upon one godly and uniform Order of receiving the same, not much differing from the manner at this present used and authorized within this Realm and Church of England, commonly called The Communion. Which agreement being by them exhibited unto the King, and of him most gladly accepted, was thereupon publicly imprinted, and by his Majesties Council particularly divided and sent unto every Bishop of the Realm, requiring and commanding them by their Letters on the Kings Majesties behalf, that both they in their own persons should forthwith have diligent and careful respect to the due execution thereof, and also should with all diligence cause the Books which they then sent them, to be delivered unto every Parson, Vicar, and Curate within their Diocess, that they likewise might well and sufficiently advise themselves for the better distribution of the same Communion (according to the tenor of the said Book) against the Feast of Easter then next ensuing, as more fully appeareth by these their Letters here following.

An unprinted Order of the Communion.

Letters missive from the Council, to the Bishops of the Realm, concerning the Communion to be ministered in both kinds.

After our most hearty Commendations unto your Lordship, where in the Parliament late holden at Westminster, it was amongst other things most godly established, that according to the first institution and use of the Primitive Church, the most holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of Bread and Wine, according to the effect whereof the Kings Majesties minding, with the advice and consent of the Lord Protectors Grace, and the rest of the Council, to have the said Statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the Word of God (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving Subjects, to their comforts and weal) hath caused sundry of his Majesties most grave and well-learned Prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter: who, after long conference together, have with deliberate advice finally agreed upon such an Order to be used in all places of the Kings Majesties Dominions in the distribution of the said most holy Sacrament, as may appear to you by the Book thereof, which we send herewith unto you. Albeit knowing your Lordships knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnestness.

Ann. 1548

The Communion in both kinds to be ministered.

KING earnest good will and zeal to the setting forth of all things, according to the truth thereof, we be well assured, you will of your own good will, and upon respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly Order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the Authority of the Kings Majesty: yet remembering the crafty practice of the Devil, who ceases not by his Members, to work by all ways and means, the hinderance of all godliness; and considering furthermore, that a great number of the Curates of the Realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not be so ready to set forth the same, as we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties requires, we have thought good to pray and require your Lordship, and nevertheless, in the Kings Majesty our most dread Lord's Name, to command you to have an earnest diligence and careful respect both in your own Person, and by all your Officers and Ministers also, to cause these Books to be delivered to every Parson, Vicar, and Curate within your Diocese, with such diligence as they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy Communion, according to the Order of this Book, before this latter time, and that they may by your good means, be well directed to use such good, gentle and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned Parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be, praying you to consider, that this Order is set forth, to the intent there should be in all parts of the Realm, and among all men one uniform manner quietly used. The execution whereof, like as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your Vocation; so do we exhort you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the Kings Majesties pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell. From Westminster the thirteenth of March, 1548.

Your Lordships loving Friends,

*Tho. Canterbury,
R. Rich,
William Saint John,
John Russell,
Henry Arundel,
Anthony Wingfield,
William Peter,
Edward North,
Edward North.*

By means as well of this Letter, and the godly Order of the Learned, as also of the Statute and Act of Parliament before mentioned, made for the establishing thereof, all private blasphemous Masses were now by just Authority fully abolished throughout this Realm of England, and the right use of the Sacrament of the most precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ truly restored in stead of the same. But nevertheless, as at no time any thing can be so well done of the godly, but that the wicked will find some means subtilly to deface the same: so likewise at this present, through the perverse obstinacy and dissembling forwardness of many the inferior Priests and Ministers of the Cathedral, and other Churches of this Realm, there did arise a marvelous Schism and variety of fashions in celebrating the Common Service and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. For some, zealously allowing the Kings proceedings, did gladly follow the Order thereof, and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many, carefully containing all, would still exercise their old wonted Popery.

Whereof the King and his Council having good Intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being therewithall loth at the first to use any great severity towards his Subjects, but rather desirous by some quiet and godly Order to bring them to some Conformity, did by their prudent advices again appoint the Archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of the best learned and discreet Bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premises: and thereupon, having as well an eye and respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian

Religion taught by the holy Scriptures, as also to the Usages of the Primitive Church, to draw and make one convenient and meet Order, Rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, to be had and used within this his Realm of England, and the Dominions of the same. Who after most godly and learned Conferences, through the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement did conclude, set forth, and deliver unto the Kings Highness, a Book in English, intituled, *A Book of the Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England.* The which his Highness receiving, with great comfort and quietness of mind, did forthwith exhibit unto the Lords and Commons of the Parliament then assembled at Westminster, about the fourth of November, in the second year of his Reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1548, and continuing unto the fourteenth day of March, then next ensuing.

Whereupon the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the said Parliament assembled, and thoroughly considering, as well the most godly travel of the Kings Highness, of the Lord Protector, and other of his Majesties Council, in gathering together the said Archbishop, Bishops, and other learned men, as the godly Prayers, Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies in the said Book mentioned, with the consideration of altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the same Book; as also the Honour of God, and great quietness, which by the Grace of God should ensue upon that one and uniform Rite and Order in such Common Prayer, Rites, and exten Ceremonies to be used throughout England, Wales, Calice, and the Marches of the same, did first give unto his Highness most lowly and hearty thanks for the same, and then most humbly prayed him that it might be ordained and enacted by his Majesty with the assent of the Lords and Commons in that Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That not only all and singular person and persons that had hitherto offended concerning the premises others than such as were then remaining in Ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet might be pardoned thereof, but also that all and singular Ministers in any Cathedral or Parish-Churches or other places within the Realm of England, Wales, Calice, and the Marches of the same, or other the Kings Dominions, should from and after the Feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use the Mattins, Evenfong, Celebration of the Lords Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments, and all other common and open Prayer, in such order and form as was mentioned in the said Book, and none other or otherwise. And albeit that they were so godly and good, that they gave occasion unto every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them; yet lest any obstinate persons, who willingly would disturb so godly an order and quiet in this Realm, should go unpunished; they further requested, That it might be ordained and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any manner of Parson, Vicar, or whatsoever other Minister that ought or should say or sing Common-Prayer, mentioned in the said Book, or minister the Sacraments, should after the said Feast of Pentecost, then next coming, refuse to use the said Common-Prayer, or to minister the Sacraments in such Cathedral or Parish-Churches, or other places, as he should use or minister the same, in such order and form as they were mentioned, and set forth in the said Book; or should use wilfully, and obstinately standing in the same, any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, form or manner of Mass, openly or privily, or Mattins, Evenfong, Administration of the Sacraments, or other open Prayer than was mentioned, and set forth in the said Book; or should preach, declare, or speak any thing in the derogation or depraving of the said Book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and should be thereof lawfully convicted according to the Laws of this Realm by Verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, should lose and forfeit, unto the Kings Highness his Heirs and Successors, for his first offence one whole years profit of such one of his Benefices or Spiritual Promotions, as it should please the Kings Highness to assign and appoint;

One uniform Order of Common-Prayer.

A Parliament assembled the second year of King Edward 6. Ann. 1548.

Stat. 1. c. 2. Reg. Edw. 6.

Division of the Lords and Commons in the Parliament to the King.

Privy binders of the Gospel.

Division amongst the Priests about the Kings proceedings.

{ Anno }
1548.
Penalty.

appoint; and also for the same offence should suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without Bail or Mainprize. But if any such person, after his first conviction, should afterwards offend again, and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, then he should for his second offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, and should also be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his Spiritual Promotions for ever, so that it should be lawful for the Patrons and Donors thereof to give the same again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the said party so offending were dead. And if any the said person or persons should again the third time offend, and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, then he should for the same third offence suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, had not any Benefice or Spiritual Promotion, that then he should for his first offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without Bail or Mainprize, and for his second offence, imprisonment during his life. Which request, or rather actual agreement of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament, being once understood of the King, was also soon ratified and confirmed by his royal consent and Authority, and thereupon the said Book of Common-Prayer was presently imprinted, and commanded to be exercised throughout the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, according to the tenor and effect of the said Statute.

Letters and
Constitu-
tions against
Priests Mar-
riage disap-
proved.

Moreover in the same Session of the said Parliament it was enacted and established by the Authority thereof, That for as much as great, horrible, and not to be rehearsed inconveniences had from time to time risen amongst the Priests, Ministers, and other Officers of the Clergy, through their compelled Chastity, and by such Laws as prohibited them the godly and lawful use of Marriage, that therefore all and every Law and Laws positive, Canons, Constitutions, and Ordinances theretofore made by the Authority of Man only, which did prohibit or forbid Marriage to any Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Person or Persons, of what estate, condition or degree soever they were, or by what name or names they were called, which by Gods Law may lawfully marry, in all and every Article, Branch and Sentence concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the Persons aforesaid, should be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of Forfeitures, Pains, Penalties, Crimes or Actions which were in the said Laws contained, and of the same did follow, concerning the prohibition of the Marriage of the said Ecclesiastical Persons, should be thenceforth also clearly and utterly void, frustrate and of none effect. By occasion whereof, it was thence after right lawful for any Ecclesiastical Person, not having the gift of Chastity, most godly to live in the pure and holy estate of Matrimony according to the Laws and Word of God.

Marriage of
Priests set
free.

But if the first Injunctions, Statutes, and Decrees of the Prince were of many but feebly regarded, with much less good affection were these (especially the Book of Common-Prayer) of divers now received; yea, and that of some of them, which had always before in outward shew willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth most plainly (amongst others) by Bonner the Bishop of London. Who although, by his former Letters, and other Mandates, he seemed hitherto to favour all the Kings proceedings; yet did he at that present notwithstanding both the first Statute for the stablishing of the Communion, and the abolishing of all private Masses, and also this Statute of the ratifying and confirming of the Book of Common-Prayer) still suffer sundry Idolatrous private Masses of peculiar names (as the Apostles Mass, the Lady Mass, and such like) to be daily solemnly sung within certain peculiar Chappels of the Cathedral Church of Pauls, cloaking them with the names of the Apostles Communion, and our Ladies Communion, not once finding any fault therewith, until such time as the Lords of the Council, having intelligence thereof, were fain by their Letters to command and charge him to look better thereunto. And then being therewith somewhat pricked forwards (perhaps by fear) he was content to direct his Letters unto the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral Church of Pauls, thereby requesting them forthwith to take such order therein, as in the tenor of the Councils said Letters, therewithall sent unto them, did

Ed. Bonner
Bishop of
London.

import. Both which Letters I have, for the more credit, { KING } here following inserted. { Edw. 6 }

A Letter directed from the Kings Council to Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, for abrogating of private Masses; namely, the Apostles Mass, within the Church of Saint Paul, used under the Name of the Apostles Communion.

After hearty Commendations: having very credible notice that within that your Cathedral Church there be as yet the Apostles Mass, and our Ladies Mass, and other Masses of such peculiar Names, under the defence and commendation of our Ladies Communion, and the Apostles Communion, used in private Chappels and other remote places of the same, and not in the Chancel, contrary unto the Kings Majesties proceedings, the same being for the misuse displeasing to God; for the place Pauls, in example not tolerable; for the fundenes of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the Communion of the Lords Body and Blood: we for the augmentation of Gods Honour and Glory, and the Consonance of his Majesties Laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that from henceforth no such Masses in this manner be in your Church any longer used, but that the holy blessed Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be ministered at the high Altar of the Church, and in no other places of the same, and only at such time as your high Masses were wont to be used, except some number of people desire for their necessary business: to have a Communion in the morning, and yet the same to be executed in the Chancel at the high Altar, as is appointed in the Book of the publick Service, without censure or digression from the common Order. And herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your Conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry that be therewith justly offended. And so we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From Richmond the 24th of June, Anno 1549.

Another
Letter to
Bonner for
abrogating
private
Masses.
The Apo-
stles Mass
put down
in Pauls.

Your loving Friends,

{ Edward Somerset,
William Saint John,
Edmund Montague,
R. Rich. Chancellour,
Francis Shrewsbury,
William Cecil. }

To my right Worshipful Friends, and most loving good Brethren, Master Dean of Pauls, with all the Canons, Rectifiers, Prebendaries, Subdeans, and Ministers of the same, and every of them with speed.

Right Worshipful, with most hearty Commendations. So it is, this Wednesday the 26th of June, going to dinner, I received Letters from the Kings Council by a Purveyor, and the same I do send now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruse them well and proceed accordingly; praying you in case all be not present, yet those that be now resident: and supplying the places, may in their absence call the Company together of the Church, and make declaration hereof unto them: Thus committing you to God, right well to fare. Written with speed this six and twentieth of June, at one of the Clock.

Bonner's Let-
ter to the
Dean and
Chapter of
Pauls.

Your loving Brother, Ed. London.

Over and besides all this, the Lord Protector, with the residue of the Kings Privy and Learned Council assembling together in the Star-Chamber about the same matter; that is, for the advancement and setting forward of the Kings so godly proceedings, called before them all the Justices of Peace, where was uttered unto them by the Lord Rich, then Lord Chancellour, an eloquent and learned Admonition, the tenour whereof ensueth.

An Exhorta-
tion or Admonition
unto the
Justices of
Peace.

{KING}
Edw. 5

IT hath been used and accustomed before this time, to call at certain times the Justices of Peace before the Kings Majesties Council, to give unto them admonition or warning, diligently (as is their duty) to look to the observing of such things as be committed to their charges, according to the trust which the Kings Majesty hath in them. Howbeit, now at this time we call you before us, not only of custom, but rather of necessity. For hearing daily, and perceiving of necessity, as we do, the great negligence, and the little heed which is taken and given to the observing of the good and wholesome Laws and Orders in this Realm, whereupon much disorder doth daily ensue, and the Kings Majesties Proclamations and Orders taken by the Council (as we are advertised) not executed, the people are brought to Disobedience, and in a manner all his Majesties study and ours, in setting, a good and most godly way, to the honour of God and the quiet of the Realm, is spent in vain, and come to nothing: The which as we have great hope and trust not to be altogether so, yet so much as it is, and so much as it lacketh of the keeping of the Realm in a most godly order and way, we must needs impute and lay the fault thereof in you which are the Justices of Peace in every Shire, to whom we are wont to direct our Writings, and to whose trust and charge the Kings Majesty hath committed the execution of all his Proclamations, of his Acts of Parliament, and of his Laws.

Justices
{lack in fir-
ming of
Religion.

We are informed that many of you are so negligent and so slack herein, that it doth appear you do look rather, as it were, through your Fingers, than diligently see to the execution of the said Laws and Proclamations. For if you would, according to your duties, to your Oath, to the trust which the Kings Majesty hath in you, give your diligence and care toward the execution of the same most godly Statutes and injunctions, there should no disobedience, nor disorder, nor evil rule be begun or rise in any part of the Realm, but it should by and by be repressed, kept down and reformed. But it is feared, and the thing it self giveth occasion thereto, that divers of you do not only not see forth, but rather hinder, so much as lieth in you, the Kings Majesties proceedings, and are content that there should arise some disobedience, and that men should repine against godly Orders set forth by his Majesty, you do so slackly look to the execution of the same, so that in some Shires, which be further off, it may appear that the people have never heard of divers of his Majesties Proclamations, or if they have heard, you are content to wink at it, and to neglect it, so that it is all one as though it were never commanded. But if you do consider and remember your duties first to Almighty God, and then to the Kings Majesty, the wealth of the whole Realm, and the safeguard of your own selves, you must needs see, that except such Orders as the Kings Majesty hath set, and hereafter shall appoint, be kept, neither can the Realm be defended, if the Enemy should invade, nor can it in peace stand, but upon the contempt of good and wholesome Laws all disorder and inconveniences will come, the people will be wild and savage, and no man sure of his own.

The fault of
Obedience
in a Realm.

If at any time there was occasion and cause to be circumpect and diligent about the same, there was never more time than now. How we stand in Scotland you know, and that there foreign Power maketh great preparation to aid them, and indeed doth come to their Aid; whereof we are surely informed and certified. Wherefore if there should not be good Order and Obedience kept in the Realm, the Realm were like utterly to be destroyed. Never foreign Power could yet hurt, or in any part prevail in this Realm, but by disobedience and mischief within our selves. That is the way wherewith God will plague us, if he mind to punish us. And so long as we do agree among our selves, and be obedient to our Prince, and to his godly Orders and Laws, we may be sure that God is with us, and that foreign Powers shall not prevail against us, nor hurt us.

Wherefore once again, and still we must and do lay this Charge upon you that are the better of the Shire, and Justices of Peace, that with so convenient speed as you can, you do repair down into your Countries, and you shall give warning to the Gentlemen of the Shire, which

have not necessary business here, that they repair down each man to his Country, and there both you and they, who be reckoned the stay of every Shire, to see good Order and Rule kept: You, that your Sessions of Goal-delivery and Quarter-Sessions be well kept, and therein your meetings be such, that Justice may be well and truly ministered, the Offenders and Malefactors punished according to the Laws of this Realm without any fear of any man, or that for favour you should suffer those to escape, which with their evil example might bring other to the like mishap, and that all Vagabonds and lewd and light Tale-tellers, and seditious Hearers of false News of the Kings Majesty, or of his Council, or such as will Preach without Licence, be immediately by you repressed and punished.

Orders ta-
ken for Ju-
stice

And if there should chance any lewd or light Fellows to make any Routs or Riots, or unlawful Assemblies, any Seditious Meetings, Uproars, or Uprisings in any place by the seditious and devilish motion of some private Traytors, that you and they appeale them at the first, and apprehend the first Author and Cause thereof, and ceruse us with speed. The lightness of the rude and ignorant people must be suppressed and ordered by your gravity and wisdom. And here you may not (if any such thing chance) dissemble with those such lewd men, and hide you selves, for it shall be required of you if such mischief be; and surely without your aid and help, or your dissembling, such mischief cannot be. Nor do we say that we fear any such thing, or that there is any such thing likely to chance; but we give you warning before, lest it should chance.

Provision
against pri-
vy conspi-
racy and
Rebellion.

We have too much experience in this Realm, what inconvenience cometh of such matters. And though some light persons in their rage do not consider, yet we do not doubt but you weigh it and know it well enough. And if it should chance our Enemies (who are maintained by other foreign Power, and the Bishop of Rome) should suddenly arrive in some place in England, either driven by tempest, or of purpose to do hurt, ye should see such Order kept by firing of the Beacons, as hath already been written unto you by our Letters, to repulse the same in so good Array as you can, as we do not doubt but you will for the safeguard of your Country, so that the Enemy shall have little joy of his coming; and for that purpose you shall see diligently that men have Horse, Harneis, and other furniture of Weapon ready, according to the Statutes and good Orders of the Realm, and the Kings Majesties Commandments. And so for this time ye may depart.

Provision
against fo-
reign Power

What zealous care was in this young King, and in the Lord Protector his Uncle, concerning Reformation of the Church, and sincere Religion, by these Injunctions, Letters, Precepts, and Exhortations, as well to the Bishops, as to the Justices of the Realm above premised, it may right well appear. Whereby we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the King and his learned Council; as the lingering slackness and drawing back, on the other side, of divers the said Justices and Lawyers, but especially of Bishops, and old Popish Curates, by whose cloaked contempt, wilful winking, and stubborn disobedience, the Book of the Common-Prayer, was long after the publishing thereof, either not known at all, or else very reverently used through many places of the Realm. Which when the King by complaint of divers perfectly understood, being not a little aggrieved to see the godly agreement of the Learned, the willing consent of the Parliament, and his Graces own zealous desire to take so small effect among his Subjects; he decreed presently, with the advice of his whole Council, again to write unto all the Bishops of his Realm, for speedy and diligent redress therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themselves should thenceforth have a more special regard to the due execution of the premises, as also that all others, within their several Precincts and Jurisdictions, should by their good Instructions and willing Example be the more often, and with better devotion, moved to use and frequent the same. As further appeareth by the Contents of this Letter here ensuing.

The singu-
lar zeal of
King Ed-
ward and
his Uncle, in
reforming
Religion.

The slack-
ness of Po-
pish Curates
in further-
ing the
Kings pro-
ceedings.

Another

Another Letter directed by the King, and his Council, to Bonner Bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting out of the Service-Book within his Diocess.

Another Letter to Bonner Bishop of London.

Right Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well: and whereas after great and serious debating and long Conference of the Bishops and other grave and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one uniform order for Common-Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments hath been, and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the Nobility and Commons of the late Session of our late Parliament, but also by the like assent of the Bishops in the same Parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our Realm in their Synods and Convocations Provincial: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travel then diligently and willingly taken for the true opening of things mentioned in the said Book, whereby the true Service and Honour of Almighty God, and the right ministration of the Sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the Primitive Church, much Idolatry, vain Superstition, and great and slanderous Abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand by the complaints of many, that our said Book so much travelled for, and also sincerely set forth (as is aforesaid) remaineth in many places of this our Realm, either not known at all, or not used, or at the least if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, as the people in many places either have heard nothing, or if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your Vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to due respect to this and such like matters: so considering that, by these and such like occasions, our loving Subjects remain yet still in their blindness, and superstitious Errors, and in some places in as irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembering withal, what amongst other Cures committed to our Princely Charge, we think this the greatest, to see the Glory and true Service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose Clemency we acknowledge our selves to have all that we have, we could not but by advice and consent of our dearest Uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, Governour of our Person, and Protector of our Realm, Dominions and Subjects, and the rest of our Privy-Council, admonish you of the premises. Wherein, as it had been your Office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your Diocess, as the case required: so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straightly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to the reduce of these things, so as the Curates may do their duties more often and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned by the good advices and examples of your self, your Chancellor, Archdeacons, and other inferior Ministers, to come with oftner and more devotion to their said Common Prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be Partakers of the most holy Communion. Wherein shewing your self diligent, and giving good example in your own Person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good Service: and on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our Letters and Commandment notwithstanding) hear of such complaint, and find the like fault in your Diocess, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that misbeth thereof, unto you, and consequently be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things: whereof we would be sorry. And therefore we do of some charge and command you, upon your Allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our Pleasure.

Given under our Signet at our Manor of Richmond, the three and twentieth day of July, the third year of our Reign, 1549.

The Bishop of London, amongst the rest of the Bishops, receiving these Letters, did (as always before) in outward shew willingly accept the same; and therefore immediately with the said Letters directed this his Precept unto the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral-Church of Pauls, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

A Letter of Bonner, to the Dean and Chapter of Pauls.

Edmond by the Grace of God, &c. To my well-beloved Brethren the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul in London, and to the other Ministers there and every of them do send greeting. And where it is so, that of late I have received the said Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesties Letters, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and according to my most bounden duty and right well willing, and desiring that the said Letters should be in all Points duly executed and observed according to the tenor and purport of the same, as appertaineth: These therefore are to require, and also straightly to charge you and every of you on his Majesties behalf, &c. that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular Parsons, Vicars, and Curates of your Jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly: furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you to make Certificate herein to me, my Chancellor or other my Officers in this behalf, with such convenient Celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the Persons and Names of all such, as from henceforth shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them.

Given at my House at Fulham, the 26th of July, in the year of our Lord, 1549. and in the third year of our said Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesties Reign.

Moreover, so far as the King at that instant hearing the muttering of certain Rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall be said the Lord willing hereafter) and also being credibly informed by divers, that through the evil example, slackness of preaching and administering the Sacraments, and careless contempt of Bonner Bishop of London, not only many of the people within the City of London, and other places of his Diocess, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the Divine-Service then established and set forth by the Authority of Parliament, but also that divers other, utterly despising the same, did in secret places of his Diocess often frequent the Popish Mass, and other foreign Rites not allowed by the Laws of this Realm, he thought it therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doublet) to appoint the Lord Protector and the rest of his Privy-Council to call the said Bishop before them, and according to their wife and discreet judgments to deal with him for the same.

Whereupon the eleventh day of August, Anno 1549, they sent a Messenger for him, and upon his appearance made first Declaration of such Informations and Complaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharp Admonitions and Reproofs for his evil Demeanors in the premises, they delivered unto him from the King (for his better Reformation and Amendment) certain private Injunctions to be necessarily followed and observed of himself. And whereas, in the first branch of the said Injunctions, he was perfonally assigned to preach at Pauls Cross the Sunday three weeks then next ensuing (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour so required) they further delivered unto him in writing such Articles to intreat upon in his Sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid. All which Injunctions and Articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth.

[KING] Edw. 6

A Letter of Bonner to the Dean of Pauls.

Slackness of preaching good proceedings.

Popish Mass privately frequented in places against the Law.

Anno 1549. Bonner called before the Council.

Certain private Injunctions given to Bonner by the Council: Bonner assigned by the Council to preach at Pauls Cross.

Certain

[KING]
[Edm. 6]

Certain private Injunctions and Articles given to Bonner by the Council.

Admonition
given to
Bonner by
the Council.Bonner re-
frained to
execute all
principal
articles con-
trary to his
vowed
maim.Bonner re-
frained to
execute all
principal
articles con-
trary to his
vowed
maim.Certain pri-
vate Arti-
cles enjoy-
ned to Bon-
ner ad-
monished to
reach ere-
ty Prie-
sts at Pauls
Croff.

Forasmuch as we are advertised, that amongst other disorders of our Subjects at this present, there be divers of our City of London, and other places within your Diocess, which being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto common Prayer, and to the holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needful with heart and mind to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour; whereof as we be right sorry, so we do understand that through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing of our said people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For where heretofore upon all principal Feasts, and such as were called Majus duplex, your self were wont to execute in person, now since the time that we by the advice of our whole Parliament have set a most godly and devout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days, to the contempt of our proceedings, and evil example of others. And forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers as well in London, as in other places of your Diocess, do frequent and haunt foreign Rites of Masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our Realm, and do contemn and forbear to praise and laud God, and pray unto his Majesty after such Rites and Ceremonies, as in this Realm are approved and set out by our authority; and further, that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said City of London and other places of your Diocess, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people; of the which things you being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority and cure of a Bishop doth appertain: We therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this Church doth appertain, to avoid from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle the Lord Protector, and the rest of our Privy Council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and of soon peremptorily to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most straightly look upon the premises, and see them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf, upon such pain as by our laws Ecclesiastical and Temporal we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us for quality of the offence reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these Injunctions following:

1. First ye shall preach at Pauls Croff in London, in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three Weeks, and in the same Sermon declare and set forth the Articles herunto annexed; and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer and godly living; and ye shall be present at every Sermon hereafter made at Pauls Croff, if sickness or some other reasonable cause do not let you.
2. Secondly, You your self in person shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of England a principal Feast, or Majus duplex, and at all such times as the Bishops of London your predecessors were wont to celebrate and sing high Mass, now celebrate and execute the Communion at the high Altar in Pauls, for the better example of all others, except sickness do let.
3. Thirdly, Ye shall your self, according to your duty and the office of a Bishop, call before you all such as do not come unto and frequent the Common Prayer and Service in the Church, or do not come unto Gods board, and receive the Communion at the least once a year, or whosoever do frequent or go unto any other Right or Service than is appointed by our Book, either of Mattins, Evensong, or Mass in any Church, Chappell, or other private places within your Diocess, and ye shall see all such offer-

ders converted before you and punished, according unto the Ecclesiastical laws, with severe and strict punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your Diocess, according to our said Book, and none other.

4. Fourthly, Ye shall both by your self and all your Officers under you, search out and convert before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done, (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the Ecclesiastical Laws, and the authority given you in that behalf.

5. We have heard also complaints, that the Church of Pauls and other Churches of London are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the Glasse, as other build- ings and ornaments of the same, than they were heretofore wont, and that divers and many persons in the City of malice deny the payment of their due Tithes to their Curats, whereby the Curats are both injured and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged to do their duty. The which thing also our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

6. And forasmuch as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleasure is that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the City, See and principal place of your Diocess, and none other where, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us.

And thus having brought Bishop Bonner home to his own house, there to leave him a while to take his ease in his own lodging, till we return to him again, we will in the mean time make a little intercoure into Cornwall and Devonshire, to discourage some part of the disordered and disloyal doings of those men against their so meek and excellent a Prince, having no cause ministered thereunto; yea, having cause rather to yield praise and thanks to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable Prince in his mercy given to them. But such is the condition of unquiet natures, that they cannot skill of peace. And where due discretion lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tell when they be well; again some be so crooked and so perversely given, that the more courteously they be intreated, the worse they are; and when by honest diligence they list not to get their living, by publick disturbance of Common-wealths they think to thrive. And so seemed it to fare with this seditious people of Cornwall and Devonshire, who having so good and virtuous a King, that if they should have sought him as *Dioegenes*, they say, did seek for a man with a Candle, a meeke and better Sovereign they could not have found, a crueller they well deserved; yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to all order, reason, nature and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious Conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings through the pernicious instigation, first (as it seemeth) of certain Popish Priests, who grudging and disdain against the Injunctions and godly order of Reformation set forward by the King, and specially mourning to see their old Popish Church of Rome to decay, ceased not by all finitler and subtil means, first under Gods name and the Kings, and under colour of Religion to perwade the people, then to gather fides, and to assemble in companies, to gather Captains, and at last to burst out in rank rebellion. Neither lacked there among the lay sort some as seditiously disposed as they to mischief and madness, as well Gentlemen as other.

Of whom the chief Gentlemen Captains were, *Hamfray Arundel* Esquire, Governor of the Mount, *James Rosogon*, *John Rosogon*, *John Pain*, *Thomas Underbit*, *John Selman*, *William Segar*. Of Priests which were principal stirrers, and some of them Governors of the Camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were *Robert Bochim*, *John Tompsin*, *Roger Barer*, *John Wolcock*, *William Als*, *James Mawton*, *John Barrow*, *Richard Benet*, besides a multitude of other Popish Priests, which to the same faction was adjoynd. The number of the whole Rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little less than ten thousand stout Traitors.

Bonner sit-
teth in
shop of
Leds
don com-
manded to
keep the
own house.The Rebels
in Corn-
wall and
Devon-
shire.Popish
Priests first
stirrers of
the Rebel-
lion.All which
men first be-
gin to
gather fides
and then
rebellion.Captains of
the Rebels
in Devon-
shire.Priests the
bela and
Traitors
gainst the
King.

Delivers com-
motions in
K. Edw. only
time sup-
plied.

These hearing first of the commotions which began about the same time in other parts to broil, as in *Oxfordshire, Yorkshire*, and especially in *Northfolk and Suffolk*, began to take therein some courage, hoping that they should have well fortified the same with quarrel. But afterward perceiving how the mischievous mutterings and enterprises of their conspiracy did suddenly fail, either being prevented by time, or redressed by power, or that their cause being but only about plucking down of enclosures, and enlarging of Commons divided from theirs, so that either they would not or could not join their aid together, then began they again to quail and their courage to abate. Notwithstanding, for so much as they had gone so far, that they thought there was no shinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the better furtherance of their desperate purposes.

The City of
Exeter invaded
by the
Rebels.

Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own Country most miserably, to invade the City of *Exeter*, and so consequently all other parts of the Realm. But first for *Exeter* they gaped, the Gates whereof twice they burned, but gained nothing saving only Gunshot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from *Exeter*, they fell on spoiling and robbing, where or whatsoever they might catch. At length laying their Traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain Articles to be sent up. But herein such diversity of heads and wits was amongst them, that for every kind of Brain there was one manner of Article; so that there neither appeared any consent in their diversity, nor yet any consistency in their agreement. Some seemed more tolerable. Other altogether unreasonable. Some would have no justice. Some would have no state of Gentlemen. The Priests ever harped upon one string, to ring in the Bishop of *Rome* into *England* again, and to hallow home Cardinal Pool their Countryman.

Diversity of
Wits amongst
the
Rebels.

After much ado, and little to the purpose, at last a few forty Articles were agreed upon, to be directed unto the King, with the names of certain set thereunto, the Copy whereof here insueth.

The Articles of the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall, sent to the King; with Answer afterwards following unto the same.

The Articles
of Devon-
shire men, to
the K. and
his Council.

1.
Sacrament
of Baptism.

Eirst, Forasmuch as man, except he be born of Water and the Holy Ghost, cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the Gates of Heaven be not opened without his blessed Sacrament of Baptism, therefore we will that our Curats shall minister this Sacrament at all times of need, as well in the Week-days, as on the Holy-days.

2.
Confirmation.

Item, We will have our children confirmed of the Bishop, whenever we shall within the Diocesse resort unto him.

3.
Consecration
of the
Lords body.

Item, Forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the Priest hath spoken the words of consecration being as Mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ God and Man, and that no substance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very self same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the Cross for our redemption; therefore we will have Mass celebrated as it hath been in times past, without any man communicating with the Priests, forasmuch as many, rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lords body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying, that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abused terms.

4.
Reservation
of the Lords
body consecrated.

Item, We will have in our Churches reservation. Item, We will have holy Bread and holy Water in remembrance of Christ his precious Body and Blood.

5.
Holy bread,
and holy
water.

Item, We will that our Priests shall sing, or say with an audible voice Gods Service in the Quire of the Parish Churches, and not Gods Service to be set forth like a Christmas play.

6.
The single
life of Priests.

Item, Forasmuch as Priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed Sacraments and preaching Gods Word, we will that they shall live chaste without Marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen Vessel of God, saying unto all honest Priests, Be ye followers of me.

Item, We will that the six Articles which our Sovereign Lord King Henry the eighth set forth in his later days, shall be used and so taken as they were at that time.

Item, We pray God save King Edward, for we be his, both body and Goods.

(KING)
Edw. 6
The 6 Arti-
cles to be
crowned.
1549-50

A Message sent by the Kings Majesty, to certain of his People assembled in Devonshire.

Although knowledge hath been given to us and our dearest Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor of our Person, and Protector of all our Realms, Dominions and Subjects, and to the rest of our Privy Council, of divers assemblies made by you, which ought of duty to be our loving Subjects, against all order, law, and otherwise than ever any loving and kind Subjects have attempted against their natural and Liege Sovereign Lord; yet we have thought it meet at this very first time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might justly do, but to use you as our Subjects, thinking that the Devil hath not that power in you, to make you of natural born Englishmen, so suddenly become enemies to your own native Country; or, of our Subjects to make you Traitors; or under pretence to relieve your selves, to destroy your selves, your Wives, Children, Lands, Houses, and all other commodities of this your life. This we say, we trust that although ye be by ignorance seduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obstinate. And though some amongst you (as ever there is some Cockle amongst good Corn) forget God, neglect their Prince, esteem not the state of the Realm, but as careless, desperate men delight in Sedition, Tumult and Wars; yet nevertheless the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural Prince, and will by wisdom and counsel be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be, even by Almighty Gods order, your own destruction. Wherefore, as to you our Subjects by ignorance seduced, we speak, and be content to use our Princely authority like a Father to his Children for this time, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them, to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulness.

The Answer
of the K. to
the Articles
of the Re-
bels in De-
vonshire.
1549-50

First, Your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selves against our loving Subjects, to array your selves to the War, who amongst you all can answer the same to Almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? Or how can any English good heart answer us, our laws, and the rest of our very loving and faithful Subjects, who indeed by their obedience make our Honour, Estate and Degree?

Unlawful
Assemblies.

Ye use our name in your writings, and abuse the same against our self. What injury herein do you us, to call those which love us, to your evil purposes by the authority of our name? God hath made us your King by his Ordinance and Providence, by our Blood and Inheritance, by lawful Succession and our Coronation; but not to this end, as you use our name. We are your most natural Sovereign Lord and King, Edward the Sixth, to rule you, to preserve you, to save you from all your outward enemies, to see our laws well minifred, every man to have his own, to suppress disordered people, to correct Traitors, Thieves, Pirates, Robbers, and such like; yea, to keep our Realms from foreign Princes from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the Bishop of Rome. Thus, good Subjects, our name is written, thus it is honoured and obeyed, this Majesty it hath by Gods Ordinance, not by Mans. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much; and yet doubt not but this is enough from a Prince to all reasonable people, from a King to all kind hearted and loving Subjects, from a pious King of *England*, to every natural Englishman.

The Kings
name abused.

Your pretences which you say move you to do this, and wherewith you seek to excuse this disorder, we assure you, be either all false, or so vain, that we doubt not but, after ye shall hereby understand the truth thereof, ye will all with one noise knowledge your selves ignorantly led, and by error seduced; and if there be any that will not, assure you the same be rank Traitors, enemies of our Crown, seditious people, Heretics, Papists, or such as care not how they seek to provoke an Insurrection to they may do it; nor indeed can wax so rich with their own labours, and with Peace, as they can do with Spoils, with

The false
excuses.

KING with Wars, with Robberies, and such like, yea, with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own Households, Wives and Children. Such they be, as for a time use pleasant persuasions to you, and in the end will cut your Throats for your own Goods.

Baptism. You be borne in hand, that your Children, though necessity chance, shall not be christened but upon the Holy-days. How false this is, learn you of us. Our Book which we have set forth by the free consent of our Parliament, in the *English* Tongue, teaching you the contrary, even in the first leaf, yea, the first side of the leaf of that part which intreateth of *Baptism*. Good Subjects (for to others we speak not) look and be not deceived. They which have put this false Opinion into your ears, they mean not the Christening of Children, but the destruction of you our Christened Subjects. Be this known unto you, our honour is so much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it, if by our Laws ye may not Christen your Children upon necessity, every day or hour in the Week, then might you be offended; but seeing you may do it, how can you believe them which teach you the contrary? What think you they mean in the rest, which move you to break your obedience against your King and Sovereign, upon these so false tales and persuasions in so evident a matter? Therefore you all which will knowledge us your Sovereign Lord, and which will hear the voice of your natural King, may easily perceive how ye be deceived, and how subtilly Traitors and *Papists* with their fallhood, seek to achieve, and bring their purpose to pass with your help. Every Traitor will be glad to disseble his Treason, and feed it secretly, every *Papist* his *Papery*, and nourish it inwardly; and in the end, make you our Subjects partakers of Treason and *Papery*, which in the beginning was pretended a Commonwealth and holiness.

2. Sacrament. And how are you seduced by them; which put in your heads, That the blessed Sacrament of Christs body should not differ from other common bread? If our Laws, Proclamations and Statutes, be all to the contrary, why shall any private man persuade you against them? We do our selves in our own heart, our Council in all their profession, our Laws and Statutes in all purposes, our good Subjects in all their doings, most highly esteem that Sacrament, and use the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common Bread, that we think no profit of other Bread, but to maintain our bodies; But of this blessed Bread we take the very food of our souls to everlasting life. How think you good Subjects, shall not we being your Prince, your Lord, your King by Gods appointment, with truth more prevail, than certain evil persons with open fallhood? Shall any seditious person persuade you, that the Sacrament is despised, which is by our Laws, by our Self, by our Council, by all our good Subjects esteemed, used, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were seduced, if ever deceived, if ever Traitors were believed, if ever *Papists* poisoned good Subjects, it is now. It is not the Christening of Children, nor the reverence of the Sacrament, nor the health of your souls that they shoot at, good Subjects. It is Sedition, it is High Treason, it is your destruction they seek, how craftily, how piteously, how cunningly soever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes. Almighty God forbidde, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience to us your King; and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God er? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

Likewise are ye evil informed in divers other Articles, as for Confirmation of your Children, for the Mass, for the manner of your service of Mattens and Evening. Whatever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and consulted by many learned Bishops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in this Realm concluded; in nothing was so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so fully ended.

3. Note and Service in English. As for the Service in the *English* Tongue, it hath manifestly reasons for it. And yet perchance it seemeth to

you a new Service, and indeed is none other but the old. The self same words in *English* which were in *Latine*, saving a few things taken out, which were so found, that it had been a shame to have heard them in *English*, as all they can judge which list to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you our Subjects should understand in *English*, being our natural Country Tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in *Latin*, then serving only for them which understood *Latin*, and now for all you which be born *English*. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall understand what any other faith, and so consent with the speaker? If the Service in the Church was good in *Latin*, it remaineth good in *English*: for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge that which was spoken with ignorance, and to let you understand what is said for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion. An alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whosoever hath moved you to dislike this order, can give you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye understood it.

Wherefore you our Subjects remember, we speak to you, being ordained your Prince and King by Almighty God; If any wife we could advance Gods honour more than we do, we would do it: And see that ye become subject to Gods Ordinances, obeying us your Prince, and learn of them which have authority to teach you, which have power to rule you, and will execute our justice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulness, disobedience, obitancy, dissimulation and destruction of the Realm.

For the Mass, we assure you, no small study nor travel hath been spent by all the learned Clergy therein, and to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the Apostles used it, as holy Fathers delivered it; indeed somewhat altered from that the Popes of Rome, for their lucre brought to it. And although ye may hear the contrary of some *Papists* evil men, yet our Majesty which for our honour may not be blemished, nor stained, assureth you, that they deceive you, abuse you, and blow their opinions into your heads, to finish their own purposes.

And so likewise judge you of Confirmation of Children; and let them answer you this one question: Think they, that a Child Christened is damned, because it dieth before Bishopping? They be confirmed at the time of discretion, to learn that which they professed, in the lack thereof, by Baptism; taught in age, that which they received in infancy; and yet no doubt but they be saved by Baptism, not by Confirmation; and made Christs by Christening, and taught how to continue by Confirmation. Wherefore in the whole, mark good Subjects, how our Doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon shameless Errors.

To conclude, beside our gentle manner of information to you, whatsoever is contained in our Book, either for Baptism, Sacrament, Mass, Confirmation and Service in the Church, is by our Parliament established, by the whole Clergy agreed, yea, by the Bishops of the Realm devised, and further, by Gods word confirmed. And how dare ye trust, yea, how dare ye give ear, without trembling to any singular person, to disallow a Parliamentary Subject to persuade against our Majesty, a man of his singular arrogance against the determination of the Bishops, and all the Clergy, any invented argument against the Word of God?

But now you our Subjects, we resort to a greater matter of your blindness, of your unkindness and great unnaturalness, and such an evil, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and continued by persuasion of certain Traitors amongst you, which we think few in number, but in their doings bulie; we could not be persuaded but to use our sword, and do justice, and, as we be ordained by God, to redress your errors by avengement. But love and zeal yet overcometh our just anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; or rather for your own causes, being our Christened Subjects, we would ye were persuaded than vanquished, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorously persecuted.

Alteration of Service from an unknown Tongue to a known Tongue

4. The Mass.

5. Confirmation. Baptism is not any Bishopping.

5 Ann. 3. 1549

The false families of the Rebels touching Baptism recited.

The false families of the Rebels touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper resolved.

Ye require to have the Statute of the Six Articles revived, and know ye what ye require? or know ye what ease ye have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented, too bloody they were to be born of our people, and yet at the first indeed made of some necessity. Oh Subjects, how are ye trapped by subtil persons? We of pity, because they were bloody, took them away, and you now of ignorance will ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cause to draw our Sword very often, they were as a Whetstone to our Sword, and for your causes we left to use them. And since our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how be ye blinded to ask them in blood?

The Rebels require the Six Articles. The 6 Articles taken away by Parliament.

But leaving this manner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authority, we let you wit, the same hath been annulled by our Parliament, with great rejoicing of our Subjects, and not now to be called by Subjects in question. Dare then any of you with the name of a Subject stand against an Act of Parliament, a Law of the whole Realm? What is our power, if laws should be thus neglected? yea, what is your surety, if laws be not kept? Assure your selves most surely, that we of no earthly thing under the Heaven make such a reputation, as we do of this one thing, to have our Law obeyed, and this cause of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thoroughly maintained, from the which we will never remove a hairs breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much less to any Subject, but therein will spend our own Royal Person, our Crown, Treasure, Realm, and all our state: whereof we assure you of our high Honour. For herein indeed resteth our Honour, herin standeth our Kingdom, herein do all Kings knowledge us a King. And shall any of you dare breath or think against our Honour, our Kingdom or Crown?

A notable zeal and a Princely word of a King

The Kings

In the end of this your request (as we be given to understand) ye would have them stand in force until our full age. To this we think, if ye knew what ye spake, ye would never have uttered that motion, nor ever given breath to such a thought. For what think you of our Kingdom? Be we of less authority for our age? Be we not your King now, as we shall be? Or shall ye be Subjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we shall have? If we would suspend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, ye must first know, as a King, we have no difference of years nor time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and by his fullness shall have age: We are your rightful King, your liege Lord, your King anointed, your King crowned, the Sovereign King of England, not by our age, but by Gods Ordinance, not only when we shall be of 21 years, but when we are of ten years. We possess our Crown, not by years, but by the Blood and Descent from our Father King Henry the Eighth. You are our Subjects, because we be your King; and rule we will, because God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a Subject not to obey.

A King not flesh his Crown, not by years, but by Gods Ordinance.

If it be considered, they which move this matter, if they durst utter themselves, would deny our Kingdom. But our good Subjects know their Prince, and will increase, not diminish his honour, enlarge, not abate his power, knowledge, nor defer his Kingdom to certain years: All is one, to speak against our Crown, and to deny our Kingdom, as to require that our Laws may be broken unto 21 years. Be we not your crowned, anointed and established King? Wherein then be we of less Majesty, of less authority, or less state, than were our Progenitors Kings of this Realm, except your unkindness, your uncharitableness, will diminish our estimation? We have hitherto, since the death of our Father, by the good advice and counsel of our dear and entirely beloved Uncle, kept our State, maintained our Realm, preserved our Honour, defended our People from our enemies; we have hitherto bin feared and dreaded of our enemies; yea, of Princes, Kings and Nations; yea, herein we be nothing inferior to any our Progenitors (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God) and how else, but by good obedience of our people, good counsel of our Magistrates, due execution of our Laws? By authority of our Kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour; during our Reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not lost.

It hath been marvelled, that we of so young years, have reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chanceth it, that you our Subjects of that our Country of Devonshire, will give the first occasion to slander this our Realm of England, to give courage to the enemy, to note our Realm of the evil of Rebellion, to make it a prey to our old enemies, to diminish our honour, which God hath given, our Father left, our good Uncle and Council preserved unto us? What greater evil could ye commit, than even now, when our foreign enemy in Scotland, and upon the Sea, seeketh to invade us, to rise in this manner against our Law, to provoke so justly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occasion to spend that force upon you, which we meant to bestow upon our enemies, to begin to slay you with that Sword which we drew against the Scots and other enemies, to make a Conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole Realm of Scotland?

Thus far ye see we have defended from our high Majesty for love, to consider you in your base and simple ignorance, and have been content to fend you an instruction like a fatherly Prince, who of justice might have sent you your destruction like a King to Rebels; and now let you know, that as ye see our mercy abundant, so if ye provoke us farther, we swear to you by the living God, by whom we Reign, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our Sword; which how mighty it is, no Subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your Lord and Prince, your only King and Master, we say to you, repent your selves, and take our mercy without delay, or else we will forthwith extend our Princely power, and execute our sharp Sword against you, as against very Infidels and Turks, and rather adventure our own Royal Person, State and Power than the same shall not be executed.

And if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of certain which lately did arise, pretending some griefs; and yet, acknowledging their offences, have not received most humbly their pardon, but feel also by our order, to whom all publick order only pertaineth, redress devised for their griefs. In the end we admonish you of your duties to God, whom ye shall answer in the day of the Lord, and of your duties towards us, whom ye shall answer by our order, and take our mercy whilst God so inclineth us, lest when ye shall be constrained to ask, we shall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it you; and where ye shall now hear of Mercy, Mercy and Life, ye shall then hear of Justice, Justice, and Death.

Given at Richmond, the 8th day of July, the third year of our Reign.

Besides the Articles of these Devonshire men above mentioned, the said Rebels sent up also, not long after, a Supplication to the King, whereunto answer again was made by the Kings learned Council, which here, to make short, I shew serveth not to rehearse.

Over and besides, to behold the malicious working of those Popish Priests, to kindle more the spark of sedition in the peoples hearts, what bruits and rumors did they raise up against the King and his Council, making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they should be made to pay first for their Sheep, then for their Geese and Piggis also, and such other things like; and whatsoever they had in store, or should put in their mouths, they must first therefore to the King? Of all which matter never a word was either thought or meant. But this seemed matter fit for such Priests whereby to set the Prince and his Subjects together by the ears.

Against this seditious company of Rebels, was appointed and sent by the King and his Council, Sir John Russell, Knight, Lord Privy Seal, as Lieutenant General of the Kings Army, of whom chiefly depended the charge and attendance of that Voyage in the West parts. To him also were adjoined, as in part of ordinary Council in those affairs under him, Sir William Harbert, Sir Jo. Pawlet, Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir Tho. Speck, with the Lord Gray, and other belide.

{KING} Ed. 6. Young years hinder not the Royal Government of a Realm.

A Supplication of the Rebels to the Kings with the Kings answer to the same.

Falsely bruits and rumors by Popish Priests filled up against the King.

Sir J. Russell, Lord Privy Seal, Lieutenant General of the Kings Army in the West.

KING
A. Ed. 6. 1
The Rebels
of Devon-
shire dis-
comfited.

Thus the said Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Lord Gray, advancing his power against the Rebels, although in number of Soldiers not equally furnished like to the other, yet through the gracious assistance of the Lords help, fighting in his cause, and giving the adventure against the enemy, about the later end of July, Anno 1549. gave them the repulse; who notwithstanding, recovering themselves again with such stomachs as they had, incurred the second time with the foresaid Lord Privy Seal, about the beginning of August following, of whom, through the Lords mighty power, they with their whole cause of false Religion, were utterly vanquished and quite overthrown.

The great
goodness of
God in the
Victory against
the Rebels.

In the which Victory a great work of Gods mighty power undoubtedly did appear. For although the number of the Rebels did surmount in great quantity, the power and strength of the Lord Privy Seal, and their stomachs were so fiercely set upon all desperate adventures; and though the power of Sir William Herbert (being the same time at *Brislow*) was not yet presently come, which should have joyed with the Lord Privy Seal; yet all this notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord so wrought on the Kings behalf, more than any industry of man (which in all respects in handling that matter was very saw, and far behind) that the Victory fell to the Kings part, under the valiant guiding of the foresaid Lord Privy Seal, so that the *Popish* Rebels not only lost the field, but a great part of them also lost their lives; lying there slain miserably in the Chafe, to the compass of two Miles space. Where also were taken and apprehended the Chieftains and Ringleaders of that mischievous cause, whereof the Principal were *Humphrey Arundel, Berry, Thomas Underbil, John Solesman, William Segar, Tempon and Barret* two Priests, *Henry Bray, and Henry Lee*, two Mayors, with divers other more above specified, all which accordingly afterward were executed.

The laudable
service
of the Lord
Privy Seal.

These Rebels, to make their part more sure by the help and presence of their consecrated God and maker, brought with them into the Battel, the Pix under his Canopy, and instead of an Altar, where he was hanging before, set him now riding in a Cart. Neither was there lacking Maffes, Croffes, Banners, Candellicks, with holy Bread also, and holy Water plenty, to defend them from Devils, and all ad-versary power; which in the end neither could help their friends, nor yet could save themselves from the hands of their enemies, but effusions both the consecrated God, and all the trumpety about him, was taken in the Cart, and there lay all in the dust, leaving to them a notable Lesson of better experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no such vain Idols, but only in the true living God, and immortal Maker, to be served according to his prescribed Word, and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantasies.

Musclebo-
rough field
in Scotland.

The story whereof putteth me also in remembrance of another like *Popish* Field, (called *Muscleborough* field) fought in *Scotland* the year before this, where the *Scots* likewise incamping themselves against the Lord Protector, and the Kings power sent into *Scotland*, did in semblable wise, bring with them to the Battel, the consecrated Gods of their Altars, with Maffes, Croffes, Banners, and all their *Popish* stuff of Idolatry, having great assistance by virtue thereof, to have a great day against the *English* Army, as indeed in mans judgment it might seem not unlike. For the number of the *Scots* Army so far exceeded ours, and they were so appointed with their Pikes in the first front against our Horsemen (which gave the first onset) that our men were faine to recule, not without the loss of divers Gentlemen. Notwithstanding, the mighty Arm of the Lord so turned the Victory, that the *Scots* in the end, with all their Maffes, Pixes and idolatrous Trinkets, were put to the worle. Of whom in that field were slain between thirteen and fourteen thousand, and not passing an hundred *English* men. The cause of this was the promise of the said *Scots*, made before to King *Edward*, for the Marriage of the young *Scottish* Queen to King *Edward*, which promise the said *Scots* afterward brake, and payed thereafter.

Gods mighty
Army
fighting
with R. Ed-
ward in
Scotland.
The vain
truff of the
Scots in
their Maffes
and Sac-
rament of
the Altar.
A notable
Victory
through the
Lords power
of R. Ed-
ward in
Scotland.

In the which Victory this is also to be noted, that the same day and hour when the Images were burned openly in *London*, the *Scots* were put to flight in *Muscleborough*, as is credibly noted in Records.

During this Hurly-burly amongst the *Popish* Rebels in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, the like commotion at the same time, by such like *Popish* Priests as *Homes* and his fellows, began to gender in the parts of *Oxford* and *Buckingham*; but that was soon appeased by the Lord Gray, who coming down that way into *Devonshire*, chased the Rebels to their houses. Of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the Ringleaders delivered unto him; wherof certain were after executed.

A Note
in
Oxfordshire
and Bucks,
England.

In *Northfolk* and parts thereabout, albeit the original Rebellion of their tumultuous stirring was not for the like cause, yet in the obdurate hearts of that unuly multitude, steamed no less bent upon mischief, to disturb publick peace, which was also in the Month of July, the year above said. For repression of which Rebellion, first was sent the Lord Marques of *Northampton*, with special instruction to avoid the fight, and so by order was appointed with a number of Horse to keep the field and passages, whereby they beinft stopped from Victual, might the sooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to seek their pardon. Who then following other policy than by order was given, came and pinned himself within the City of *Norwich*, which afterward they were faine to abandon, the Rebels pressing upon the City so on every side, that at length they obtained the same. Nevertheless in all that conflict there was but an hundred on both sides slain, and otherwifeno great loss, but only the loss of the Lord *Sheffield*.

The Lord
Sheffield
faint slain at
Norwich.

Then was sent down against them the Earl of *Warwick*, with sufficient force and number of Soldier, besides the convoy of two thousand *Almaines*, by whom the ricide and confused Rabbie was there overthrown and slain, to the number, as is supposed, at the least of four thousand. And in fine, both the *Kets*, chief stirrers and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged up in Chains.

The Rebels
of Norfolk;
suppressed.

Moreover, besides these inordinate Uprores and Insurrections above mentioned, about the later end of the said Month of July the same year, which was 1549, another like stir or commotion began at *Semer*, in the Northriding of *Yorkshire*, and continued in the Eastriding of the same, and there ended. The principal doers and raisers up whereof were one *William Omblor* of *Eastbellerton* Yeoman, and *Thomas Dale* Parish Clerk of *Semer*, with one *Stevenfon* of *Semer*; Neighbour to *Dale*, and Nephew to *Omblor*. Which *Stevenfon* was a mean or messenger between the said *Omblor* and *Dale*, being afore not acquainted together, and dwelling seven Miles one from the other. Who at last, by the travel of the said *Stevenfon*, and their own evil disposition, inclined to ungraciousness and mischief, knowing before, one the others mind by secret conference, were brought to talk together on *S. James* his day, Anno 1549.

Another
Rebellion
or Tumult
began in
Yorkshire.
The chief
stirrers of
this Rebel-
lion in the
North.

The causes moving them to raise this Rebellion, were these: First and principally, their traitorous hearts, grudging at the Kings most honourable proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his Religion. Another cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a fantastical Prophecy, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same Prophecy should shortly come to pass, by hearing the Rebellions of *Northfolk*, of *Devonshire*, and other places.

The causes
moving the
Yorkshire
men to Re-
bellion.

The tenor of which Prophecy; and purpose together of the Traitors was, That there should no King reign in England, that the Noblemen and Gentlemen should be destroyed, and the Realm should be ruled by four Governours, to be elected and appointed by the Commons holding a Parliament in common, to begin at the South and North Seas of England, &c. Supposing that this their Rebellion in the North, and the other of the *Devonshire* men in the West, meeting (as they intended) at one place, should be the mean how to compass this their traitorous devilish device.

A blind
Prophecy
spread
through the
Northern
men.

And therefore laying their studies together, how they might find out more company to join with them in that detestable purpose, and so to set forward in this device they framed, to stir in two places, the one distant 7 Miles from the other, and at the first rush to kill and destroy such Gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were favourers of the Kings proceedings, or which would resist them.

The device
of the Re-
bels how
they
compas-
sed their
purpose.

Ann. } But first of all, for the more speedy raising of men, they
1549 } devised to burn Beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea Coasts, and having the ignorant people assembled, then to pour out their poison; first beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with poverty, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoil of rich mens goods, blowing into their heads, that Gods service was laid aside, and new inventions neither good nor godly, put in place, and so feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the Church again their old ignorance and idolatry, thought by that means soonest to allure them to rage, and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terror to the Gentlemen at their first rising, left they should be redited, they devised that some should be murdered in Churches, some in their Houses, some in serving the King in Commission, and others as they could be caught, and to pick quarrels with them for alteration of Service on the Holy-days. And thus was the Plat-form cast of their device, according as afterward by their confession at their examinations, it was testified, and remaineth in true record.

Falsely
forged of
Gods true
Religion.

The conspi-
racy of the
Rebels utter-
ed in dram-
atickness.

Four men
cruelly
murdered
by the Re-
bels in the
North.

The Rebels
in Yorkshure
gathered to
30000 per-
sons.

The Kings
free Pardon
sent to the
Rebels.

Ombler re-
fused the
Kings par-
don.

Ombler Cap-
tain of the
Rebels ta-
ken.

Thus they being together agreed, *Ombler* and *Dale*, and other by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the Parish of *Semer*, *Winttingham*, and the Towns about, that they were infected with the poison of this confederacy, in such sort that it was easie to understand whereunto they would incline if a commotion were begun. The accomplishment whereof did shortly follow; for although by the words of one drunken fellow of that Conspiracy, named *Calvered*, at the Alehouse in *Winttingham*, some suspicion of that Rebellion began to be smelted before by the Lord President and Gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that place where the Rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over so, but drew to another place at *Semer* by the Sea-Coast, and there by night rode to the Beacon at *Saxton*, and set it on fire; and so gathering together a rude rout of Rascals out of the Towns near about being in a fir, *Ombler*, *Thomas Dale*, *Barton*, and *Robert Dale*, hasted forthwith with the Rebels to Master *Whites* house, to take him, who notwithstanding being on Horseback, minding to have escaped their hands, *Dale*, *Ombler*, and the rest of the Rebels took him, and *Clopton* his Wives Brother, one *Savage* a Merchant of *York*, and one *Bury* servant to Sir *Walter Mildmay*, which four, without cause or quarrel, saving to fulfil their feditious Prophecy in some part, and to give a terror to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murdered, after they had carried them one Mile from *Semer* towards the *Wolde*, and there after they had stripped them of their Clothes and Purfes, left them naked behind them in the plain field for Crows to feed on, until *Whites* Wife and *Savages* Wife, then at *Semer*, caused them to be buried.

Long it were and tedious to recite what revel these Rebels kept in their raging madness, who ranging about the Country from Town to Town, to enlarge their ungracious and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, and leaving in no Town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years, so increased this number, that in short time they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts, and had like to have gathered more, had not the Lords goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

For first came the Kings gracious and free Pardon, dispatched charging and pardoning them and the rest of the Rebels of all Treasons, Murthers, Felonies and other offences done to His Majesty, before the one and twentieth of *August*, Anno 1549. Which Pardon, although *Ombler* contemptuously refused, persisting still in his wilful obstinacy, dissuading also the rest from the humble accepting the Kings so loving and liberal Pardon, yet notwithstanding, with some it did good.

To make short, it was not long after this, but *Ombler* as he was riding from Town to Town, twelve Miles from *Hummanby*, to charge all the Constables and Inhabitants where he came, in the Kings name, to resort to *Hummanby*, by the way he was spied, and by the circumspect diligence of *John Wood* the younger, *James Aslave*, *Ralph*

Twinge, and *Thomas Constable* Gentleman, he was had in chaine, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custody unto the City of *York*, to answer to his demerits.

After whom within short time, *Thomas Dale*, *Henry Barton*, the first Chieftains and Ringleaders of the former commotion, with *John Dale*, *Robert Wright*, *William Pecock*, *Witherell* and *Edmund Buttry*, busie fitters in this Sedition, as they travelled from place to place to draw people to their Faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly executed at *York* the one and twentieth of September, Anno 1549. Ex actis Judicii publici registro receptis & notatis.

The names
of the Re-
bels taken
and execu-
ted at *York*.

Each judi-
cially regi-
stro receptis
& notatis.

To these pestiferous commotions raised up against *King Edward*, by his own Subjects in this year afore said, within the Realm, I might also adjoin the busie stirring and raging of the French King, against our young and innocent Prince, without the Realm. Who hearing of these Tumults and violent Insurrections of the Kings Subjects, in divers and sundry quarters of the Realm, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought likewise for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who after he had by his Embassador made open breach with the King, immediately after the revocation of the said Embassador from hence, intending to annoy the King, and make his first Invasion against the Isles of *Jersey* and *Gernsey*, thought to have surprised our Ships and the said Isles with a certain number of his Ships and Gallies. In the which his assault he was so hotly saluted by the Kings Ships and the Island, that by the confition of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the Lord Protector, the Frenchmen lost at least a thousand men, their Ships and Gallies were so spoiled, as being forced to return home, they were not able then to set out again.

The stirring
and rising of
the French
K. against
K. Edward.

His letter to
President.

Furthermore, out of France credible word was brought to the Lord Protector (which yet in Letters appeareth) that into one Town in one Vessel, were brought, at least, threecore Gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition specially given out by the King, not to speak of the success in that journey. This was about the beginning of *August*, 1549.

The like also might be noted of the losses of the said French King at *Bullenburgh*, the eighth day of *August*, the same year, as by the Lord *Clinton's* Letters may well appear; but for spending of time I pass it over. What the meaning of the French King was in these Voyages, or how he intended forth to proceed, I have not herein to deal. This is certain and evident, that the mighty Arm of God K. Edward mercifully fought for King *Edward* his servant, to defend and deliver him from so many hard dangers, so dangerous and sundry commotions, stirred up in so many Quarters within this Realm, and also without the Realm, and all within the compass of one year, and yet the Lord above fighting for his true servant, dispatched them all, as in story here ye have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted.

His letter to
Clinton.

The vici-
tious pre-
dicted of
the Lord in
defending
K. Edward.

Matter concerning Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, with declaration of the acts and process entred against him in King Edward's time.

AND thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against King *Edward*, by his unkind and unnatural Subjects, and yet notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the Victory; now let us return again to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the Council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now forsomuch as we have to enter into the story of the said *Bonner*, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter with the circumstances and occasions thereof from the first beginning of King *Edward's* time. Where is to be understood, that King *Edward*, in the first year of his Reign, Anno 1547, the first day of September, for the order of his Visitation, directed out certain Commissioners, as Sir *Anthony Cooke*, Sir *John Goddard*, Knights, Mr. *John Goddard*, *Christopher Nevinsom*, Doctors of the Law, and

Sitting of
the Kings
Commission-
ers in
Pauls
Church.

John

[KING] John Mader Doctor of Divinity. Who sitting in Pauls Church upon their Commission, the day and year afore said, there being present at the same time, Edmund Bishop of London, John Rayson, Polydore Virgil, Peter Van, and others of the said Cathedral Church, after the Sermon made and the Commission being read, ministred an Oath unto the said Bishop of London, to renounce and deny the Bishop of Rome, with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the King, according to the effect and form of the Statute made in the thirty first year of King Henry the Eighth: also that he should present and redress all and singular such things as were needful within the said Church to be reformed.

Whereupon the said Bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their Commission, only for this purpose and intent (as he said) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their Commission. Unto whom the Commissioners answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter, and so they called the other Ministers of the said Church before them, and ministred the like Oath unto them as they did to the Bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then certain Interrogatories and Articles of Inquisition were read by Peter Lilly the publick Notary. Which done, after their Oaths taken, the said Commissioners delivered unto the Bishop afore said, certain Injunctions, as well in Print as written, and Homilies set forth by the King. All which things the said Bishop received, under the words of this Protestation, as followeth:

I Do receive these Injunctions and Homilies with this Protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to Gods law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church. And immediately he added, with an Oath, that he never read the said Homilies and Injunctions.

The which Protestation being made in manner and form afore said, the said Edmund Bonner Bishop of London instantly desired and required Peter Lilly, the Register afore said, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said Commissioners delivering the Injunctions and Homilies to Master Bellaffere Archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourn Archdeacon of London, Essex and Middlesex, and injoyning them in most effectuous manner, under pain therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also referring other new Injunctions to be ministred afterward, as well to the Bishop, as to the Archdeacons afore said, according as they should see cause, &c. did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

At the which hour and place assigned, the Commissioners being set, and the Canons and Priests of the said Church appearing before them, and being examined upon virtue of their Oath, for their Doctrine and Conversation of life, first one John Painter, one of the Canons of the said Cathedral Church, there and then openly confessed, that he vitiously and carnally had often the company of a certain married mans Wife, whose name he denied to declare. In the which crime divers other Canons and Priests of the fore said Church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And after the Commissioners afore said, had delivered to Master Roiston Prebendary, and to the Proctor of the Dean and of the Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, the Kings Injunctions, and the Book of Homilies, injoyning them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said Visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

By this Visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle Reader, first how Bonner made his Protestation after the receiving of the Kings Injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put in publick record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaite life and conversation of these Popish Votaries and Priests of Pauls. Now what followed after this Protestation of the Bishop made, remaineth further in the sequel of the story to be declared; wherein first thou shalt understand that the said Bishop shortly after his Protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went unto the King, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former Protestation,

craved pardon of the King for his inordinate demeanour toward his Graces Commissioners, in the former Visitation. Which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the King, for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the Councils Letter sent to the Commissioners, may appear, which together with the form also of the Bishops Protestation and of his Recantation, here under followeth.

To our very loving friends, Sir Anthony Cook Knight, and the rest of the Commissioners for the Visitation at London, in haile.

After our hearty commendation: This shall be to signify unto you, that we have received your Letters, and in the same inclosed the Copy of the Protestation made by the Bishop of London in the time of your Visitation at Pauls: your wife proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankful part towards us. And because the said Bishop, which being here before us hath acknowledged his indiscreet demeanour, did at that time at Pauls require the Register of your Visitation, to make record and enter of his Protestation, and now upon better consideration of his duty, maketh means to have the same revoked, as shall appear unto you by the true Copy of his writing enclosed, the original whereof remaining with us be hath subscribed; we pray you to cause the Register to make enter of this his revocation, according to the tenor of this his said Writing: Further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offence, and the evil example that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the Fleet, whether he hath been conveyed by Master Vicechamberlain. And whereas sundry things for the Kings Majesties service do now occur here, which require the present attendance of you Sir John Goddall, as well for your office of the Signet, as of the Protomariatship, we pray you that leaving the execution of the Visitation to the rest of your Collegues, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well. From Hampton Court the twelfth of September, 1547.

Your assured loving friends

Thomas Canterbury.
William Saint John.
John Russel.
Thomas Smer.
William Paget.
Anthony Brown.
William Peter.
Anthony Dennie.
Edward North.

The form of Bonner's Recantation:

Whereas I Edmund Bishop of London, at such time as I received the Kings Majesties Injunctions and Homilies of my most dread Sovereign Lord, at the hands of his Highnesss Visitors, did unadvisedly make such Protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble Subject; forsomuch as the same Protestation at my request was then by the Register of that Visitation, enacted and put in record, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your Lordships, that I do now upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said Protestation, but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my Revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same Records, for a perpetual memory of the truth, most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings, may be by your good mediation pardoned by the Kings Majesty.

Edmund London.

Bonner recanteth his evil demeanour in his Protestation

Bonner sent to the Fleet

The Kings Letter to the Commissioners concerning the recantation and pardoning of Bonner

Bonner recanteth his Protestation

Note the error of life of these unmaried Priests and Popish Votaries.

Things in this Visitation to be noted.

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The Registers of these affairs of Bonners remain in the hands of Peter Lillie, then being Register to the fore-said Commissioners.

The order of Bonners doings in the beginning of R. Edward.

Thus far thou hast heard, loving Reader, first the Popish prostitution of Bonner; then how he calling himself home again solemnly recanted the same, requiring further the said his revocation to be committed to public record, for a perpetual remembrance. Also how he upon his humble submission received his pardon of the King, and yet for example sake was commanded to the Fleet. Where he nevertheless did not long continue, but according to the effect of the Kings pardon afore granted was restored both to house and living again, which was in the first year of the King, Anno 1549.

After this ye have heard also in the story above, in the second year, and a great part of the third year of the King, how he demeaned himself, although not most forward in advancing the Kings proceedings; yet in such sort as no great advantage by any Law could be taken against him, both in swearing his obedience to the King, and in receiving his Injunctions; also in confessing his assent and consent touching the state of Religion then; and furthermore in directing out his Letters, according to the Archbishop of Canterburys precepts, to Cloney his Sumner, to the Bishop of Westminster and other Bishops, for abolishing of Images, for abrogation of the Mass, for Bibles to be let up, and for ministering in both kinds, with such other like matters of reformation; till at length he hearing of the death of the Lord Admiral the Lord Protectors Brother, and after that of the stirring and rising of the Kings subjects in sundry tumults against the King, began somewhat as he durst to draw back and slack his Pastoral diligence, so that in many places of his Dioceses, and in London, the people not only were negligent in resorting to Divine Service, but also did frequent and haunt foreign Rites of Masses, and other orders then in this Realm appointed, and he also himself, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principal Feasts refused in his own person to execute. Whereupon he being suspected and complained of, and converted before the Kings Council (as ye heard before) after sharp admonitions and reproofs, had certain private Injunctions to him enjoined.

Bonner be- ploneth to slack in his diligence.

Anno 1549

Matters put to rest.

1. *First, That he should personally preach within three weeks after at Pauls-Crois.*

2. *That according as his Predecessors were wont to celebrate Mass, he at such wonted times should execute and administer the Communion.*

3. *That he should call before him and correct more diligently such transgressors as absented themselves from the order of Service, and ministrations of the Lords Board, appointed then in Churches by the Kings Ordinance.*

4. *That he should see more carefully and vigilantly to the punishment of Adulterers and Fornicators.*

5. *That he in the mean whiles should be resident within his own House during the time, whiles he should make his Sermon at Pauls above mentioned, which was Anno 1549. In the which Sermon certain special points were prefixed unto him, whereupon he should entreat. Which here in order follow, and are these.*

Special Points and Articles to be entreated of by Bonner Bishop of London in his Sermon.

1. **T**HAT all such as rebell against their Prince, get unto them damnation, and those that resist the higher power, resist the Ordinances of God, and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, by the Word of God is utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul. And therefore those Rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall, in Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their King and Prince, against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and go about to subvert the state and order of the Commonwealth, not only do deserve therefore death as Traytors and Rebels, but do accumulate to themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of Hell with Lucifer, the father and first author of pride, disobedience and rebellion, what pretences soever they have, and what Masses or holy water soever they pre-

tend, or go about to make among themselves, as *Chores, Dathan, and Abiram*, for rebellion against *Moses*, were swallowed down alive into Hell, although they pretended to sacrifice unto God.

2. Likewise in the order of the Church, and extern Rites and Ceremonies of Divine Service, forasmuch as God requirith humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love toward our neighbours, and obedience to his word, and to his Ministers and superior powers, these we must bring to all our prayers, to all our service, and this is that sacrifice which Christ requirith, and these be those that make all things pleasant unto God. The extern Rites and Ceremonies be but exercises of our Religion, and appointable by superior powers; in chusing whereof we must obey the Magistrates; The which things also we do see ever have been and shall be (as the time and place is) divers, and yet all hath pleased God, so long as these before spoken inward things be there. If any man shall use the old Rites, and thereby disobey the superior power, the devotion of his Ceremonies is made naught by his disobedience: so that which else (so long as the Law did so stand) might be good, by pride and disobedience now is made naught; as *Sauls sacrifice, Chores, Dathan, and Abiram, and Aarons two Children* were. But whose joyneth to devotion obedience, he winneth the garland. For else it is a zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*; a will, desire, zeal, and devotion, but not after wisdom; that is, a foolish devotion, which can require no thanks or praise. And yet again, where ye obey, ye must have devotion, for God requirith the heart more than the outward doings, and therefore he that taketh the Communion, or faith or heareth the Service appointed by the Kings Majesty, must bring devotion and inward prayers with him, or else his prayers are but vain, lacking that which God requirith, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him.

3. Further, ye shall for example on Sunday come seventh night after the foresaid date celebrate the Communion at Pauls Church.

4. Ye shall also set forth in your Sermon, That our Authority of Royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than is or was of any our Predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of *Jesses* and other young Kings in Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws, and Statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

The delivery of these Injunctions and Articles unto the Bishop (with the time of his appointed preaching) was soon after known abroad among the Citizens, and other the Commons within the City of London, so that every man expected the time thereof, willing to hear the same. Which time being once come, the Bishop, according to the tenor of the Injunctions, publicly preached at the Crois of Pauls the first day of September. Howbeit as hypocritie never lurketh so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that at one time or other God in his most righteous judgment maketh it open unto the world: so at this present was that long coloured perverse obduracy, and the infected hatred of this double faced dissembler against the Kings godly proceedings, most plainly manifested by his disobedient demeanor in this his Sermon.

For whereas he was commanded to entreat only upon such special points as were mentioned in his Articles; he yet both besides the Councils commandment, to the withdrawing of the minds of the common people, in as much as in him lay, from the right and true understanding of the holy Sacrament ministered in the holy Communion then set forth by the authority of the Kings Majesty (according to the true sense of the holy Scripture) did spend most part of his Sermon about the gross, carnal, and Papistical presence of Christs body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and also contrary therunto did not only slanderously touch the rest of his Articles, but of a rebellious and wilful carelessness did utterly leave out unspoken the whole last Article, concerning the as effectual and as lawful authority of the Kings Highness during his young age, as if he were thirty or forty years old; notwithstanding the same (because it was the trayterous opinion of the Popish Rebels) was by special commandment chiefly appointed him to entreat upon.

KING

What things be necessary to be joyed in all Gods service.

Extern Rites and Ceremonies how far they serve.

Ceremonies made naught by disobedience.

Foolish devotion.

The heart maketh true devotion.

Bonner preaching much looked for of the people.

The disobedient stubbornness of Bonner in his Sermon at Pauls-Crois.

This

KING This contemptuous and disobedient dealing as it greatly offended most of the Kings faithful and loving subjects there present, so did it much mislike the minds, and was far from the good expectation; as well of that faithful and godly Preacher Master *John Hooper*, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester* and *Glocester*, and lastly a most constant Martyr for the Gospel of Christ, and also of Mr. *Will. Latimer*, Bachelor of Divinity: and therefore they well weighing the foulness of the fact, and their bounden Allegiances unto their Prince, did thereupon exhibit unto the Kings Highness, under both their names, a Bill of complaint or denunciation against the said Bishop in form following.

The Denunciation of John Hooper, and William Latimer, against Bonner, to the Kings Majesty, for leaving undone the points aforementioned, which he was charged to preach upon.

The Denunciation of Mr. Latimer, and John Hooper, denounced against Bonner.
IN most humble wise sheweth unto your Majesty *William Latimer* and *John Hooper*, that where of late, as we be certainly informed from your Majesty, by the hand of the right high and noble Prince *Edward Duke of Somerset*, Governour of your Royall person, and Protector of all your Highness Realms, Dominions and Subjects, and the rest of your Privy Council, there were certain Injunctions given to the Bishop of *London* that now is, with Articles to be infirmated and preached unto your Subjects at a certain day limited, the which Injunctions and Articles did only tend to the honour of God, and the better instructions of your Highness people to obedience and hatred of rebellion and mutinie, wherewith of late this your Majesties Realm hath been marvellously vexed, to the danger of your Highness person, and the state of the whole Realm, and therefore a thing at this time most necessary to be taught unto the people, that they might know their duty unto your Majesty, and unto Almighty God, and especially to acknowledge your Majesty in these years and age to be a perfect High and Sovereign Lord and King, and supreme Head, whose Laws, Proclamations, and Commandments we are bound to obey, as well as any Princes subjects are bound to obey the Laws, Proclamations, and Commandments of their natural and Sovereign Lord, notwithstanding that nature hath not yet given unto your person such age as I trust the shall nor so many years, which we wish to be so many as any Prince ever had, the which years do not make you King or Prince, but the right of your birth, and lawful succession whatsoever it be, so that we all must as well acknowledge your Majesty to be our King and Prince, at these years, as if you were at the age of thirty or forty years, and your Laws and Statutes no less to be feared and obeyed, than if your Highness were fifty or an hundred years old, (the which thing not only is most certainly true, but also at this time most necessarily to be taught, especially when divers Rebels have openly declared, that they would not obey your Highness Laws, nor acknowledge the Statutes made by your Majesty to be available till you come to the age of twenty years) and this not only being so, but the same thing being commanded by your said Majesty, amongst other Injunctions and Articles given in writing to the said *Edmund Bonner*, to be preached in his last Sermon, as by the same Injunctions may appear, of the which the true Copy we have when need is to be shewed: yet all this notwithstanding, the said *Bonner*, of what zeal or mind we cannot tell, whether favouring the opinion of the said Rebels, or concerning your Highness Commandment declared unto him, hath not only left out to declare the said Article, which we most and chiefly expected and looked for, but also in all the rest of his Sermon did not so fully and aptly declare the said Injunctions and Articles, as to our judgment did appear they ought to have been declared, and was of no light ground looked for, intreating of other far distant and divers from the Articles upon the which he was commanded to intreat; and such as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissention, willingly leaving out those things which should have made quiet and obedience. Wherefore not moved of any malice, grudge, envy, or evil will to the person of the Bishop, but constrained by the love and zeal which we bear towards your

Highness, and of our duty and allegiance to your Majesty, whose honour and safety with tranquillity, quietness, and good governance of this your Realm, we do most desire and for the discharge of our most bounden duties, to avoid all the dangers that might ensue of the concealment thereof, we most humbly do denounce and declare the same to your Highness, to the intent that your Majesty, by the advice aforesaid, may, if it please your Highness, at this our humble denunciation, call the said Bishop to answer to the premises, the which we are ready to avow and prove, and then your Highness may take further order herein, as to your Princely wisdom shall seem most convenient, whose long life and most prosperous Government God Almighty long continue, for the which we shall pray during our lives.

The Kings Majesty having thus, by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this Bishop, in not accomplishing his Highness Commandment given him by Injunction, thought it most necessary with all convenient speed (for the avoiding of further inconveniences) to look more severely unto the due punishment of such dangerous rebellious obstinacy; and therefore by the advice of the Lord Protector, and the rest of his Honourable Council, immediately he directed forth his Commission under his Broad Seal unto the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, and to other grave and truly Personages and Counsellors, appointing and authorizing all them, or certain of them, by virtue of the same, to call before them, as well the Bishop of *London*, as also the foresaid denouncers, and upon due examination and proof of the premises, or any other matter otherwise to be objected, further to proceed against him summarily & de plano, according to Law and justice, either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation, (if the quality of the offence so required) or otherwise to use any other censure Ecclesiastical, which for the better hearing, and determining of that cause, might to their widows seem more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenour of the Commission here ensuing.

The Copy of the Kings Commission sent down upon the Denunciation aforesaid, for the Examination of Bonner Bishop of London.

EDward the Sixth, &c. To the most reverend Father in God Thomas Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Metropolitan and Primate of England, the right reverend Father in God Nicolas Bishop of *Rochester*, our trusty and right well beloved Counsellors, Sir William Petre, and Sir Thomas Smith, Knights, our two principal Secretaries, and William May, Doctor of the Law Civil, and Dean of *Pauls*, greeting. It is come to our knowledge, that where we by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle *Edward Duke of Somerset*, Governour of our Person, and Protector of all our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and the rest of our Privy Council, did give to the right reverend Father in God *Edmund Bishop of London*, upon certain complaints before made unto us, and other great considerations, certain Injunctions to be followed, done, and executed, and in a Sermon appointed to him to preach by us with certain Articles, and for the more sure knowledge, keeping, and observing, did exhibit the same in writing unto him by the hands of our said Uncle, in the fulfilling of our counsel: all this notwithstanding the said Bishop hath in contempt of us (as it may appear) overslipped and not observed certain of the said things so by us enjoined, and other so perversely and negligently done, that the things minded of us to reformation, and for a good quiet of our subjects and our whole Realm, be converted by the wilful negligence or perversity of him to a great occasion of slander, tumult, and grudge amongst our people, as it hath been denounced to us in writing by certain honest and discreet persons, and otherwise called. The which things if they be so, we rendering the health, quietness, good order, and government of our people, have not thought convenient to be let pass unpunished and uncorrected, and therefore by the advice aforesaid, have appointed you, four, or three, upon whose fidelities, wisdoms, dexterities, and

Commission directed down by the King against Bonner.

The Copy of the Kings Commission for Bonner Examination.

Years and age do not make a King, but the right of succession.

Amo 1549

Bonner left out of his Sermon the Article of the Kings authority.

circumstances, we have full confidence, to call before you as well the denouncers of the said faults, as also the said Bishop, and with due examinations and process, according to the Law and Justice, to bear the said matter, and all other matters, of what kind, nature, or condition soever they shall be, objected against the said Bishop, summarily (&c de plano) or otherwise as to your discretions shall be thought most meet, with full power and authority to suspend, excommunicate, commit to prison, or deprive the said Bishop, if the offence shall so appear to merit, or to use any other censure Ecclesiastical, which for the better bearing and determining of the cause shall be requisite and appertain, any Law, Statute, or Act to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness our self at Westminster the eighth of September, in the third year of our Reign.

The Commission delivered.

The Commission being sealed with the Kings Broad Seal, was by his Highness Council forthwith delivered at the Court unto Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the Commissioners mentioned in the same, being there all together present. Who upon the receipt thereof, determined by virtue of the same to sit at the Archbishops house at Lambeth the Wednesday then next ensuing, which was the tenth day of that present month of September, and therefore appointed the Bishop of London to be summoned to appear before them, as at that time and place. The manner of whose behaviour at his appearance, because it both declareth the froward nature and stubborn condition of the person, and also what estimation and authority he thought the Commissioners to be of, I thought it not meet first, before I enter into the Process, somewhat to note and describe unto you.

The Archbishop's behaviour out of Bonner before the Commissioners.

At his first entry into the place within the Archbishops House at Lambeth, where the Archbishop and other of the Commissioners sat, he passed forth directly by them with his Cap upon his head (making as though he saw them not) until one plucked him by the sleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the Commissioners. Whereat he laughingly turned himself, and spake unto the Archbishop on this wise: What, my Lord, are you here? by my troth I saw you not. No, said the Archbishop, you would not see. Well (quoth he) you sent for me, have you any thing to say to me? Yea, said the Commissioners, we have here authority from the Kings Highness to call you to account for your Sermon you made lately at Pauls-Croft, for that you did not there publish to the people the Article which you were commanded then to preach upon. At which words the Bishop, either for that he did not greatly delight to hear of this matter, or else because he would make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinion in Religion (as afterward in the sequel of this Process it more plainly appeareth) began to turn his talk unto other matters, and said unto the Archbishop, In good faith my Lord, I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is. What is it, said the Archbishop? The blessed Mass, quoth he. You have written very well of the Sacrament: I marvel you do no more honour it. The Archbishop of Canterbury therewith perceiving his subtilty, and seeing his grofs blindness; to commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, said unto him again: If you think it well, it is because you understand it not. The other then adding unto his former grofs ignorance an oblique impudency, answered, I think I understand it better than you that wrote it. Unto which words the Archbishop replied, Truly I will easily make a child that is but ten years old to understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?

And so forth, at what time as they began to enter the Judicial prosecuting of their Commission, and had called forth the denouncers to propound such matter as they had to object against him, he hearing them speak, fell to scoffing and taunting of them, saying to the one, that he spake like a Groat; and to the other, that he spake like a Woodcock, utterly denying their accusations to be true. Whereupon the Archbishop seeing his perversity malice against the denouncers, asked him, if he would not be-

lieve them, whether he would credit the people there present? and there withal (because many of them were also at the Bishops Sermon at Pauls) he stood up and read the Article of the Kings authority during his young age; saying unto them, How say you my Masters, did my Lord of London preach this Article? Whereunto they answered, No, no. At which words the Bishop turning himself about, deriding said, Will you believe this fond people?

Besides this, at all his appearances he used many irreverent, uncomely, obstinate, and froward words and behaviours towards the Commissioners and others (in defacing their authority with the terms of pretended Commissioners, pretended Witnesses, and unjust, unlawful, and pretended proceedings, with recusation of some, and terming others Daws, Woodcocks, Fools, and such like) which I will here omit, for they do more manifestly appear in the sequel of the story in the time and place as they happened; adding yet this much by the way, that although such stoutness of heart and will, if it had been in a cause true and rightful, might have perchance seemed in some mens judgment to be somewhat sufferable; yet to say the truth, in what case soever it be, being immoderate, as this shall appear, it befemed no wise man, and therefore much less one of his calling. For if his cause had been good, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekly, as the true Canon-Law of the Gospel doth teach him? If it were (as it was indeed) naught and wrong, wherefore served he bold sturdy stoutness, but to shew the impudency of the person, and to make the cause worse which was had enough before? But belike he was disposed to declare, if he need were, what he was able to do in the Law, in shifting off the matter by subtil Dilatories, and frivolous cavilling about the Law. And if that would not help, yet with facing and bracing, and raising upon the Denouncers with furious words, and irreverent behaviour toward the Kings Commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that something might seem yet to be in him, whatsoever was in the cause. For to conclude, for all his crafty cauels and tergiversations alledged out of the Law, yet neither his Cause could he so defended, nor his behaviour so excused, but that he was therefore both justly imprisoned, and also in the end most lawfully deprived; as by the sequel of this Process may well appear, the manner whereof is as followeth.

The first Action or Session against Bonner.

UPON Wednesday the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord 1549, and in the third year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of all England, associate with Nicholas Ridley then Bishop of Rochester, Sir William Peter Knight, one of the Kings two Principal Secretaries, and Master William May, Doctor of the Civil Law and Dean of Pauls, by virtue of the Kings Commission, sat Judicially, upon the Examination of Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, within the Archbishops Chamber of Prefence, at his House in Lambeth, before whom there then also personally appeared the said Bishop. At which time the Commissioners, first shewing forth their Commission, requested Sir William Peter that he would openly publish and read the same. Which done, the Archbishop in the name of the rest declared unto the Bishop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited against him in writing, unto the Kings Majesty and his most Honourable Council, and that therefore his Highness, with their advice, had committed the Examination thereof unto him and other his Colleagues there present, as also unto Sir Thomas Smith Knight, the other of his Majesties two Principal Secretaries, though then absent, and there withal shewed also forth a Bill of complaint exhibited unto the King by William Lasimer, and John Hooper Ministers, which they likewise requested Sir William Peter to read.

These things ended, the Bishop like a subtil Lawyer, having most like some secret intelligence before of these matters (whatsoever he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his bosom a solemn Protestation ready written, which he then exhibited unto the Commissioners, requesting that the same might be there openly read; the Copy whereof is in this tenor and form as followeth.

KING Ed. 6.

Bonners judgement of the people.

Bonner full of his pretences, Daws, Woodcocks, Fools, and such like.

Bonners demeanor not tolerable for his calling, though meet for his birth.

Bonners frivolous shifts.

The first appearance of Bonner before the Commissioners the tenth day of September. The Judges Delegate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, Sir W. Peter, Dr. May, Dean of Pauls.

Sir Thomas Smith then absent.

{KING}

{Edw. 6}

The tenor and form of Edmund Bonner Bishop of London his Protestation, exhibited to the Kings Commissioners at his first appearing.

The form and Copy of Bonner's Protestation.

EDMUNDUS Lond. Episcopus primo & ante omnia protestor quod per hanc meam comparationem seu per aliquam per me hic dicta seu dicenda, allegata seu alleganda, proposita seu proponenda, exhibita seu exhibenda, gesta seu gerenda, obiecta seu obijcienda, exercita seu exercenda, facta seu fienda, petita seu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos Iudices presentes tanquam in iudices mihi in hac parte competentes & idoneos aliquo modo consentire, vestram jurisdictionem presentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare, nisi prout ac quatenus de jure ad hoc tenear & alstringar rationique consonum videatur: & sub protestatione predicta & ea semper mihi salva (a qua recedere non intendo, sed eandem in omnibus & singulis deinceps in hoc negotio pretenso per me agendis, pro repetita haberi volo) dico & allego quod literæ commissoriales pretense vobis (ut dicitur) in hac parte directæ, seu earum vera & legitima copia nunquam antea mihi ostense aut monstr. fuerunt; nec a me aliquo modo visæ, lectæ aut cognitæ, vel mihi traditæ. Itaque contra formam & tenorem earundem, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrum, ea quæ de jure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte, cum reverentia (qua deest) obijcere, ac in debita jura forma proponere non possum in presenti ut deberem. Quare ut defenso congrua, quæ nulli hominum deneganda est, mihi referretur, liquides sciam cuiusmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte competere possint, ac debeant, nique eas suis loco & tempore iuxta jura exigentiam, pro necessaria defensione mea proponam contra vel pretenfas literas commissoriales huiusmodi, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrum, quatenus liceat & expediat sub protestatione predicta, facultatem dictas pretenfas literas commissoriales in forma originali inspicendi, ac earum veram integram, & fidelem copiam debite exinde mihi fieri humiliter peto & postulo prout jura est in hac parte, tenore presentium: nihilominus restatum manifeste relinquens, quod observantiam & reverentiam, ac obedientiam & honorem, ac cetera quecumque serenissima Regia Majestati Domino meo supremo hac literas pretenfas vobis (ut dicitur) committenti qualitercumque deest in omnibus & per omnia perpetuo humiliter recogniturus sum, habiturus & præsturus, & his exceptionibus, & defensionibus legitimis mihi de jure & natura competentibus ad defensionem meam necessariam & legitimam ac non aliter in hac parte usus.

This Protestation being read, he requested the Commissioners that he might have the Bill of complaint delivered him. Which when he had well perused, he said, that the same was very general, and so general, as that he could not directly answer thereunto. Whereunto the Archbishop answered, that the special cause of the complaint against him was, for that he had transgressed the Kings Commandment, given unto him by his Council, in that he in his late Sermon made at Pauls-Crofs did not set forth unto the people the Kings Highness Royal power in his Minority, according to the tenor of the Article delivered unto him by them for that purpose; and for proof thereof called forth William Lasimer and John Hooper Preachers, who before that time had put up the Bill of complaint unto the King against him.

Bonner lay-
vegeth a-
gainst his
denouncem.

Upon whom when the Bishop had earnestly looked, and well beheld them, he said, As for this Merchant Lasimer, I know him very well, and have born with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other Merchant Hooper, I have not seen him before, howbeit I have heard much of his naughty preaching. And then turning himself again unto the Archbishop (of purpose most like to make his friends think that he was not called thither to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of Religion) said unto him, Ah my Lord, now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is for that I did preach and set forth in my late Sermon the true Presence of the most blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the Sacrament

Bonner trans-
lateth his
cause to the
matter of
the Sacra-
ment.

of the Altar. For as for these my Accusers, as they be evil, infamous, notorious, and criminal persons, so are they manifest and notable Hereticks and seducers of the People, especially touching the Sacrament of the Altar: and most of all this Hooper. For where in my late Sermon at Pauls-Crofs I preached, That in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, there is the true Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the self same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the Crofs; he the same day at afternoon, having a great rablement with him of his damnable sect, openly in the Pulpit within my Diocess, did preach erroneously to the people against it; and maliciously inveigling against my Sermon, denied the verity and presence of Christs true Body and Blood to be in the same Sacrament, and also falsely and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And especially, where I preached and affirmed the very true Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the said Sacrament, the self same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the Crofs, he like an Als (as he is an Als indeed) falsely changed and turned the word *that* into *as*, like an Als, saying, that I had said as it hanged, and as it was shed upon the Crofs.

Bonner maketh ex-
position of his
accusations.Bonner
gives opinion
on the
Sacrament
of the Altar
{ Anno }
{ 1549 }Bonner talks
against Mr.
Hooper.

The Archbishop hereupon perceiving the Bishops drift, and hearing him talk so much of the Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament, said unto him, My Lord of London, ye speak much of a Presence in the Sacrament; what Presence is there, and of what Presence do you mean? Wherewith the Bishop being somewhat flustered and moved in mind (as appeared by his cholerick countenance) spake again to the Archbishop very earnestly, and said, What Presence my Lord? I say and believe that there is the very true Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. What believe you, and how do you believe my Lord? Upon which words the Archbishop, because he saw his answer dark and subtil, and minding somewhat to nip the grofs absurdities of the Papists, asked him further, whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms and lips, with other lineaments of his body? Whereat the Bishop shaking his head, said, Oh, I am right sorry to hear your Grace speak these words, and therewith boldly urged the Archbishop to shew his mind therein. Who wisely weighing the fond presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused them to do so, saying, that their being there at that time was not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their Commission committed to them by their Prince, and therefore willed him to answer them unto such things as were objected against him.

A Question
to Bonner.

Whereupon under his Protestation, he required to have a Copy both of the Commission, and also of the Denunciation given unto him, with time to answer thereto. Which the Commissioners willingly granted, assigning him there to appear again before them upon Friday then next following, at eight of the Clock before Noon, and then to answer the tenor of the Denunciation. And so for that day (he complaining somewhat of the shortness of his time to answer) they all together departed.

Days given
to Bonner
to answer
for his
false.

The second appearance of Bonner in the Chappel of Lambeth, before the Archbishop and other four Commissioners, the Bishop of Rochester, Secretary Peter, Secretary Smith, and the Dean of Pauls.

UPON Friday the thirteenth of September afore-named, four Commissioners, associated then also with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, the other of the Kings two Principal Secretaries, and joynt Commissioner with them, sat judicially in the Archbishops Chappel within his house at Lambeth. Before whom (according to their former assignment) there and then appeared the Bishop of London. To whom the Archbishop in the name of the rest, first said, My Lord of London, the last time you were before us, we laid certain Articles and matter to your charge touching your disobedience to the Kings Majesty, and you have this day to make your answer thereunto, wherefore now shew us what you have to say for your defence,

The second
appearance
of Bonner
before the
Kings Com-
missioners.

Whereto

Bonnars answer to the Archbishop of Canterbury. A precise point of the Law, where a new Commission may fit afterwar, which fat not at the beginning.

Where to the Bishop first asking the Archbishop if he had all said and done, and he again saying, Yea, made this answer: My Lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember there fat in the Kings Majesties Commission, your Grace, you my Lord of *Rocheſter*, you Maſter Secretary *Peter*, and you Maſter Dean of *Pauls*, but now I perceive there litleth alſo Maſter Secretary *Smith*. Who becauſe he fat not at the beginning, nor took there the Commiſſion upon him, ought not ſo to do: for by the Law, they which begin muſt continue the Commiſſion. Whereupon the Archbishop firſt answered, that he was no Lawyer, and therefore could not certainly ſhew what the Law willesh in that caſe, but, faith he, if the Law be ſo indeed, ſurely I take it to be an unreaſonable Law.

Well, ſaid the Biſhop, there be here that know the Law, and yet I ſay not this to the intent to ſtand or ſtick much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way; for I have here mine answer ready.

The words of Secretary Peter to Bonner.

Then ſaid Maſter Secretary *Peter* to the Biſhop, My Lord, in good ſooth I muſt ſay unto you, that although I have profeſſed the Law, yet by diſcontinuanſe and diſuſe thereof, and having been occupied a long time in other matters from ſtudy of the Law, I have perhaps forgotten what the Law will do precisely in this point: but admit the Law were ſo as you ſay, yet your ſelf knoweth, my Lord, that this is our certain rule in Law, *Quod Conſuetudo eſt juris interpret optimus*, and I am ſure you will not, nor cannot deny, but that the cuſtom is commonly in this Realm in all Judgments and Commiſſions uſed to the contrary; and in very deed we all together at the Court, having the Commiſſion preſented unto us, took it upon us; and therefore for you to ſtick in ſuch trifling matters you ſhall rather in my judgment hurt your ſelf and your matter, than otherwiſe.

The answer of Bonner to Secretary Peter.

Truly Maſter Secretary, ſaid the Biſhop, I have alſo of long while been diſuſed in the ſtudy of Law, but having continueth ſtill in his ſaid poyſoned and wicked venomous Doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the ſame and every part thereof all the ways he can, ſpecially againſt the Preſence of Chriſts bleſſed Body in the Sacrament of the Altar; and his ſaid Books, eſpecially the ſaid Declaration of Chriſt and of his Office, Printed (as he ſaith ſummiſh) in *Zurich*, by *Auguſtine Friers*, where he in many places Heretically and damnablely denieth the true Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo in effect denieth the verity of Chriſts bleſſed Body upon the Croſſe, calling it Mathematical, and excluding thereby the true and very ſubſtance thereof.

The words of Secretary Smith to Bonner.

At which words, Maſter Secretary *Smith* ſaid alſo unto the Biſhop, Well my Lord of *London*, as cunning as you make your ſelf in the Law, there be here that know the Law as well as you: and for my part I have ſtudied the Law too, and I promiſe you theſe be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters, but our Commiſſion is to proceed ſummarily, *Ex de pleno*, and to cut off ſuch frivolous Allegations.

The answer of Bonner to Secretary Smith.

Well (ſaid the Biſhop again) look well on your Commiſſion, and you ſhall find therein theſe words, To proceed according to the Law and Juſtice: and I aſk both Law and Juſtice at your hands.

The words of Secretary Peter.

Then Maſter Secretary *Peter* willed him to ſtand no more thereupon, but to proceed unto his answer. Whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his answer to the Denunciation exhibited the day before by *Latimer* and *Hooper*, and delivering it unto the Archbishop, ſaid, that it was of his own hand-writing, and for lack of ſufficient time written ſo haſtily and curioſly, that it could ſcarcely be read of any other, and therefore he deſired to read it himſelf; and ſo taking it again, read it openly, the Copy whereof here followeth.

The Answer of the ſaid Biſhop, made to the Denunciation aforeſaid.

I Edmund Biſhop of *London*, concerning *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, the pretended Denunciators of this matter here now before you, and for answer unto the unlawful, untrue, and uncharitable pretended Denunciation of them, lately in deed contrary to Juſtice and good reaſon, exhibited here and read before you, under preteſtation heretofore made by me, and read unto you, remaining in the Acts of this Court, unto which I refer me, and have the ſame here again for repeated and rehearſed to all purpoſes agreeable to the Law, do for my neceſſary defence and help alledge and ſay as followeth.

Allegations or rather cavillations of Bonner againſt the Denunciators.

1. Firſt, I do alledge and ſay, That the ſaid *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, or either of them, were not, nor now are to be admitted in any wife, by vertue of this or

any other Commiſſion, as Denunciators againſt me their Biſhop; ſpecially, for that they and either of them have as well before the time of their pretended Denunciation, and alſo then and ſince been and be vile and infamous, notorious criminous perſons, and alſo open and maniſeſt notable Hereticks, eſpecially concerning the Sacrament of the Catholick Church, and namely concerning the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, by reaſon of which their Hereties, they were and be by the order of the ſaid Catholick Church, here in this Realm of *England*, juſtly and duly Excommunicated and accuſed, and have divided themſelves thereby from the unity and integrity of Chriſts Catholick Church, and for ſuch perſons they have been and are named, reputed, and taken openly, notoriously and commonly amongſt the Catholick people of this Realm of *England*, and eſpecially of this City of *London*, familiarly haunting and converſant with Sacramentaries, and openly known condemned Hereticks, and favourers and abettors of the ſame, and their detestable and peſtilent Doctrine and Heretic.

(KING)
Edw 6

How ſaid would this man find a fault if he could tell how.

2. Item, That the ſaid *John Hooper*, amongſt other his poyſoned and venomous Doctrine, and amongſt other his erroneous, detestable, and abominable Errors and Hereties taught and ſpread abroad here within this Realm, infecting and poyſoning the Kings ſubjects therewith, hath before the time of the ſaid pretended denunciation, damnablely and detestably made divers Erroneous and Heretical Books, eſpecially one, Intituled, *A Declaration of Chriſt, and of his Office*, Printed (as he ſaith ſummiſh) in *Zurich*, by *Auguſtine Friers*, where he in many places Heretically and damnablely denieth the true Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo in effect denieth the verity of Chriſts bleſſed Body upon the Croſſe, calling it Mathematical, and excluding thereby the true and very ſubſtance thereof.

This term blackmouſe is referred of the ſubſtance of the Body upon the Croſſe, but to Parliaments without ſubſtance upon the Altar.

3. Item, That the ſaid *John Hooper* doth perſevere and continueth ſtill in his ſaid poyſoned and wicked venomous Doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the ſame and every part thereof all the ways he can, ſpecially againſt the Preſence of Chriſts bleſſed Body in the Sacrament of the Altar; and his ſaid Books, eſpecially the ſaid Declaration of Chriſt and of his Office, he doth yet allow and maintain as good and Catholick, where indeed it is Heretical, wicked and damnable: the Contents of which Doctrine and Book ſo Intituled, the ſaid *Latimer*, eſpecially touching the Heretic againſt the verity of Chriſts Body, and his true Preſence in the Sacrament of the Altar, hath heard, taught, read, preached, believed, holden, maintained and kept, and ſo at this preſent doth yet believe, hold, maintain, and keep, contrary to the Faith of Chriſts Catholick Church, and the unity of the ſame obſerved amongſt all true Chriſtian people, incurring thereby Heretic, Excommunication, and Schiſm, to the loſs both of their ſouls, and of their believers.

If all truth were away he had ſpoken more truly.

4. Item, That the ſaid *Latimer* and *Hooper*, and either of them, being of theſe vile and detestable qualities, and conſequently by the Ordinance of the Catholick Church of Chriſt, as well of this Realm, as alſo throughout all Chriendom, being ſo excommunicated and cut off thereby from the ſaid Church, are not to this pretended denunciation againſt me their Biſhop, nor to any judicial act, to be admitted, ne yet to be accompanied withal, or answered unto, but are by Scripture and the order of Chriſts Catholick Church here in this Realm, utterly and truly to be excluded, avoided, deteſted, eſchewed, and abhorred, in all manner of wife, of all faithful and true Chriſtian people, fearing God, and deſiring the advancement of the Truth.

5. Item, That where the ſaid *Latimer* and *Hooper*, in their ſaid pretended Denunciation, amongſt other things, do untruly deduce that they have made their ſaid pretended Denunciation, not moved of any malice or evil will, but for the good tranquility and governance of this Realm, which as they pretend in their gay and glorious prohemie, they would ſeem to have a great care and ſolicitude of, where in very deed they and ſuch as they are by ſundry ways, and ſpecially by their corrupt Doctrine, and Heretical naughty preaching and infecting of the Kings Majesties people, have diſturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquility and governance of this Realm, as evidently and notoriously it is well known, the truth is, that their ſaying is evident and plain falſe; for notorious it is, and lawfully ſhall be proved, that

KING that the said Hooper, conspiring with the said Latimer and other Heretics of their factious Sect and damnable Opinion, did the first day of September last past, after that I the said Bishop of London had made the Sermon at Pauls Cross, assemble maliciously, uncharitably, and unlawfully, a great rabblement of such as himself is, within my Diocese and jurisdiction, and under the colour of reading, did openly and manifestly rail and inveigh against me the said Bishop, for my said Sermon, not for any such matter, pretence, or cause, as is falsely and untruly furnished in the said pretended denunciation, but only and chiefly for that I the said Bishop, as became a Christian man, and especially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flock, faithfully and truly to teach them, did, taking occasion of the Communion not frequented nor revered, but neglected and contemned, confess and declare my faith and belief openly before my audience, touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar ministered in the same Communion, affirming as the Catholic Church affirmeth and teacheth, That in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar there is the very true body of our Saviour Christ, the self same in substance that hanged upon the Cross, and the very true blood of our Saviour Christ, the self same in substance that was shed upon the Cross. Against which affirmation and assertion, being Catholic and true, the said John Hooper (albeit now colourably and falsely, and foolishly he pretendeth another matter more plausible in his opinion and judgment in sundry places of the City and Suburbs of London) hath since that time maliciously inveighed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and assembling in great routs) to reprove, condemn and despise the said blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and not to have a true and faithful belief of it, as hitherto always the Catholic Church hath * ever had, the said William Latimer, and the rabblement of his accomplices, conspiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing other to do the same, not making any such pretence at all (as they in their said pretended denunciation do falsely furnish and deduce) but only and chiefly offended for my faith, affection, and affirmation of the verity of Christs body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.

But what and where were your troops?

As though he could not both confute your error, and also say the truth now, without all malice or affection. * But, that his false hope, concerning the third, his time, 400 years ago.

Though the Bill of Articles bear no seal or Signet, yet you be but a Caviller knowing that you ever lent Fox, in the presence of the Lord Secretary, in the Council Chamber received the Copy of the Instructions, with the Articles provided to be sent to you in writing, as they were. Indeed, whether are able to deny the same, though you sit to shift out the matter with vain terms of incertainty and obscurity, when the purpose of the thing maketh clear as gainst you, according as it appears in the Articles hereafter mentioned against you the second time.

mans, and it at large declaring unto the audience: Further more speaking of the Rebels in *Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk*, and elsewhere within this Realm, standing in doubt whether I might put them in the place of those that put trust in themselves and despised all other, or in the place of both, doing as they did, forgetting God, not duly considering the Kings Majesty their supreme, head next and immediately under God, forgetting their Wives, their Children, their Kinsfolk, their Alliance, Acquaintance, and Friends, yea themselves, and their native Country; and most unnaturally rebelling against their Sovereign Lord and King, whom by Gods Law they were bound to love, serve, and faithfully obey; I did to the best of my power dissuade Rebellion, and exhort the audience unto true obedience being thus commanded; and all Rebellion being in like manner forbidden under pain of eternal damnation, all these Rebels in *Cornwall, Devonshire, Norfolk*, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their King and Prince, against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and went about to subvert the order of the Commonwealth, did not only deserve therefore death, as Rebels and Traitors, but also did accumulate unto themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of Hell, with Lucifer the Father and first author of pride, disobedience and rebellion. And here I did ask who had induced the said Rebels thus to do? To which I answered by another question, demanding who moved and induced Fox to take the Apple and break her obedience against Gods commandment? Who moved also and induced Cain to kill his Brother Abel? Yea, who moved Judas the Apostle to betray his Master Christ? Was it not the Devil? Yes truly, and he it is, said I, that of his great malice and hatred to men and good order hath moved and induced these Rebels to this unnatural rebellion against their Prince and Sovereign Lord. Whereupon I asked, what pretences they had, and answering thereto, said; that amongst other they had Masses and Holy Water, upon which I exclaiming against them, said good Lord; is not this a marvellous thing, to palliate, colour, excuse, and maintain Rebellion and inobedience, to pretend Mass or Holy Water, as who faith, that these things had been instituted and ordained to defend, maintain, and excuse Rebellion, Treason, and inobedience, which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four Texts of Scripture to prove this thing that I said, alleging the sixteenth Chapter of the Book of Numbers, the fifteenth Chapter of the first Book of Kings, the tenth Chapter of Leviticus, and the fourth that my self added also, the thirteenth of S. Luke, and joined with the fifth of the Acts, setting them forth the best I could, as one not much exercised in preaching, but restrained therefrom. And here I concluded, that whatsoever pretences these Rebels had of Masses, Holy Water, or such other, it could not in any wise excuse or defend their Rebellion and Inobedience, referring my self herein to the indifferent hearers in the said audience. And here pulling out a writing, sent from the Kings Majesties Privy Council unto me, touching the victory against the said Rebels, which for brevity of time my memory would not serve to declare without Book, I did rehearse it in writing word by word. In doing whereof it well appeared, that I did not favour the opinion of the said Rebels, nor maintain their enterprise, but contrariwise did detest them and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better than sacrifice; And that in disobedience and rebellion nothing could or did please Almighty God. Further, taking occasion of the proud Pharisee and the humble Publican ascending into the Temple to pray, and noting the outward and extern doing of them both, with the success thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the Church and the extern rites and ceremonies of the divine service, that for as much as God requirith humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, Charity and love to our neighbour, and obedience to his Word, to his Ministers, and to the superior powers, we must bring all these things to all our prayers, to all our service, and that this is the sacrifice that Christ requirith, and that these be the things that make all other things pleasant to Almighty God; further saying, that the extern rites are but exercises of Religion, and appointed by su-

perious powers, and that in the choosing thereof we must obey the Magistrates, and that we also do see that those things ever have been and shall be divers, as the time and place is, and yet all hath pleased God, so long as humility of heart, innocency of living, knowing of God, charity and love our neighbour, with obedience to Gods word, Gods ministers, and superiour powers, are concurrent and present therewith.

7. Moreover, I then said, that if any man should use rites and disobey thereby the superiour powers, the devotion of his ceremony was made evil by his disobedience. Inasmuch that that which, standing the Law, might be good, was by pride, disobedience, and rebellion, made evil and unprofitable, putting example in the fact of *Saul*, reserving the fat Sheep for sacrifice, and in *Chore, Dathan, and Abiram*, and also in *Nadab and Abihu, Aarons* two children, and in the *Galileans*, whose blood *Pilate* did mix with their sacrifices. And thereupon I told the audience that they must do herein especially two things: The first, they must joyntly and with their devotion faithful obedience, and then they shall win the Garland, and otherwise have but a zeal, *Sed non secundum scientiam*, deserving no thank or praise of God; and also they must, with and to their obedience, joynt devotion, knowing that God more doth require and consider the heart, than the outward doing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the Communion, or to hear or say the Service, appointed by the Kings Majesty, they must, bring devotion and inward prayer with them, or else their prayers shall be but vain, as wanting and lacking that thing which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him. And herein because I marvelled that the Communion was no more frequented now a days, and lamenting the unreverent coming to it and using of it, fearing that it proceeded of an evil opinion and belief touching the Sacrament of the Altar, ministered and distributed at the same Communion, and to the intent to make the people have better opinion of it than they seemed to have, I did faithfully, truly and plainly declare my belief of the said Sacrament, wherewith the said *Latimer* and *Hooper*, with their complices, were so much offended and agrieved.

But where was any mention made of the Kings power in his authority, as it was injoynted you to trust of?

8. Item, That where the said *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* do further in the said pretended denunciation untruly, and uncharitably deduce and alledge, that I in my said Sermon did treat of such things, as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissention, it doth hereby evidently and clearly appear, that either the said pretended denunciations do take and esteem a declaration faithfully made of the loyal obedience of Subjects to the Kings Majesty, the supreme and Sovereign Lord, and the great peril and danger of Rebellion committed by Subjects against their King and Prince and Sovereign Lord, to be a moving, provoking and stirring up of people to discord and dissention, or else that the affirmation and assertion Catholick of the verity of Christs body and blood in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, set forth by me as afore doth effect and work such disorder and dissention: For evident it is to all those which indifferently heard my said Sermon, that I (grounding my self upon Scripture, and taking occasion of the Sunday then occurred) did speak specially and earnestly of these two things, without taxing of any man specially by name, or other circumstance, to slander them thereby, and I did both set forth the obedience and duty of all Subjects, generally to their King, and specially of Subjects of this Realm to the Kings Majesty that now is, whose minority to all people of this Realm is more than manifest, and is also apparent, or evidently known to all the whole world beside: And also, I did then declare and lay open the imminent danger and great peril of rebellion in Subjects against the high powers and authority, and also specially of the rebellion late committed by them of *Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk*, and elsewhere, against the Kings Majesty that now is, which I would not have done, except I both had believed that all the Kings Subjects without exception were bound to obey the Kings Majesty even as he now is, was, and shall be, during his life, which our Lord long preserve to all our comforts and wealth, and also that the Rebellion of late so committed against his Ma-

If ye did believe it, why did ye not fully approve and declare the same to the people?

jesty was damnable, and utterly detestable and condemned by Gods Law; and herein I refer me to the indifferent hearers of this my Sermon, wishing that this *Latimer*, and *Hooper*, with all the rest of these new Preachers, did mean as faithfully, truly, obediently and Catholically, as I alwaies have done toward the Kings Majesty, his honour, authority, Royal power, and surety of his person and Realm, and did not more move, incourage, and stir the Kings Majesties Subjects to sedition, tumult, and inobedience, by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than I did at any time incourage, move or stir any of them in any wise, or give occasion to any of the same.

9. Item, Where the said *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* do fully furnish in their pretended denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I the said Bishop of London should more aptly have declared the Injunctions and Articles aforesaid, and that it did so appear unto their judgments; I do say that their judgments are corrupted and only set to slander and picking of quarrels in this behalf, being well assured and so credibly informed that all the worshipful and honest Catholick persons of my said audience were fully satisfied both as touching obedience to the Kings Majesty in his tender age and minority, and also touching the penalty and great peril of punishments of the Rebellion so lately committed against the said Majesty by the fore-said Rebels. And moreover I do say, that before my Lord Protectors Grace, and the rest of the Kings Majesties most honourable Council then present, I made my excuse, and alledged many impediments for my not preaching at the Crois, and did not further promise but to do the best I could, which of my fidelity and conscience I did, not omitting any thing of purpose or evil will, that might be to the satisfaction of all people both good and bad in every condition and point, specially in this behalf, collecting and gathering together, with all diligent study, all that might make, in my judgment and opinion, for the better setting forth of the same.

Thus have you *Bonnors* answer to the denunciation aforesaid: Wherin first he alledged (or rather shamefully and slanderously cavilled) that those his denouncers were vile, infamous and notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifest Heretics, as well against the rest of the Sacraments of the Church, as chiefly against the Sacrament of the Altar; and were for the same by the orders of the Church excommunicated and accursed, and were so taken of all the Catholicks of this Realm, and especially *Hooper*; who, besides other his poysoned doctrine and Heresies amongst the people, had also before the time of the denunciation made divers erroneous and Heretical Books against the true presence of Christs body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and did also continue in the same, allowing and maintaining it as good and Catholick. Which Books and Doctrine (chiefly against the Sacrament of the Altar) *William Latimer* had, and then likewise did allow, believe, and teach, to the loss of both their own souls, and also their believers, and therefore were not now nor ought at any time to be admitted either in this their denunciation against him, or in any other judicial act; and that the rather also, because that although they pretend in their denunciation, that they made not the fame of any malice or evil will towards him, but for the good tranquillity and quiet governance of this Realm, yet was it notoriously known, that as well the same day at afternoon in which he the said Bishop preached at the Crois of *Pauls*, as also at sundry other times, they two, conspiring with other of their faction, did maliciously and unlawfully within his Diocesse assemble together a great rabblement of such as themselves were, and there under the colour of reading did openly rail and inveigh against him, not for any the causes pretended in their denunciation, but because he had in his Sermon declared (as the Catholick Church taught) that in the Sacrament of the Altar there was the very true body and blood of Christ, the same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the Crois.

Then after these vain and frivolous allegations against the denouncers, he cometh and answereth to the substance of their denunciation, and saith, that where they in the fame do fully furnish that there were delivered unto him from

By, by your own confession it appears that these Injunctions were given you by my Lord Protector, and that you will not grant. *Bonnors* writing exhibited to the Commissioners, answering to the denunciation.

Exceptions said by *Bonnors* against *Latimer* and *Hooper* his denunciation.

The frivolous quarrelling of *Bonnors* against his denouncers.

Bonnors put to the substance of their denunciation, and saith.

KING from the Kings Majesty, by the hands of the Lord Protector and the rest of his Highnes Council, certain Injunctions and Articles to be published and declared unto the people, at a day limited in the same, their Information, in such sort as it was deduced, was most false and untrue, for that the Articles delivered unto him by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Kings Secretaries, were neither signed with the Kings own hand, neither sealed with his Highnes Seal or Signet, nor yet subscribed by any of his Council, &c.

Bonner's
refusa-
tion
to
sign
the
Articles.

Where mark, I beseech you, the subtilty of a disloyal Papist, who, because the Articles were not sealed by the King and his Council, would make them therefore not to be of any such force, as that the breach thereof should cause him to incur the danger of contemptuous disobedience. But admit they were not Signed nor Sealed (of which thing by the way in the denunciation there is no mention yea or nay) yet it is manifest by the second Bill of Articles ministered unto him by the Commissioners, in the fourth Act of his Procees, that at such time as he was before the Council, those Articles were by the commandment of the Lord Protector, openly there read unto him by one of the Secretaries, and after addition of the Article concerning the Kings lawful power and authority during his young years, were also delivered unto him by the hands of the Lord Protector, in the presence of the rest of the Council; who thus receiving them, promised there faithfully to accomplish all the contents thereof. After which, they were again delivered unto Secretary Smith, to amend such things therein as the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council had there appointed. Which being accordingly done (as the Bishop himself at the last receipt thereof confessed) were finally delivered unto him by the Secretary; and therefore was this but a poor shift.

Bonner's
sup-
position.

Now after this, he maketh a supposition, that in case it were true, that the Injunctions were delivered him according to their information: Yet was it untrue that he did omit or refuse to declare the same for any such causes as they had alleged against him, and that did well appear in the discourse of his Sermon, which tended principally (as he said) to the disallowing and condemnation of all Rebels, and chiefly of the Rebels in *Norfolk, Suffolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall*, or elsewhere within in this Realm of *England*: Who forgetting their Allegiance and Duty unto their Prince, assigned to them by Gods word as their supreme Head, their natural love and care for their Countrey, Wives, Children, and Kinsfolke, did both deserve death bodily as Traitors, and also accumulate unto themselves damnation of body and soul eternally with Satan the Father and first mover of all Rebellion and Disobedience; and herewithal further exclaiming against the pretences of those Rebels, who amongst other things pretended the Malt and Holy Water, with such like, which were never ordained for the purpose to colour and maintain Rebellion (as he said he then proved out of the 16. of *Numbers* 1. *Reg.* 15. *Leviti.* 10. and 4. *Luke* 13. and *Act* 5. in the best manner that he could, as one not exercised greatly in preaching, but restrained therefrom) but having humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of God, love to our Neighbours, with obedience to Gods word, Ministers, and superior powers concurrent with them, they being external Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, were exercises of Religion, and appointable by superior powers; and yet that, which (standing the Law) might be good, was by pride and disobedience made evil and unprofitable.

Bonner's
rites and
ceremonies.

And here he further said because he saw the people slack in coming to the Communion and Divine Service, set forth by the Kings Majesty, and to the intent he would make them have a better opinion in the Sacrament than he thought they had, he then faithfully did declare his belief therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they uncharitably and untruly deduced in their pretended denunciation, that in his Sermon he did intreat of such things as most should stir up unto diffention and tumult; whereby it appeared unto him, that his Denouncers either took his Catholick assertion of the verity of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, or else his faithful declaration made of the obedience of Subjects unto the Kings Majesty their supreme and Sovereign Lord, with the peril and

danger of Rebellion committed against him, to be the cause of disorder and diffention; for that, saith he, of these two points he chiefly spake, and especially of obedience to the King, whose minority was more than manifestly known, as well amongst the people of this Realm, as elsewhere throughout the world besides; which he would not have done except he had believed, that both all his Subjects were bounden to obey him, even as he then was and should be during his life, and also that the Rebellion of late committed against him was detestable and condemned by Gods Word: And therefore he wished that his two Denouncers, with all the rest of the new Preaches, did mean as faithfully, obediently, and Catholickly towards the Kings honour, Royal power, and surety of person, as he did, and had not more moved the people to tumults and disobedience by their erroneous Doctrine and teaching, than he had at any time given any occasion thereunto.

Bonner's
petition
of
himself
for
his
Sermons.

Then finally he concluded and said, That whereas his aforesaid Denouncers surmise, That it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in their judgements, that he should more aptly have declared the contents of the Injunctions and Articles than he did, that their judgements were in that behalf corrupted and set to slander and picking of quarrels; for he was well assured, and credibly informed, that all his honest and Catholick Audience were fully satisfied, both touching their obedience to the Kings Majesty in his tender age, and also concerning the great penalty and peril that the late Rebels incurred by their disobedience. And besides that, when he was before the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, after he had made his excuse, and alleged many impediments for his not preaching at the Cross, he did not then further promise but to do the best he could, which he hath of his Fidelity and Conscience accomplished, not omitting any thing of purpose or evil will, that might satisfie the people in any point concerning the Premises.

Whilst he was thus reading these Answers, objecting against his denouncers such causes and quarrels as he before alleged, for which he would have earnestly had the denouncers to be repelled of the Commissioners; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* replied, That if there were any such Law, he thought it not to be a good or godly Law, but a Law of the Bishop of *Rome*. For, said he, if my matter and cause be good, what should I care who accuse me, yea although he were the Devil of Hell.

The Arch-
bishop
re-
plies
to
the
Bishop
of
Canterbury.

No Sir, said the Bishop of *London*, it is the Kings Law used in the Realm.

Well, My Lord (said the Archbishop) ye be too full of your Law: I would with you had less knowledge in that Law, and more knowledge in Gods Law, and of your duty.

The Bishops
Law
falsely
used
upon
the
King
Archbishop.

Well, answered the Bishop again, seeing your Grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person.

Bonner.

Then spake Secretary *Peter* to the Bishop as touching these denouncers; we are not so straitened in this matter but that we may proceed against you, either at their promotion, or without them at our pleasure.

A Gods name then (said *Bonner*) put them by, and then do as your pleasure shall be, so you do me right, for I ask but right.

Nay said Secretary *Smith*, you ask you wot not what: Secretary *Smith* You would have us follow your mind in these Quiddities and Quirks; and all is nothing else but to delay justice. And you do herein as Thieves, Murderers, and Traitors, not to have the truth known.

Say you so to me, quoth the Bishop? I thank you. Well, I could say somewhat to you also, were ye not in the place ye be, but let it pass. As for my matter, I fear it not, it is not so evil as you make it; for I have your own hand-writing for my discharge, which when I shall see time, I shall shew forth.

Bonner.

My hand, quoth the Secretary. Let me see it, and let it be read openly. So it shall, said the Bishop, when I shall see time.

Secretary
Smith.

Then said Mr. *Smith*, you do use us thus to be seen a cunning Lawyer.

Secretary
Smith.

Indeed, quoth the Bishop, I knew the Law, ere you could read it.

Well
catch-
ed
Mr.
Bos-
ners.

Articles de-
clared up-
against Bon-
ner.

With that, Secretary Peter willed the Bishop to proceed in reading of his answers; who so did, and when he had finished, Latimer delivered up a writing in Paper unto the Archbishop and the rest of the Commissioners; who then said unto the Bishop of London, here be certain Articles which we intend to minister unto you.

The Bishop therewith said, do you minister them of your office, or at the promotion of these men? (pointing to Latimer and Hooper) for I perceive they gave them unto you.

Secretary
Peter.
Bonner re-
quith ref-
phte to an-
swer.

Nay said Secretary Peter, we will minister them unto you, *Ex officio mero*, and thereupon took an Oath of the Bishop *de fideliter respondendo*. Who, desiring a Copy of the Articles, required also a competent time to be given unto him to make answer thereunto.

Secretary
Peter.

To whom Secretary Peter replied, saying, My Lord, here be certain of the Articles touching your own fact, which you may answer unto forthwith; as whether you wrote your Sermon or not before you preached it.

Bonner.

Whereunto the Bishop answered, that he wrote it not, but he drew certain notes of it.

Secretary
Peter.
Bonner.

Then whole Counsel, said he, and advise used you in making your Sermon?

To which he also answered, that he had therein used his own Counsel and Books, and yet my Chaplains, quoth he, be much suspected for my doings in many things, and sometimes I for theirs, when there is no cause why.

These words ended, the Commissioners assigned him Monday the sixteenth of September then next following, to appear before them, and to make his full answers unto all the Articles ministered unto him by them this day; the Contents whereof are as followeth.

The form and tenour of the Articles ministered unto the Bishop of London, by the Kings Commissioners.

The third
Session or
appearance
of Bonner,
{ Ann.
1549 }

Monday the sixteenth of September, the Archbishop associated with the Bishop of Rochester, Secretary Smith, and Dr. May Dean of Paul, late judicially within his Chapel at Lambeth: Before whom there and then appeared the Bishop of London, according as he was assigned in the last Session: At which time he exhibited unto the Commissioners in writing his answers unto the last former Articles.

The form of
the Articles
ministered
against Bon-
ner.
Bonner an-
swers to the
Articles in
writing.
Hooper and
Latimer de-
sire to purge
themselves
against Bon-
ners flanders
Foulsation
of Latimer.

But before the same were there read, the Archbishop said unto him, that his late answer, made the thirteenth of September unto the denunciation, were very obscure, and therewith also contained much matter of slander against Latimer and Hooper, and much untruth, and therefore they desired there to purge themselves. Whereupon Latimer, first obtaining leave to speak, said, that the Bishop of London had most falsely, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, laying to his charge many fained and untrue matters in his former answers to the denunciation, and such as he should never be able to prove. For where in his said answer he alleged, that Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, with other Hereticks conspiring against him, did the first day of September after the Bishops Sermon assemble themselves together unlawfully against the said Bishop, that saying of his was most untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor until certain days after, he ever knew or spake with Hooper. And as touching his own preaching there, openly accused by the Bishop, he said he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the blessed Sacrament, otherwise than he ought to do, nor otherwise than according to the Scriptures, and true Catholic Faith of Christs Church; and therefore offered himself to be tried by the Archbishop, or other such learned men as it should please the Kings Majesty, or the said Commissioners to appoint; and further to suffer, to be hanged, drawn and quartered, if the Bishop could justly prove true the things that he had there shamefully laid to his charge. Then Master Hooper, upon like Licence obtained, said to this effect.

Mr. Hooper
clearlyth
manifest a-
gainst the
false flanders
of Bonner.

This ungodly man (pointing to the Bishop) hath most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your Grace and this audience, and hath laid to my charge that I am

an Heretic. Whereas I take God to record, I never spake, read, taught, or preached any Heretic, but only the most true and pure Word of God. And where he saith, I frequent the company of Hereticks, I do much marvel of his so saying: For it hath pleased my Lord Protectors Grace, my singular good Lord and Mr. and my Ladies Grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much used their company, with divers other worshipful persons, and therefore I suppose this man meaneth them. And further, whereas he saith that I have made heretical Books against the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it Mathematical, I perceive that this man knoweth not what this word Mathematical there meaneth, and therefore understandeth not my Book: Which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word: And by the same his holy word and Scriptures I am always and shall be ready to submit my self to your Graces judgment and the superior powers to be tried; with many such more words of like importance. Which ended, the Archbishop, to shorten this matter, asked the Bishop how he could prove that Hooper and Latimer assembled together against him the first of September, as he had alleged, seeing they now denied it, and therefore willed him to answer forthwith thereunto.

KING
Edward 6

This term
Mathemati-
cal, is refer-
red of Mr.
Hooper not
to the sub-
stance of
Christ's body
upon the
Cross, but to
the Papist's
accid-
ents, with-
out sub-
stance upon
the Altar.
The Arch-
bishop.

The Bishop then answered that he would duly prove it, so that he might be admitted to do it according to Law, and with that he pulled out of his sleeve certain Books, saying, I have this Varkets Books which he made against the Blessed Sacrament which you shall hear. Then as he was turning certain leaves thereof, Hooper began again to speak: But the Bishop, turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, Put up your Pipes, you have spoken for your part, I will meddle no more with you, and therewith read a certain sentence upon the Book. Which done, he said, Lo here you may see his opinion, and what it is. At which words the people standing behind, and seeing his unrevrent and unseemly demeanour and railing, fell suddenly into great laughing. Whereat the Bishop being moved, and perceiving not the cause wherefore they did laugh, turned him towards them in a great rage, saying, Ah Woodcocks, Woodcocks.

Bonner.

Bonner
charges
Mr. Hooper
of Heretic.

The people
laugh Bon-
ner to scorn.
Bonner cal-
leth the
people
woodcocks

Then said one of the Commissioners, why say you so My Lord? Marry, quoth he, I may well call them Woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not whereat, nor yet heard what I said or read.

Well my Lord of London, said the Archbishop, then I perceive you would perfwade this audience, that you were called hither for preaching of your belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, and therefore you lay to these mens charges (meaning Hooper and Latimer) that they have accused you of that. Howbeit, there was no such thing laid to your charge, and therefore this audience shall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent they may the better perceive your dealing herein. And therewithal he said unto the people, My Lord of London would make you believe, that he is called hither for declaring, and preaching his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar: But to the intent you may perceive how he goeth about to deceive you, you shall hear the denunciation that is laid in against him read unto you, and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto Sir John Mason Knight, who there read it openly. Which done, the Archbishop said again unto the Audience, Lo, here you hear how the Bishop of London is called for no such matter as he would perfwade you.

The Arch-
bishop.

The words
of the Arch-
bishop to the
people.

Sir John
Mason read-
eth the de-
nunciation to
the peo-
ple.

With this the Bishop being in a raging heat, as one clean void of all humanity, turned himself about unto the people, saying, Well, now hear what the Bishop of London saith for his part. But the Commissioners, seeing his inordinate contumacy, denied him to speak any more, saying, that he used himself very disobediently, with more like words.

Bonner in a
rage.

Bonner for
his contumacy
not suffered to
speak to the
people.

Notwithstanding, he still persisting in his unrevrent manner of dealing with the Commissioners, pulled out of his sleeve another Book, and then said unto the Archbishops My Lord of Canterbury, I have here a note out of your Books that you made touching the Blessed Sacrament, wherein you do affirm the verity of the Body and Blood of Christ to be in the Sacrament, and I have another Book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvelous matter.

Bonner charges
the Arch-
bishop with
contrariety
in his own
Books.

To

KING To the which the Archbishop answered, that he made no Books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his Books, howbeit he thought the Bishop understood them not: For I promise you, quoth he, I will find a Boy of ten years old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter than you my Lord of London be.

Bonner commanded to answer to the Articles.

Thus after much multiplying of like words, the Commissioners, thinking not good to spend any more waste time with him, willed him to shew forth his answers unto the Articles objected the last day against him. Whereupon, he having them ready did read the same openly to them. Wherein, after many words of his former protestation recited, with a marvellous lamentation to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile Hereticks, should be used after such strange sort, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience unto the Kings Majesty for the repressing and discouraging of Rebellion and Rebels, and also for the advancement of the verity of Christs true body and his presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, for which only the malicious denouncers with their complices had studied to molest and trouble him, he then cometh to answering the Articles and faith, that to the First, Second, and Fourth, he hath already in the former answers to the denunciation sufficiently answered, and therefore was not bound by Law to answer any further.

Bonner answered to the Articles.

As to the third, and fifth, he said, he began to write his Sermon, but being soon weary, he did only make certain notes thereof, without help of any other, saving that he shewed them to his Chaplains, requiring them to put him in remembrance thereof. Amongst the which, for the better setting forth of the Kings Majesties power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of Histories, as also out of the Scriptures, the names of divers young Kings, who notwithstanding the minority were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawful Kings: As *Henry* the Third, being but Nine years old, *Edward* the Third, being but thirteen years, *Richard* the Second, being but eleven years, *Henry* the Sixth, being not fully one year, *Edward* the Fifth being but eleven years, *Henry* the Eighth being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, *Osias* and *Achaz* who were but sixteen years old, *Solomon* and *Manasses* being but twelve years, *Josias*, *Joachims*, and *Jonah*, being but eight years of age when they entered their Reigns. All which notes with many other he had purposed to declare, if they had come into his memory, as indeed they did not, because the same was disturbed, partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a Bill that was delivered to him from the Kings Council, to declare the Victory then had against the Rebels in *Norfolk* and *Devonshire*, which being of some good length confounded his memory; and partly also for that his Book in his Sermon time fell away from him, wherein were divers of his notes which he had collected for that purpose: So that he could not remember what he would, but yet in general he perswaded the people to obedience to the Kings Majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all other.

Bonner executed his Obedience. A good Priest that had little memory for lack of preaching.

Bonner knew not the Rebels opinion if you will believe him.

Then as to the sixth he said he knew not the Rebels opinion, and therefore could not answer thereunto. And as for answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh Articles which touched his Pastoral Office, he said that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, as well by his own business and his Families sickness, as also by uncharitable informations made against him, yet he hath not failed to give order unto his Officers straightly to look unto such matters, and such as he hath known, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the Laws. All which answers, with other written with his own hand hereunder follow.

The answers of Bonner unto the Articles objected to him by the Kings Commissioners the first time.

I Edmund Bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited and repeated before you, which in all my sayings and doings I intend to have for repeated and rehearsed again to all lawful effects and purposes for my honest and necessary defense, with pro-

testation also of the nullity and iniquity of your process I had made in this behalf, and likewise of the Generality, Incertainty, Obscurity, Contrariety, Repugnancy, Variety, Insufficiency, and Invalidity of the things alledged and deduced before you against me, as well in the Commission and denunciation in divers parts, as also touching the Articles and Interrogatories so miniluted unto me; Lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretical and detestable persons, should be used after this strange sort, having done the best I could to declare mine obedience unto the Kings Most excellent Majesty, for the repressing and discouraging of Rebellion and rebellious persons, and for the advancement of the verity of Christs true body and his presence in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar. For which only the malicious denouncers with their complices have studied to molest and trouble me; although colourably they would be seen to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquility of this Realm, which our Lord God knoweth they care nothing for, but contrariwise do let and impeach the same, corrupting and infecting with thier poisoned and false Doctrine, and teaching the Kings Subjects in this Realm, to the great peril and danger thereof many ways; do answer unto certain pretended Articles and Interrogatories miniluted by you indeed unto me the said Bishop the thirteenth day of September, 1542, as followeth.

He minilutes the Book of Cont.

TO the first Article objected against me, beginning thus; First it is reported, &c. and ending thus, to observe and follow the same; I do say and for answer do refer me unto my former answers heretofore, that is to wit the thirteenth of September made and exhibited by me before you unto the said pretended denunciation, touching this matter; alledging wishal, that a report of things doth not absolutely prove, nor necessarily infer things to be in very deed true after such a sort, fashion, manner, and form, as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

After his long period well blowed up with much waste of words, at length he begins to shew himself to be an answerer to the Articles before objected.

To the second, beginning thus; Item, Whether that you, &c. and ending thus; as they were put unto you; I do answer and say, That this Article doth depend on the first Article next before, which after such sort, fashion, manner, and form as it is deduced, was justly by me, in my answer made unto the same, denied, and I therefore now not bounden by the Law efficones to make other answer thereunto.

Answer to the 2. Article.

To the third, being an Interrogatory, and beginning thus; Item, Whether, &c. And ending thus ye did preach; I do answer and say, That I began to write a piece of my Sermon, and being soon weary thereof, I did leave off, and did make only certain notes of my said Sermon, and put the same notes in writing of mine own hand, without help or Council of any other, and the same notes did shew unto my Chaplains *Master Gilbert Bourn* and *Master Jo. Harpsfield*, both before and also since my said Sermon, only desiring them to put me in remembrance of my said notes, and process to be made thereupon, and also to search out for me the names of such Kings as were in their minority when they began to Reign.

Answer to the 3. Article.

To the fourth Article beginning thus; Item, That ye to the 4 have not declared, &c. and ending thus, as it is in your Article; I do answer and say, That this Article doth depend upon the first and second Articles here before denied, deduced in such sort, manner, and form, as is expressed in the same, and moreover I say, that already answer is made hereunto by me, in my former answers made to the said pretended Denunciation.

To the fifth Article beginning thus; Item, That ye to the 5 have not, &c. and ending thus, declared it; I do answer and say, That this Article also doth depend upon the first and second Articles, and that answer is made thereunto by me already in my former answers made unto the said pretended denunciation. And moreover I do say, That for the better advancement and setting forth of the Kings Majesties Royal Power and authority even in his minority, and for the due obedience of his Majesties Subjects unto his Highness, even during the said minority, I had collected together as well out of Histories as also out of the Scripture of the old Testament, the names of divers Kings being in minority, who not withholding their said minority were faithfully, duly, and rever-

Answer to the 4. Article.

Answer to the 5. Article.

rently obeyed, honoured, served, taken and reputed for very true and lawful Kings, as *Henry* the Third, being but nine years old when he entred to reign and govern as King. *Edward* the Third, being but thirteen years of age. *Richard* the Second, being but eleven years old. *Henry* the Sixth, being not fully one year of age. *Edward* the Fifth, being but eleven years old. *Henry* the Eighth, being about eighteen years old; and so all these Kings beings in their minority as the Kings Majesty that now is, and yet having Authority and power Regal, as appertaineth; and in the old Testament, *Othas* and *Achaz* were very true Kings in their minority, being but sixteen years of age; *Solomon* and *Manasse* being but twelve years of age; *Jofias* and *Jachim* being but eight years of age, and *Jos* being but eight years old: All which things I say I had collected in notes, communicating the same with my said two Chaplains, and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbering of them, or in setting forth in my other notes at the time of my Sermon, I did fail, or have default of memory in any wise. And all these things I would have specially set forth in my said Sermon if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for disturbance of my memory not accustomed to preach in that place, partly also by reason of a certain writing that was sent to me from the Kings Majesties Privy Council, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victory against the Rebels, specially in *Norfolk*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*, confounding my memory in things which before I had set in good order, and partly also for the falling away of my Book in the time of my said Sermon, in which were contained divers of my said notes touching the Kings Majesties minority, as is aforesaid, having yet nevertheless otherwise in generality and speciality, perswaded the people to obedience, unto the Kings said Majesty, whose minority to them and all other is notoriously and manifestly known, and his Majesty, favouring of these late Rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeyed of all the rest of his Subjects.

To the 6 Article. To the sixth, which beginneth, Whether ye will, &c. And ending thus, The opinion or no; I do answer and say, that not knowing certainly of which Rebels the Article meaneth, nor yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make answer hereunto, nor yet can make good and perfect answer therein though I would.

To the 7 Article. To the seventh Article, beginning thus; Item, That ye know, &c. And ending thus, The Kings Majesties Book; I do answer and say, that albeit I have by the space of these five weeks last past and more, been in manner continually in business and trouble, as well in providing for my said Sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my Family, much vexed with sickness, to my great disquietness and charge, and also by reason that I have been so much troubled and cumbered by informations and complaints unjustly and uncharitably made against me, over and besides the having of divers and sundry persons, which daily resort and come unto me for their suits and business, both in matters of justice and otherwise, yet I have not omitted to send forth to my Archdeacons and other my Officers, to inquire and search diligently in this behalf, and to certify me accordingly, and yet I cannot hear certainly of any that have heard, been at, or celebrated Masses or Evenings in the Latine tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the house of my Lady *Maries* Grace, or in the houses of the Embassadors, nor yet there nor in any of them, but by flying and not assured report, and without knowing the names and persons for to have heard, been at, or celebrate the same, and in this behalf how far I can and ought to proceed and after what sort, I do refer me unto the Statute made in that behalf.

To the 8 Article. The eighth Article beginning thus, Item, That ye have, &c. And ending thus, Punishment unto them; I do answer and say, that this Article doth depend of the next Article going before, and so consequently answer is already thereto made.

To the 9 Article. To the ninth Article beginning thus, Item, that ye know, &c. And ending thus, Nor see them punished; I do answer and say, that touching such as either have been denounced or detected for such criminous and culpable per-

sons to me or my Officers, there hath been process already made before my said Officers, as it appeareth in my Register, and the Acts of my Court: And moreover I have given express commandment to my said Officers, to inquire and search for such offenders, and to certify me thereof, that I may proceed against them accordingly.

To the tenth Article beginning thus, Item, Ye were, &c. And ending thus, The Kings Majesties authority in his minority; I do answer and say, That as touching the time mentioned in the Article, and the Declaration to be made by Doctor *Cox*, I do not well remember either the same time, or yet the special points and substance of the said Doctor *Coxes* Declaration: Truth it is, I was at a Sermon made at *Pauls* Cross by the said Doctor *Cox*, where in he inveighed against my Lord of *Winchester*, and as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching disobedience, wherewith my Lord of *Winchester* by the said Doctor *Cox* seemed to be charged, and for a Sermon also that my Lord of *Winchester* was seeming to have made before the Kings Majesty in the Court of *Winchester*.

To the 11 Article. To the eleventh Article being by it self delivered unto me the fourteenth of this present September, 1549, in the Night at my House of *London* beginning thus, Item, That the rites, &c. And ending thus, The misuses thereof: I do answer and say, that I have already given commandment to my Officers to make diligent search and inquire herein, and to certify accordingly, to the intent I may proceed therein as appertaineth, and would before this time my self have also inquired and proceeded, had I not been of all sides oppressed and pestered with multitude of other necessary business, as I have been, to my great disquietness and trouble.

The 5 Article infinitely altered of Bonner. When he had ended the reading of these answers, the Commissioners said unto him that he had in the same very obscurely answered unto the fifth Article rehearsed the thirteenth of September; wherefore they would him there expressly to answer by mouth, whether he had according to the Injunctions delivered unto him, declared the Article beginning thus, You shall also set forth in your Sermon that our authority, &c. Wherunto he again answered, that he had already made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by Law.

The Judges then replied, that the answers already made in that part were obscure and in sufficient, so that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the same Injunction or not; and therefore they efficaciously willed him, as before, directly to answer whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the Bishop still answering as before.

The Judges again demanded of him, whether he would otherwise answer or no? To the which he said, no, unless the Law did compel him. Then they asked him whether he thought the Law did compel him to answer more fully or no? He answered, no; adding further that he was not bound to make answer to such positions.

The Commissioners, then seeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus in his frowardness, and would not otherwise answer, they would according to Law take him *pro confesso*, and *ex abundanti* receive witnesses against him, and therewithal did recite again to him six of the first and principal Articles, demanding his final answer thereto. Who said, as before, that he had already fully answered them by writing; but where they requested to have his notes, which he said he had made of his Sermon, they should have them if they would send for them. And whereas in his answer to the sixth Article he doubted what the opinion of the Rebels was, the Judges declared unto him that there opinion was, That the Kings Majesty, before his Grace came to the age of one and twenty years, had not so full authority to make Laws and Statutes, as when he came to opinions further years; and that his Subjects were not bound to obey the Laws and Statutes made in his young age. Wherunto the Bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion of the Rebels mentioned in that Article, as did well appear by his answers, as well unto the denunciation, as also unto the fifth Article objected against him.

Which

§ KING'S
Witnesses
against
Bonner.

Which ended, they, perceiving his scornful carelessness, presently did admit for witnesses, upon the Articles objected against him, Master John Cleeke, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Douglas, and Richard Chambers, whom also they orenated with a corporal Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, truly to Answer and Depose upon the same Articles in the presence of the Bishop, who under his former protestation, like a wily Lawyer, protested of the nullity of the receiving, admitting, and swearing of those witnesses, with protestation also to object against the persons and sayings of the witnesses in time and place convenient; demanding also a competent and lawful time to minister Interrogatories against them, with a Copy of all the Acts of that day. Wherewith the Delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to Minister his Interrogatories against Master Cleeke on that present day, and against the rest of the next day before noon.

Protestations and objections of Bonner against the witnesses.

All which Interrogatories who so listeth to peruse, may hereunder read the same as followeth:

Certain Interrogatories exhibited by Bonner to be Ministered against the foresaid Witnesses, upon the Articles above-mentioned the eighteenth of September.

I Edmund Bishop of London, under my protestations heretofore made before you, do minister these Interrogatories ensuing, against all and singular the pretended witnesses already received and sworn, as hereafter to be received and sworn against me the said Bishop in this matter, requiring and desiring under the said protestation, that all and singular the said pretended witnesses may be examined in virtue of their Oath upon the said Interrogatories, and every part and parcel of them.

1. First, That all and singular the said witnesses in virtue of their Oath be examined generally and specially of all and singular Interrogatories, commonly used and accustomed to be made in such matters, especially touching their age, their condition, their dwelling-place, now and heretofore, by the space of these twelve years last past, with whom all this time they have also dwelled, and been familiar or conversant, with the names and the places and persons and other circumstances expedient in this behalf, and by whom they have been found and maintained, and for what purpose. *Et interrogentur conjunctim, divisim, & de qualibet.*

2. Item, Touching the pretended Articles made in this behalf, and Injunctions mentioned in the same, that they and every of them, in virtue of the said Oath, may be examined whether they know their said Articles and Injunctions to be true in all parts, how they know them to be true, by whom, when, and in what place, deposing the formal words of the said pretended Articles and Injunctions in especial as they are deduced. The first Article. And therein let them Depose how he or they know the said Articles and Injunctions to be received from the Kings Majesty, how also he or they knew that I the said Bishop received the said Injunctions at the hands of the Lord Protectors Grace. How also they were sitting in the Council Chamber; moreover which were the rest of the Council then sitting, specifying their Names and Surnames, or Titles. Also whether the Tenth of August this present year, or of the last year; moreover whether the Articles or Injunctions were joynt together, or apart, whether the tenor thereof and the form and manner of the doing and following, touching me the said Bishop and also touching the preaching thereunto, was as is deduced in the first Article, declaring moreover, when, where, and how, I the said Bishop accepted the said Injunctions, or promised to observe and follow the same, and by what express words,

§ Anno 7
1549 § & interrog. ut supra.

3. Item, Whether the said witnesses or any of them were present at my last Sermon made at Paul's-Cross, where they then stood, by whom, when they came to it, and at what part of the said Sermon, how long they tarried thereat, at what part thereof or in all they were offended, what were the formal words, or at the leastwise in substance, that I the said Bishop then uttered, or where-

with they were offended, and by what occasion, and who with him or them did hear it, and in what place their contents did stand, how long they tarried, and at what part they came thither or departed thence, & interrog. ut supra.

4. Item, Whether the said witness or any of them were desired or required, by any person or persons, to be witnesses in this matter, and by whom, when, were, and how the same was done, and in whose presence, & interrog. ut supra.

5. Item, Whether they or any of them had consulted with other to come unto my Sermon, for what purpose, by whom they were induced and moved, and how they agreed, and what they did after my said Sermon for the impugnation or depraving thereof, & interrog. ut supra.

6. Item, Whether they or any of them have been or be conversant or familiar with any that hath been known, noted, or reputed for a Sacramentary, in denying the verity of Christs true and corporal presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, and whether he and they detest and abhor and abstain from the company of all such persons as be known, noted, or suspected for Sacramentaries in that behalf, and what Opinion he and they have with their contents touching the said presence, & interrog. ut supra.

7. Item, Whether they or any of them have wished me the said Bishop to be deprived or put in Prison, and whether they or any of them have reported and said that I shall be deprived or imprisoned, rejoicing thereof, and for what cause they have so wished or reported, or any of their contents, & interrog. ut supra.

8. Item, Whether they or any of them have been in times past a Friar, Preacher, Minorite, Anglutine, or Carmelite, Monk, Canon, Observant, or Religious Person, professing solemnly Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, according to the Laws, Customs, or Ordinances of this Realm, then used and observed, & interrog. ut supra.

9. Item, Whether they or any of them, being so protested, have been or be since that time married to any person, having likewise or otherwise been protested or loose, or been a Widow, and how oft they have been Married, and whether any of their Wives be yet alive, & interrog. ut supra.

10. Item, Whether they or any of them have read the Commission in this matter, and whether they or any of them do know or think, that the Commission, Injunctions, Articles, and Denunciation do agree together or no, and wherein they think or know discrepances, or diversities to be between them in this behalf, & interrog. ut supra.

11. Item, If they, or any of them do depose, That I have not sincerely and wholly declared as is contained in the Second Article, let him and every of them be examined, in virtue of their Oath, how they do know it, and by what means, declaring whom they think to have knowledge therein with them, & interrog. ut supra.

12. Item, If they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended in the Fourth Article beginning thus: Item, That ye have not declared &c. Let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of their Oath, whether they know that these words following, as Martins, Masses, now said after that sort in this Realm, were and be put in the Injunction pretended to be ministered unto me the said Bishop or no, & interrog. ut supra.

13. Item, If they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended touching the Fifth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of their Oath, whether the Injunctions pretended in this behalf were signed with the Kings usual Signet, or rather at all, whether it was Sealed with any Seal, whether it was subscribed by the Lord Protectors Grace, or any of the Privy Council, whether it was in full Council sitting delivered unto me by the Lord Protector, whether it was delivered to me, the rest of the Kings Majesties Privy Council there then sitting, whether the said days as is contained in the Fifth Article, by whom it was written, when, and where, & interrog. ut supra.

14. Item, If they or any of them depose that I do defend the Opinion of the Rebels, let them be examined, and every of them, what Rebels they be, what is their opinion, and how the Law of this Realm doth determine therein,

Interrogatories concerning the Second Article.

Interrogatories concerning the Fourth Article.

Interrogatories concerning the Fifth Article.

Bonner's Interrogatories concerning the Fifth Article.

therein, declaring by what words and facts I the said Bishop did speak and do, and at what time and place, and in whose presence such words or acts were spoken or done, & interrog. *ut supra*.

Interrogatories concerning the Seventh Article.

15. *Item*, If they or any of them do depose that I know or have heard say credibly, That since the time of the said pretended Injunctions, certain persons within my Diocese have heard, been at, or celebrate Mass or Evensong in the Latin Tongue, and after the old Rite and manner, other than according to the Kings Majesties Book, let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of his said Oath, how they know that I so know, or have heard say, and of the name or names of the party or parties, and of the time and place when, and where it was, and whether any denunciation or detection were, according to the Statutes and Ordinances of this Realm, made unto me or no, & interrog. *ut supra*.

Interrogatories concerning the Ninth Article.

16. *Item*, If they or any of them do say, that I know or have heard say of such notable Adulterers and Offences mentioned in the Ninth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of his and their Oath, what they do know that I do know, or have heard say, and who be the persons, where they dwell, who hath denounced or detected them, and how I could and ought to have cited them and punished them in this behalf, & interrog. *ut supra*.

Interrogatories concerning the Tenth Article.

17. *Item*, Whether they or any of them do say that I know certainly now, what Dr. Cox declared in his Sermon at Paul's-Cross, as is deduced in the Tenth Article, let them be inquired and every of them, in virtue of their Oaths how they can prove it, by whom, and after what sort, & interrog. *ut supra*.

Interrogatories concerning the Eleventh Article.

18. *Item*, If they or any of them do say, That I do know or bear certainly of the diversity of the Rites of the common Service of the Church, now set forth, and of the Ministers and Parsons transgressing therein, let them and every of them, in virtue of their Oath, be examined whether there hath been any detection or denunciation made to me thereupon, and how they know or can prove that I have been culpable and negligent herein, & interrog. *ut supra*.

19. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have been spoken unto or solicited herein to refuse, and after what sort, by whom, when, and where, and what was their conference and communication therein, & interrog. *ut supra*.

20. *Item*, That they and every of them declare and shew the true and sufficient cause of their Testimony, in all and singular the Premises.

By which it is manifestly evident that the King of Bonner is a schismatic.

After this the Judges Delegate assigned the Bishop to appear again before them upon Wednesday then next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight of the Clock before Noon, in the Hall of the Archbishops Mannor of Lambeth, there to shew the cause why he should not be declared, *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not then fully answered, and to see further process done in the matter; and so (he still protesting of the nullity and invalidity of all their proceedings) they did for that present depart.

The Commissioners certify the King of Bonner's demeanor.

In this mean while the Commissioners certified the Kings Majesty and his Council, of the Bishops demeanor towards them, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities, whether by the tenor of his Majesties Commission, the Commissioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but also at their meer Office; and also whether they might as well determine or hear the cause. Whereupon his Majesty by advice aforesaid, for the better understanding thereof, did the seventeenth of September send unto the Commissioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his Will and Pleasure in the foresaid Commission, giving them hereby full Authority to proceed at their own discretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenor thereof ensuing:

{RING}
{Edw. 6}

A certain Declaration or Interpretation of the King, touching certain points and doubts in his former Commission, with License given to the Commissioners, as well to determine as to hear, in the Case of Bonner.

Edward the Sixth by the Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in Earth the Supreme head: To the most reverend Father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of England, the right reverend Father in God Nicholas Bishop of Rochester our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Sir William Petet, and Sir Thomas Smith, Knights, our two principal Secretaries, and William May Doctor of Law Civil and Dean of Pauls, greeting: Where we of late, by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor of our Person, and Protector of our Realm, Dominions, and Subjests, and the rest of our Privy Council, have addressed unto you, five four, or three of you, our Letters Patents of Commission, bearing Date at Westminster the Eighth day of September, in the Third year of our Reigne, willing you by force thereof to hear the matters and cause of contempt therein expressed, and calling before you as well the denouncers thereof, as also the right reverend Father in God Edmund Bishop of London, against whom such Denunciation is made, as in our said Letters of Commission more at large doth appear, we be now credibly informed, that upon the said Commission divers doubts and ambiguities have and may rise.

As whether you by the tenor of the said Commission may proceed not only at the denunciation, but also of meer office.

And also whether ye may as well determine as hear the said cause.

For further declaration whereof we do now interpret *Ex Anno 1549* and declare, That our full Mind and Pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, was by our Commission, and now is, that you should proceed as well by meer Office, as also by the way of Denunciation, and either of them, or by any other ways or means at your discretions, whereby the truth and merits of the cause may be most speedily and best known, and that ye might and may as well finally determine as hear the said matters in all your orders and doings, cutting away all vain and superfluous delays, and having respect to the only truth of the matter. And this our Declaration we send unto you of our full knowledge and meer motion, by the advice aforesaid, supplying all defaults, ceremony, and point of the Law, which hath, shall, or may arise of your doings by reason of any default of words in our said former Commission or any part thereof, any Law, Statute, or Act to the contrary notwithstanding. And therefore we Will and Command you to proceed in the said matters accordingly, as well to our foresaid Commission as this our Declaration, and so sail ye not. In Witness whereof we have made these our Letters Patents.

At Hampton-Court the seventeenth day of September.

The Fourth Session against Bonner, Bishop of London, before the Kings Commissioners, in the great Hall at Lambeth, the Eighth of September.

After this Declaration being sent down and received from the King, the Bishop of London, (according to the Commissioners Assignment the Monday before) appeared again before them upon Wednesday the Eighth of September, in the great Hall at Lambeth. Where under his wonted profection, first he declared, That although he had already sufficiently answered all things, yet he ought further to satisfy the term Assigned unto him, to shew not to be declared cause why he ought not to be declared, *pro confesso*, upon *pro confesso*, the

The Fourth Session against Bonner, before the Kings Commissioners, in the great Hall at Lambeth, the Eighth of September.

**{ KING }
{ Edm. 6 }** the Articles theretofore ministered against him, and to the which he had not fully answered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not so to be declared, which he read there openly. Wherein first under his accustomed unreverent terms of pretended, unjust, and unlawful Process and Assignation, he said he was not bound by the Law (for good and reasonable causes) to obey the same, especially their Assignation.

**Caufes al-
leged of
Bonner,
why he
ought not
to obey the
Commis-
sioners Af-
signation.** And first, for that the same was openly pronounced by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the pretended Commissioners, without the consent of his pretended Collegues; or at the least he as a Commissioner did prescribe the Actuary what to write, which he ought not to have done, because by Law he ought not to have intermeddled therein, for that his Collegues did the first day begin to sit as Judges against him the Bishop, without the presence of the said Sir Thomas Smith.

**The Second
Cause.** And Secondly, because his answers, as well unto the pretended Denunciation, as also to all the Articles theretofore objected against him, were as full and sufficient, as the Law required (or at leastwise there was nothing good in Law apparent to the contrary) and therefore he was not enforced by Law further to answer thereto without further allegation.

**The Third
Cause.** And because also that all their proceedings thereto were so extraordinarily done, that they had confounded all manner of Lawfull Process, sometimes proceeding *ad denuncian-
dam*, sometimes *ex officio mero*, and sometimes *ex officio missa*, contrary unto the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, and contrary also unto their Commission in that behalf.

**The Fourth
Cause.** And likewise because divers of the Articles pretended were superfluous and impertinent, not revealing, though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falsity, some obscure and uncertain, some depending upon other Articles, either denied or at the least qualified, some captious and deceitful to bring the answer into a snare, and some also being Articles of the Law, in such sort as by the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm the Kings Subjects were not bound to make answer thereto.

**The Popes
Lave.** And lastly, because that Sir Thomas Smith Secretary to the Kings Majesty, when that the Bishop was last with the Council in the Council Chamber at White-Hall, after the departure of the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, did himself alone (without any other) write certain Articles, or Injunctions (amongst the which was that of the Kings Authority in his minority) and afterward did Copy the same at the Table within the said Council Chamber, and so himself did deliver them unto him. By reason whereof that is not true, which in the Commission, Denunciation and Articles was deduced and objected against him.

**The intoler-
able con-
tempt and
unreverent
behaviour
of Bonner
toward and
openly
reproved.** When these fond and frivolous objections were thus read, the Archbishop feeling his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very sharply, saying, My Lord of London, if I had sitten here only as Archbishop of Canterbury, it had been your part to have used your self more lowly, obediently and reverently towards me than you have; but seeing that I with my Collegues sit here now as Delegates from the Kings Majesty, I must tell you plain, you have behaved your self too much inordinately. For at every time that we have sitten in Commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us, with divers of the Servants and Chaplains, as also unto certain of the ancientest that be here, calling them Fools and Daws, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I assure you my Lord, there is you and one other Bishop whom I could name, that have used your selves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby you have done much harm.

**The words
of the Arch-
bishop to
Bonner.** At which words the great Bishop (a Beast, a Man might justly term him) said comrally to the Archbishop, You shew your self to be a meet Judge.

**Bonner's
careless
answer to
the Arch-
bishop.
The Arch-
bishop.** The Archbishop then proceeding, laid to his charge how indifferently the last day in the Chappel he had called all the people Woodcocks.

Whereunto he answered, That the last Session William Latimer, one of the denouncers, being there present, had practised with the Audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should (and did as it were by a token given them) say as he said, and do as he did; as one time upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, Nay, nay; and at another time, Yea, yea, and laughed they could not tell wherewith, with such like fashions.

Unto which words Latimer, feeling his vain suspicion, replied saying, That he lifted not up his Hand at any time but only to cause them to hold their peace.

Then Secretary Smith said to the Bishop, That in all his Writings and Answers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the Kings Commissioners, but used always protestations with divers in-
**Bonner's
The vain
suspicion of
Bonner.** hom and naughty terms, calling them pretended Commissioners, pretended Delegates, pretended Commission, pretended Articles, pretended proceedings, so that all things were pretended with him. Indeed (said he) such terms the Proctors of Churches use, to delay matters for their Clients, when they will not have the truth known: But you my Lord to use us, the Kings Majesties Commis-
**The words
of Secretary
Smith to
Bonner.** sioners with such terms, you do therein very lewdly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did the Rebels?

For when Letters or Pardons were brought them from the King and his Council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the Kings or his Councils, but Gentlemens doings, and made under a Bush, with such like terms. But now my Lord, because hitherto we cannot make you confess whether, in your Sermon that you Preached, ye omitted the Article touching the Kings Majesties Authority in his tender age or not, but still have said that ye will not otherwise answer then ye have done, and that ye have already sufficiently answered (with many such delays) so as we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did yea or nay; therefore I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other Articles wherewith you shall be Sworn, and then I trust you will dally with us no more as you have done. For although ye make your Answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by us and make your Answers by mouth to the same Articles, or else you shall do worse. Indeed I do not (as I said) discommend your protestations and terms of Law, if it were in a young Proctor that would help his Clients Cause; but in you it may not be suffered so to use the Kings Commissioners.

Then did the Delegates minister unto him certain new Articles and Injunctions, and did there operate him with a corporal Oath in form of Law to make a full and true answer thereto. The Bishop notwithstanding still (according to his wonted manner) under his former protestation protested of the nullity and invalidity of these Articles, Injunctions, and Process, desiring also a Copy thereof, with a competent time to answer thereto. To whom the Judges Decreed a Copy, commanding him to come to his Examination to the Archbishop the next day at Eight of the Clock before Noon.

Then the Commissioners did receive for witness, upon these new Articles now ministered unto the Bishop, Sir John Mason, Sir Thomas Chalenor, Knights, Master William Cecil, Armigel Wade, and William Hanning, Clerks to the Kings Majesties Council, whom they operated with a corporal Oath in the presence of the Bishop, who still protesting of the nullity of their receiving and swearing, objected against them and their sayings; and therewith, repeating his Interrogatories already ministered, said he had more to minister by to morrow at Eight of the Clock.

The same day and time likewise the Bishop exhibited unto the Commissioners an Information, or rather Cavillation against William Latimer, for that he, notwithstanding that he had in all his talk pretended the great tranquillity of this Realm, which was greatly impeached and hindered when that any the Kings Subjects should think that his Majesty hath not as full Power and Authority Royal in his minority, as when his Majesty came to perfect age, or should think that his Subjects were not bound

**Bonner's
The vain
suspicion of
Bonner.**

**The words
of Secretary
Smith to
Bonner.**

**All things
pretended
with Bonner
that made
against him.**

**Bonner and
the Rebels
compared
together.**

**New Arti-
cles and In-
junctions
ministered
to Bonner.**

**Bonner de-
sires to
answer the
next
day to ap-
pear.**

**New wit-
nesses
against
Bonner.**

**Bonner's In-
formation
against
William
Latimer
that he
preached.**

bound to obey the same; yet hath of late there in open Audience reported, That he hath heard with his Ears divers persons unreverently speak of the Kings Majesty, saying, Truth, the King is but a Babe or Child, what Laws can he make? Or what can he do in his minority? Let him have a Toffe and Butter, or Bread and Milk, and that is meet for him than to make Laws and Statutes, or to bind us to obey them; we are not bound to obey till he be past his minority, and come to his full and perfect Age; with the hearing of which words the Bishop also charged the Commissioners, and that because *Laisher*, at the recital of the same in their presence, was neither by them controlled, nor yet caused to bring forth the same persons, but was let pass in silence, saying that he the said Bishop did speak against him in that behalf, saying, That he would detect him, because that, as it appeared, he had of long time concealed the words and not opened the same in such place and to such persons as he ought to have done, but had kept the persons and sayings of them secret, either not taking the matter to be of such importance as he pretended, or else thereby unfaithfully behaving himself towards his Prince, and therefore was worthy with his aids, favourers, and counsellors to be punished.

William Laisher impeached of treason for concealing of treason.

A new term assigned to Bonner to appear.

These vain Cavillations ended, the Commissioners for that day finished their Session, assigning the Bishop to appear in that same place again upon Monday then next following, between the hours of Six and Nine, in the Forenoon, then and there to shew a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*. And so delivering him a Copy of the Articles, they departed; the Contents whereof ensue:

Articles and Positions given by the Kings Commissioners to the Bishop of London, to be Answered by him jointly and severally in every point the second time.

Articles against Bonner registered the second time.

1. That ye were sent for to the Lord Protector's Grace, and the rest of the Council, and came thither into the Court at *Westminster* the tenth of *August*, or some other day of the same month.

2. Item, That at the same time the Lord Protector and divers other of the Kings Majesties Privy Council sitting in Council, ye were called in, and there the said Lord Protector did on the Kings Majesties behalf declare unto you divers faults and abuses the which were found in you, and gave you strict charge to amend them, adding threatening that else you should be otherwise looked unto.

3. Item, That the said Lord Protector's Grace did declare unto you, for better admonition and amendment of you, that you should have from the Kings Majesty, by his advice and the rest of the Privy Council, certain Articles and Injunctions, to observe and follow, given you in writing.

4. Item, That there and then the said Lord Protector commanded Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, Secretary to the Kings Majesty, to read a certain Paper Book of Injunctions and Articles unto you, the said Secretary standing at the Council-Tables-end, and you standing by and hearing the same.

5. Item, That the said Lord Protector there and then willed certain things in the said Book of Injunctions to be reformed, as where ye were appointed to preach sooner, at your request it was appointed unto you to preach the Sunday three weeks after the Date of the said writing.

6. Item, That in the said Articles the Lord Protector's Grace found fault, because an Article or Commandment unto you set forth and declared of the Kings Majesties Authority now in his young age, and of his Laws and Statutes in the same time, was omitted, and therefore either immediately before you came into the Council-Chamber, or you being present and standing by, commanded the said Secretary *Smith* to put in writing and annex it to the rest of the Articles.

7. Item, That the said Secretary *Smith*, then and there did, immediately upon commandment, write into the said Book or Paper, wherein the rest of the Articles were

written, the said Article, *viz.* you shall also set forth in your Sermon, that the Authority of our Royal power is (as truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than was of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of *Josiah* and other young Kings in the Scripture, and therefore all our Subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws, and Statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

8. Item, That the Lord Protector did so deliver you the Book or Paper, willing first the said Secretary *Smith* to amend all things as he had appointed.

9. Item, That ye then and there did promise to the Lord Protector's Grace, that ye would observe and fulfil all in the said Injunctions and Articles contained.

10. Item, That all things in the said Book, put in and mentioned by the said Secretary *Smith*, and the same so read to you by him, and you first agreeing that all that was by him so written was by the Lord Protector's appointment, the said Book was so delivered unto you then and there by the said Secretary *Smith* in the Council-Chamber.

11. Item, That you have the said Book in your possession, or else know where it is, the true Copy whereof in effect is annexed to these Articles.

12. Item, That ye were commanded in the same Injunctions to preach the Sunday three weeks after the delivery thereof at *Pauls*, and there to intreat upon certain Articles, as is specified in the said Book of Injunctions, and especially the said Article, beginning, Ye shall also set forth, and ending, Thirty or forty years of age.

13. Item, That for the accomplishment of part of the said Injunctions and Commandment, you did preach the first day of *September* last past at *Pauls*'s-Cross.

14. Item, That at the said Sermon, contrary to your Injunctions, ye omitted and left out the said Article, beginning, Ye shall also set forth in your Sermon, &c. and ending, Thirty or forty years of age.

15. Ye shall also answer whether ye think and believe that the Kings Majesties subjects be bound to obey as well the Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, and other Ordinances made now in this young age of the Kings Majesty, as the Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, and Ordinances made by his Highness's progenitors.

These Articles being thus ministered to the said Bishop of *London*, the next day being Thursday and the Nineteenth of *September*, the fore-named Commissioners fate in the Archbishops Chamber of presence at *Lambeth*, attending the coming of the Bishop of *London*. Before whom there appear *Robert Johnson* the Bishops Register, and there did declare unto the Commissioners, that the Bishop his Master could not at that time personally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health, because that he feared to fall into a Fever by reason of a cold that he had taken by too much over-watching himself the last Night before, whereby he was compelled to keep his Bed: nevertheless, if he could without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the same day at Afternoon. This excuse the Judges were content to take in good part. Yet said Master Secretary *Smith*, That if he were sick indeed, the excuse was reasonable, and to be allowed, but (quoth he) I promise you, my Lord hath so dallied with us, and used hitherto such delays, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse: Howbeit upon your faithful Declaration we are content to tarry until one of the Clock at Afternoon, and so they did, willing Mr. *Johnson* to signify then unto them whether the Bishop could appear or not.

At which hour *Robert Johnson* and *Rich Rogers*, Gentlemen of the Bishops Chamber appeared again before the Commissioners, declaring that (for the causes aforesaid) their Master could not appear at that time neither. Whereupon Master Secretary *Smith* said unto them, My Lord of *London* your Master hath used us very homely, and fought delays hitherto, and now perhaps, perceiving these last Articles to touch the quick, and therefore loth to come to his Answer, he feigneth himself sick. But because he shall not so deceive us any more, we will send the Knight Marshal unto him, willing him if he be sick indeed to let him alone, for that is a reasonable excuse; but if he be not sick, then to bring him forth-

KING'S Edw. 6.

Bonner for fear of a Fever either could not or durst not appear.

Bonner pretended again his Fever.

Bonner excuse of sickness not well taken of the Commissioners.

KING with to us; for I promise you he shall not use us as he hath done, we will not take it at his hands: and therefore Master *Johnson*, said he, you do the part of a truly servant as becometh you, but it is also your part to shew my Lord his stubborn heart and disobedience, which doth him more harm than he is aware of. What, thinketh he to stand with a King in his own Realm? Is this the part of a subject? Nay, I ween we shall have a new *Thomas Becket*. Let him take heed, for if he play these parts he may fortune to be made, shorter by the head. He may appeal if he think good; but whether? To the Bishop of *Rome*? So he may help himself forwards. I say he cannot appeal but to the same King who hath made us his Judges, and to the Bench of his Council, and how they will take this matter when they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make Men believe that he were called before us for preaching his Opinion of the Sacrament, wherein

ABNO I assure you he did both fully and naughtily, yea and lewdly, and more than became him, and more than he had in commandment to do, for he was not willed to speak of that matter, and perhaps he may hear more of that hereafter; but yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him to delay us as he doth. Which ended, the Delegates notwithstanding Decreed to tarry again for him until two of the Clock at Afternoon the next day, being Friday, and the twentieth of September.

The Fifth Action or Process the twentieth of September, against Bonner Bishop of London, before the Kings Commissioners.

AT which day and time the Bishop appeared himself personally before them in the same Chamber of Presence; where first he did exhibit his Answers unto the last Articles ministred unto him the Eighteenth of September: the Contents whereof hereunder follow:

The Answer of the said Bishop of London made unto the Articles ministred unto him the Second time.

THE Answers of me *Edmund Bishop of London*, under mine accufed Profection given unto the Articles of late ministred and exhibited against me here in this Court, with special profection also, that I do not intend in any wise to make Answer to any of the said Articles, otherwise than the Law of this Realm doth bind me to do, nor to speak or say contrary to any thing that in my former Answers I have said or done; and that if it so chance me to do, it is not nor shall not be with my good will or full consent, and that so soon as I shall perceive it, I intend to revoke it, and so now as then, and then as now, do so in that case revoke, to all honest and lawful purposes.

To the First Article I do answer and say, that there was a Messenger, whose name I know not, that came unto me to *Fulham*, as I now remember, but I do not remember the day thereof, and he said that my Lord Protector's Grace required me to come by and by to speak with him. And thereupon, having made the said Messenger to break his fast, I repaired to the Court at *Westminster*, but not upon the Tenth day of *August*, but some other day of the said month.

To the Second Article I do say, That it is obscure, incertain, and over general, especially in those words at the same time, which may be referred to the Tenth of *August*, and then answer already is made thereunto, and it may be referred to some other day of the said month of *August*, either before the Tenth of *August*, or after. And because it remaineth undeclared, I am not bound in Law to answer unto it, neither yet to these words and sentences in the said Article, to wit, Then, and There, for they without declaration are incertain, obscure, and general, and I, before the specification and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an answer, specially having already made full and sufficient answer in this matter, according to the Commission, as I do take it, and according unto the Law; which also willeth, That if a certain answer be looked for, the Petition and Article must before be certain.

To the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Articles, he answereth all after one manner and sort, as thus, That it doth depend on the Articles, to which for causes aforesaid, he saith, he is not bound in Law to make answer, especially having already made.

Saving that in the Sixth he addeth thereunto, That he at no time heard the Lord Protector find fault, nor commanded, as is deduced in the said Article, so far as he doth find.

Also saving the Seventh Article, where he addeth nevertheless confessing and acknowledging, with heart and mouth, the Kings Majesties Authority and Regal Power and Minority, as well and full as in his Majority.

Also saving the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Articles, where he addeth, As they be deduced they are not true, as appeareth in conferring one with another.

To the Twelfth and Fourteenth Articles, he addeth, As they be deduced they are not true; Confessing nevertheless the Kings Majesties Authority and Power Regal, as before is exprest.

To the Fifteenth Article he answereth and saith, That it is a Position in Law; and that yet both now and heretofore he hath made answer thereunto in effect and substance, as appeareth in his former answers, and so shall do always according to the Law and his bounden duty, acknowledging, as he hath already done, the Kings Majesties Regal Power in his Minority to be no less than in his Majority, and the subjects bound to obey unto his Grace, his Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, and his said Authority, as well in his Minority as in his Majority, not allowing, but expressly condemning the Opinion of all Rebels holding the contrary.

After this, perceiving that Master Secretary *Smith* was somewhat more quick with him than others of the Commissioners, and that he would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain quiddities and subtilties in Law, but ever earnestly urged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithal sometimes sharply rebuking him for his evil and stubborn behaviour towards them; he to deface his Authority (as he thought) did also then exhibit in writing a Reculation of the Secretaries Judgment against him. The form and manner whereof, as he exhibited it unto the Judges, I thought here also to exhibit unto the Reader as hereunder followeth:

The Reculation of the Judgment of Sir Thomas Smith, made by the Bishop of London, the first time.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as equity, natural reason, and all good Laws do require that Judges shall be of that Integrity, Wisdom, Circumspection, Learning, and Indifferency, that exercising the office and room of a Judge, they may and shall do it without hatred, malice, or grudge against any person convented or called before them, uprightly, sincerely, and duly executing and doing their office unto them in any wise committed; and forasmuch also as all Judgments and Processes ought to have their due course, and proceed without suspicion of corruption in any wise, and finally forasmuch as very dangerous it is to appear and make defence before an incompetent Judge, who commonly and accustomedly of private and unlawful corrupt affection to the one side, and for malice, hatred and envy born against the other side, rather serveth his carnal, corrupt, and wilful appetite, than any thing else is moved to obedience and keeping of good Order, Law, or Reason, touching him that is convented and compelled to make answer against his will: Therefore *Edmund Bishop of London*, having perceived and felt by all the sayings, proceedings, and doings of you Sir *Thomas Smith, Knight*, one of the two principal Secretaries to the Kings Majesty, in this matter attempted and moved against me, that ye have been, and yet continually are a notorious and manifest enemy of me the said *Edmund*, and much offended that I should in any wise alledge and say, or use any such things for my most defence, as the Law giveth me licence and liberty to do, yea, bearing most favourably and effectually my denunciations and enemies

He saith he is not bound in Law to make answer

Answer to the Twelfth and Fourteenth Articles

Bonner is somewhat more quick with him than others of the Commissioners

He is moved to obedience and keeping of good Order, Law, or Reason

Bonner is somewhat more quick with him than others of the Commissioners

with both ears in any thing that they shall alledge, purpose, attempt, or do against me, though their persons in Law are not in any wise to be heard or admitted, ne yet their sayings true, and not hearing me so much as with one Ear in my Lawfull sayings and doings in this behalf; but contrariwise opening your mouth at large, ye have sundry times against good Wisdom and Reason outraged in words and deeds against me the said Edmund, saying among other words, That I did as Thieves, Murderers, and Traitors are wont to do, being my self as ye unwisely did say, inward indeed culpable, and yet outward otherwise unable to defend the matter against me, but only by taking exceptions, and making frivolous allegations against my Judges and Commissioners, and that I have been and am as surdy, wilful, and disobedient, as may be in your Judgment and Opinion, maintaining and upholding the Rebels and their Opinions, and that I shall answer by mouth, or else smart and do worse, or else ye will send me to the Tower, there to sit and be joynted with Ket and Humphry Arundel the Rebels; over and besides divers other threatenings and comminatory words by you pronounced and uttered unseemly, and far unmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you that are in such room and place as ye be in.

And moreover, increasing your malice, evil will and grudge born against me, ye have amongst other things unwisely surmised, written, alledged, and said, That a certain Book of Articles and Injunctions by the Lord Protectors Grace in the full Council after a certain prescribed fashion and form in the Denunciation, Commission, and Articles, which (de facto) were induced, brought in and objected against me, was delivered unto me; and moreover of an evil will and ungodly intent and purpose, contrary to the truth, ye have withdrawn, added, altered, and qualified divers things in the same, otherwise than they were spoken and done, and yet ye are not ashamed to alledge, write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all points with the other, where indeed it is not so: And yet have further (de facto) against the Law, and against the Commission to you directed, and against my just and lawful allegations and sayings, proceeded unlawfully and unjustly against me, attempting many things against me unlawfully and unjustly, as appeareth in the acts of this matter, to the which I do refer me so far forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alledged, and referred unto your self also unlawfully and unjustly (de facto) with your Colleague, the which without you had begun the said matters, proceeding where by the Law ye ought not to have done indeed, but abstained therefrom, as heretofore sundry times I have alledged, appearing in the acts of this Court; do upon these just and reasonable causes, according to the order of the Kings Majesties Ecclesiastical Law, refuse, decline, and recuse you the said Sir Thomas Smith, as an uncompleint, unmeet, and suspect Judge, against me in this behalf, and decline your pretended Jurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesaid, desiring nothing but Justice, and offering my self prompt and ready to prove them as far as I am bound, and according to the order of the Kings Majesties Ecclesiastical Law of this Realm in this behalf, as time, place, and otherwise shall require.

This Recusation ended, the Secretary told him plain, That notwithstanding he would proceed in his Commission, and would be still his Judge until he were otherwise inhibited; and said unto him further, My Lord, whereas you say in your Recusation, that I said, That you did like Thieves, Murderers, and Traitors, indeed I said it, and may and will so say again, since we perceive it by your doings.

Whereunto the Bishop in a great and stout rage replied, saying, Well Sir, because you lit here by virtue of the Kings Commission, and for that ye be Secretary to his Majesty, and also one of his Highness Council, I must and do honour and reverence you; but as you be but Sir Thomas Smith, and say as ye have said, That I do like Thieves, Murderers, and Traitors, I say ye lie upon me, and in that case I defie you; and do what ye can to me, I fear you not, and therefore, *quod facis, fac citius*.

Whereat the Archbishop with the other Commissioners said unto him, That for such his unreverent behaviour he was worthy Imprisonment.

Then the Bishop, in more mad fury than before, said again unto him, A Gods Name ye may do *de facto*, send me whether you will, and I must obey you, and so will, except ye send me to the Devil, for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have (to wit) a small portion of Goods, a poor Carcase, and mine own Soul: the two first ye may take (though unprofitably) to you, but as for my Soul ye get not, *Quia anima mea in manibus meis semper*.

Well, said the Secretary then, ye shall know that there is a King.

Yea Sir, (saith the Bishop) but that is not you, neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you.

No Sir, said again the Secretary, but we will make you know who it is; and with that the Commissioners commanded the Bishop and all the rest to depart the Chamber, until they called for him again.

Now in the mean while that the Commissioners were in consultation, the Bishop with Gilbert Beorn his Chaplain, Robert Warrington his Commiffary, and Robert Johnson his Register, were tarrying in a quadrant void place before the Door of the same Chamber. Where the Bishop leaning on a Cupboard, and seeing his Chaplains very sad, said unto them in effect as followeth: Sirs, what mean you? Why flew you your selves to be sad and heavy in mind, as appeareth to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would wish you, and I require you to be as merry as I am (saying therewith his hand upon his Brest) for afore God I am not sad nor heavy, but merry and of good comfort, and am right glad and joyful of this my trouble, which is for Gods cause, and it grieveth me nothing at all.

But the great matter that grieveth me and pierceth my heart, is, for that this Hooper and such other vile Heretics and Beasts be suffered and licensed to preach at Pauls Crofs, and in other places within my Diocess and Cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ his true Body and Blood to be there, and so infect and betray my Flock. But I say it is there in very deed, and in that Opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore, ye being Christian men, I do require you and also charge and command you in the Name of God, and on his behalf, as ye will answer him for the contrary, that ye go to the Mayor of London, and to his Brethren the Aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly in Gods Name and mine, and for mine own discharge on that behalf, that from henceforth, when any such detestable and abominable Preaches (and especially those which hold opinion against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar) do come to preach unto them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and do not hear them, lest that they tarrying with such Preachers, should not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned Doctrine, but also give a visage to the encouragement of others, which thereby might take an occasion to think and believe that their erroneous and damnable Doctrine is true and good: and this efforts I require and command you to do.

And then turning himself about, and beholding two of the Archbishops Gentlemen, which in the same place kept the Chamber-door where the Commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake unto them also and said, And Sirs, ye be my Lord of Canterburie Gentlemen, I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you in Gods behalf, and in his Name, that ye do the like for your parts in places where you shall chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous Preachers, and also advertise my Lord your Master of the same, and of these my sayings that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are Christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary.

With this the Commissioners called for the Bishop again, who did read unto them an Instrument, containing a Provocation to the King, which he made in manner and form here following:

KING
Edw. 6
Bonner.

gray God
ye go not
for your
soul.

Secretary
Smith.

Bonner.

Secretary
Smith.

Bonner talks
to his Chaplains
in the
quadrant
place before
the Chamber
of presence
at Lambeth.

Here Bonner
obdurate
heart
burneth out

Bonner's
Popish
malice
and charge
to the Lord
Mayor and
Aldermen.

Bonner's
trifling
charge
to two of
the Arch-
bishops
Gentlemen.

Here Bonner
most proudly
dareth
not to bely
the Kings
Secretary,
and one of
his Masters
Council,
charging
him with
altering
and adding
unto the
Councils
Injunctions.
Ann. 1550.

The Popes
Law is
determined
by the
Name of
the Kings
Ecclesiastical
Law.

The reply
of Secretary
Smith to
Bonner's
allegation.

Bonner.

Bonner is
petting
chiefly
against
Sir Thomas
Smith.

The Arch-
bishop.

{ KING }
{ Edw. 6 }

The first Appellation intimated by Edmund Bonner Bishop of London.

Bonner appeals to the King because he could not to the Pope.

IN the Name of God, Amen. It shall appear to all men by this publick instrument that An. Dom. 1549, the twentieth day of September, the third year of the reign of our Most high and renowned Prince Edward the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth the supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, in a Chamber within the Palace of the said Bishop, situated in London, and in the presence of me the publick Notary, and of the Witnesses hereafter named, the foresaid Bishop did personally appear, and there did shew forth in writing a certain protestation and appellation, the tenor whereof is such.

IN the Name of God, Amen. I Edmund Bishop of London, say, alledge, and propound before you being a publick Notary, and these credible Witnesses here present, that although I the foresaid Edmund have attained the Bishoprick aforesaid by the benevolence of the famous Prince of memory King Henry the eighth, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, with his rites and appurtenances, have of a long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same, and presently do possess, being taken as Bishop and lawful possessor of the said Bishoprick, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed notoriously and publicly, and moreover do keep residence and hospitality on the same, according to the order, state, person, and dignity, and as the revenues of the same would permit, and have exercised and done all things appertaining to my pastoral Office, as the Law do require, as hereafter I trust by Gods grace to do and observe, a man of good name and fame, neither suspended, excommunicate, nor enterdicted, neither convicted of any notable crime or fact, always obeying readily the commandment of the Church, and other my superiours in all lawful causes, nevertheless fearing upon certain probable causes, likely conjectures, threatnings, and assertions of certain injurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little favour me, that great damage may come to me hereafter about the premises or part of them; and lest any man by any authority, commandment, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me or my said dignity, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoyling, vexing and perturbing by any manner of means, do appeal unto the most high and mighty Prince our Sovereign Lord Edward the sixth by the grace of God, King of England, France, &c. and in these my writings do provoke and appeal to his regal Majesty. I do also require the Apostles, so much as in this case they are to be required, the first, second, and third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be given to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my foresaid most dread Sovereign Lord, for the safeguard of me, my dignity and title, and possession in the premises, and to all that will cleave to me in this behalf. I do also protest, that I will be contented to correct, reform, and amend this my present protestation, and to the same to add, to take away, and to bring the same into the best form and state that may be devised, by the Council of learned men, or as the case shall require, and the same to intimate according to time and place, and the order of the Law, and still shall require.

Apostles is a term of Canon Law, and signifies as much as letters or verbal or dispositive. { Anno 1549 }

Upon all the which things the foresaid Edmund Bishop of London did require the publick Notary hereunder written to make unto him, and the Witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.

These things were done the year, day, and time above written, there being present Gilbert Bourn Bachelor of Divinity, John Harpsfield and Robert Colen, Masters of Art, John Wakeling and Richard Rogers learned men, being of the Diocess of Worcester, Westminster, Coventry, Litchfield, and Gloucester, and specially requested to be Witnesses of the same. And I Francis Harward of the Diocess of Worcester and publick Notary by the Kings regal Authority, forasmuch as I was present when the foresaid protestation, appellation, and other the premises

were done, the year of our Lord, the year of the Reign of the King, the day of the month and place aforesaid, the witnesses above named being present, and forasmuch as I did in all the same, therefore to this present publick instrument, written faithfully with mine own hand, I have put to my mark, being specially requested unto the same.

Which thing after he had read, he did under his protestation first intimate unto the Archbishop, the Bishop of Rochester, and Doctor May, and then protesting also not to recede from his reculation, did likewise intimate the same unto Master Secretary Smith, requiring the Register to make an Instrument as well thereupon, as also upon his reculation, with Witnesses to testify the same.

Then the Delegates did again proceed to the examination of the last answers, and finding the same imperfect, they demanded of him (according to the first Article) what special day of August he was sent for by the Lord Protector? To whom he obediately answered, that he was not bound to make other answer than he had already made, unless they did put their Articles more certain: neither would he otherwise answer as long as Master Secretary Smith was there present, whom he had before refused, and therefore would not recede from his reculation.

The Secretary, seeing him so wilful and perverse, said sharply unto him, My Lord, come off and make a full and perfect answer unto these Articles, or else we will take other order with you to your pain.

In faith Sir, then said the Bishop again, I thought ye had been learned, but now before God I perceive well that either ye be not learned indeed, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently, and have so oft shewed causes sufficient and reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled (you shewing nothing to the contrary but sensuality and will) that I must needs judge that you are too ignorant herein.

Well, said M. Secretary, ye will not then otherwise answer?

No, said the Bishop, except the Law do compel me. Then said the Secretary, call for the Knight Marthal, that he may be had to Ward.

With that all the rest of the Commissioners charged the Bishop, that he had at that time findry ways very outrageous and irreverently behaved himself towards them sitting on the Kings Majesties Commission, and especially towards Sir Thomas Smith his Graces Secretary, and therefore, and for divers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marthalley.

By this time the Marthals Deputy came before them, whom M. Secretary commanded to take the Bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him that no man might come unto him, for if he did, he should sit by him himself.

When the Secretary had ended his talk, the Bishop said unto him, Well Sir, it might have become you right well that my Lords Grace here present, being first in Commission, and your better, should have done it.

Then the Commissioners assigning him to be brought before them on Monday next before Noon, between seven and nine of the clock in the Hall of that place, there to make full answer to these Articles, or else to shew cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, did for that present break up that Session.

Now as the Bishop was departing with the under Marthal, he in a great fury turned himself again toward the Commissioners, and said to Sir Thomas Smith: Sir, where ye have committed me to prison, ye shall understand, that I will require no favour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put unto me, as Bolts on my heels, yea, and if ye will, from about my middle, or where ye will.

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, and so foming out his poison, said unto the Archbishop: Well, my Lord, I am sorry that I being a Bishop am thus handled at your Graces hand; but more sorry that ye suffer abominable Hereticks to practise as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the Kings liege people: and therefore I do require you, as you

Bonner fell quiett his speech, censure, and protestation to be entered in Registers

The last after over of Bonner to the Articles examined, and found imperfect.

Bonner could not be had to the Marthalley.

Bonner great heart could not chafe, but he must needs utter his humours

Bonner threat-
eth to accuse
the Arch-
bishopp be-
fore God.

will answer to God and the King, that ye will henceforth abstain thus to do; for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the Kings Majesty; answer to it as well as ye can. And so he departed, using many reproachful words against sundry of the common people, which stood and spake to him by the way as he went.

The sixth Action or Process upon Monday the 23d of September, had against Bonner Bishop of London, before the Commissioners, in the great Hall at Lambeth.

The 6. Act
tion or ap-
pearance of
Bonner.

IT was assigned as ye have heard in the fourth Act prosecuted the eighteenth of September, that upon Monday then next following, being the three and twentieth of the same Month, the Bishop should again appear before the Commissioners, within the great Hall at Lambeth, then to shew a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignment, the same three and twentieth day of September, the Bishop was brought before them by the Undermarshal (to whom for his disobedient and obnoxious behaviour he was before that time committed) and there did first declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coerced, for that he was against his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marshalsey, and therewithal also under his former protestation, recantation and appeal, did then again intimate a general recantation of all the Commissioners, alleging in the same, that because the Archbishop with all his Collegues had neither observed the order of their Commission, neither yet proceeded against him after any laudable or good fashion of judgment, but contrariwise had sundry times as well in his absence, as in his presence, attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity and state, especially in committing him to strait Prison, and yet commanding him to make answer; and further, because that he with the rest had proceeded in Commission with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, supporting and maintaining all his evil doings (notwithstanding that he the said Bishop had before justly refused and declined from him) he therefore did also there refuse and decline from the judgment of the said Archbishop and his Collegues, and did except against their jurisdiction as suspect, and they thereby unmeet persons to proceed against him; therefore, according to his former Appeal, he intended to submit himself under the tuition, protection, and defence of the Kings Majesty; for whose honour and reverence false (he said) they ought not to proceed any further against him, but quietly suffer him to use the benefit of all the recantations, provocations, and other lawful remedies before alleged, with other superfluous words, at large to be read and seen as followeth.

The second recantation made by Edmund Bonner Bishop of London.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as both natural reason and all good policies of Laws, especially of this Realm of England, do admit and suffer him that is convicted before an incompetent and suspect Judge, to refuse him and to decline his jurisdiction, in as much as Law and reason on the one side willeth proceed to run uprightly and justly, and that on the other side corruption and malice labourereth to the contrary, and needeth therefore to be bridled; and because ye my Lord of Canterbury with your Collegues in this behalf (deputed as ye say Commissioners against me) neither have observed your said Commission, neither yet proceeded hitherto against me after any laudable, lawful, or any good fashion of judgment, but contrariwise, contrary to your Commission, and against the Law, good reason and order, have at sundry times, and in sundry acts attempted and done many things against me unlawfully, unseemly, and unjustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by other,

not reforming and amending the same, as appeareth in divers and sundry things remaining in your Acts.

And moreover, because you my said Lord with your said Collegues, have both in mine absence, being let with just causes of impediment, which according to the Laws of this Realm I have fully alleged, and very sufficiently and fully proved according to the order of the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, injuriously, and much to the hinderance of my name, person, title, dignity, and state, and also otherwise, specially in my presence, against all Laws, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground attempted and done many things against me, especially touching mine imprisonment, sending me to strait Ward, and yet commanding me to make answer, as appeareth in your unlawful Acts.

I for these causes, and also for that yemy said Lord and your said Collegues proceeding with Sir Thomas Smith Knight (whom upon just and lawful causes I have refused, recused and declined) have favoured, yea maintained, supported and born him, in his unlawful and evil doings, do also refuse, recuse and decline you my said Lord with the rest of your said Collegues agreeing and joining with you, and also except against your proceedings, doings and jurisdiction as suspect, and thereby unmeet persons to proceed herein against me.

And further I do allege, that having been provoked to the Kings most excellent Majesty, as appeareth by the tenor of my provocation, remaining in your Acts, whereunto I do protest that I intend to adhere and cleave, submitting my self unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his said Majesty in this behalf, ye in any wise ought not (if ye regard the person and authority of his Graces royal power, as ye ought to do) proceed herein against me, especially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his Majesty in this behalf. And because it appeareth that ye do not duly and circumpectly consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieve me; that considered, I both here to all purposes repeat my former recantation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have used and mentioned in your said Acts.

And also do by these presents refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, and your said Collegues, and your jurisdiction, upon causes aforesaid, offering my self prompt and ready to prove all the same, afore an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and form of the Law herein to be chosen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to bear to our said Sovereign Lord, and his Laws allowed and approved in this behalf, that ye do not attempt or do, ne yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wise against me, or unto my prejudice, but suffer me to use and enjoy the benefit of my said former and this recantation, provocation, allegation, and other lawful remedies mentioned in your said Acts. And in case ye do *de facto*, where ye ought not *de jure*, to attempt or suffer any thing to be attempted or do ne against me in any wise herein, I protest herewith, and hereby, of my great grief and hurt in that behalf, and that not only I do intend to appeal from you, but also, according to the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, to accuse and complain upon you, as justly and truly I both may and ought to do.

Notwithstanding these recantations, and former appellations, the Archbishop with the rest told him plain that they would be still his Judges, and proceed against him according to the Kings Commission, until they did receive a *Superseas*, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

Then the Bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, did there likewise intimate another appellation unto the Kings Majesty, expressing therein in effect no other matter, but such as is already alleged in the two former recantations and appeals: saving that he requirith that Letters dimissories or appellatories might be given him according to the Law, and that for his better safeguard he did submit himself under the protection of the King.

The Commissioners for all this stuck still unto their Commission, and would not in any case defer, but urged him straitly to make a more full answer to his Articles than he had done.

{ KING
Edw. 6 }

{ Ann.
1550 }

A general
recantation
of Bonner ap-
gainst all
the Commis-
sioners.

Bonner still
sheweth to
his former
protestation
and provoca-
tions.

Another ap-
pellation of
Bonner to
the King.

KING To whom the Bishop said, that he would stand unto his reculations and appellations before made, and would not make other answer.

Bonner standing up on his reculations and appellations, denieth he make answer.

Then the Delegates demanded of him what cause he had to alledge, why he ought not to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the Articles whereunto he had not fully answered, the Bishop still answering (as before) that he would adhere unto his appellation and reculation.

Bonner declared *Consumax* & *pro confesso*, that he was guilty.

Whereupon the Archbishop, with consent of the rest, seeing his pertynacy, pronounced him *Consumax*, and in pain thereof declared him *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles which he had not answered.

This done, Maister Secretary Smith shewed forth a Letter which the Bishop of London had before that time sent unto the Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the City of London, the tenor whereof ensueth as followeth.

To the Right honourable and my very good Lord,
The Lord Maior of London, with all his worshipful Brethren, my very dear and worshipful Friends, with speed.

Bonner Letter to the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London.

Right honourable, with my very humble recommendations: where I have perceived of late and heard with mine ears, what vile Beasts and Hereticks have preached unto you, or rather like themselves prated and vailed against the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, denying the verity and presence of Christ's true Body and Blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list, teaching you desperately, That Faith in this behalf must not be coerced, but that every Man may believe as he will: by reason whereof, left my presence and silence might unto some have been seem to have allowed their heretical Doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my Flock of the Catholick sort, ye know I departed Yesterday from the heretic Praters uncharitable charity, and so could have wished that you and all other that be Catholick should have done, leaving those there with him that be already cast away, and will not be recovered. For you tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt your selves in receiving his poisoned Doctrine, but also shall give a visage that their Doctrine is tolerable by reason that ye are content to bear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again in Gods behalf, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not your selves to be abused with such naughty Preachers and Teachers, in hearing their evil Doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all with this noble City in all good rest, godliness, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the 16th of September 1549.

Your faithful Reads man and
poor Bishop Edmund Bonner.

Bonner delivered still the next Friday and from that still Tuesday after.

This Letter being read, the Secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not. To whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand unto his former reculations and appeals. Which the Commissioners, seeing, determined to continue this case in state as it was until Friday then next following, between the hours of eight and nine of the clock before Noon, assigning the Bishop to be there at the same time and place, then to hear a final Decree of this matter, he still protesting as before.

The seventh Session or appearance of Bonner upon Tuesday the fourth of October, before the Kings Commissioners at Lambeth.

The 7. Session or appearance of Bonner

Upon Friday the Commissioners, for divers urgent causes letting them, did not sit in Commission according to their appointment, but deferred it until Tuesday the fifth of October then next following. Upon which day the Bishop appearing before them, the Arch-

bishop declared unto him, that although as upon Friday last they had appointed to pronounce their final Decree and Sentence in this matter, yet so far as they thought that that Sentence (although they had just cause to give it) should have been very fore against him, they had not only deferred the same until this day, but minding to be more friendly to him than he was to himself, and to use more easie, and gentle reformation towards him, had also made such sute and means for him, that although he had grievously offended the Kings Majesty, and very disobediently behaved himself, yet if he would in the mean while have acknowledged his fault, and have been contented to make some part of amends in submitting himself according to his bounden duty, he should have found much favour: So the Sentence should not have been so fore and extrem against him, as it was like now to be, for which they were very sorry, especially to see the continuance of such stubborn disobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give such sentence against him.

The Bishop nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but persisting still in his wonted contumacy, draw forth a Paper, whereon he read these words following.

I Edmund Bishop of London brought in as a prisoner by his keeper, one of the Marshalsey, here before you my Lord of Canterbury and your pretended Collegues, do under my former protestations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your Act declare that this my protest here at this time is not voluntary, nor of mine own free will and consent, but utterly coerced and against my will, and that being otherwise sent for or brought before you than I am (that is as a prisoner) I would not, being at liberty, have come and appeared before you, but would have declined and refused to make any appearance at all, and would have absented my self from you, as lawfully and well I might have done, standing to, using and enjoying all and singular my lawful remedies and defences heretofore used, exercised and enjoyed, especially my provocation, and appellation heretofore interposed and made unto the the Kings most excellent Majesty, to whom I am, Ex abundant, I have both provoked and appealed, and also made supplication, as appeareth in these writings, which, under protestation aforesaid, I do exhibit and leave here with the attuary of this cause, requiring him to make an Instrument thereupon, and the persons here present to bear record in that behalf, especially to the intent it may appear, I do better acknowledge the Kings Majesties Authority even in his tender and young age, provoking and appealing to his Majesty, as my most gracious Sovereign and Supreme head, with submission to his Highness (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my evasion and defence, than otherwise (I do mean you my Lord of Canterbury and your said pretended Collegues) which by Law and good reason ought to have deferred and given place unto such provocation, appellation, and supplication, as heretofore lawfully have been by me interposed, and made unto his Majesties most Royal Person and Sovereign Authority in this behalf.

As soon as the Bishop had read these words, he did deliver as well that Paper, as also two other, unto the Actuary, the one containing an appellation, and the other a supplication unto the Kings Majesty; which appellation beginneth thus. In the Name of God, Amen.

Wherein first he shewed how natural every Creature declineth gladly from that thing which goeth about to hurt it, and also seeketh help and remedy to withstand such hurts and injuries.

Further he shewed that it is found by experience to be hurtful and dangerous to trust him that once hath hurt and beguiled, lest he might add more, rather than to take ought from.

Moreover he shewed, that he had found heretofore at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the Collegues in this matter, much extremity and cruelty, injuries, losses, and griefs, contrary to Gods Law, and the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and against Justice, Chantty and good order, being well assured if they were not stayed but proceeded, they would add more evil to evils, loss

The friendly words of the Commissioners to Bonner.

Ambo } 1549.

A declaration of Bonner before the Commissioners.

Bonner pretended submission to the King.

to loss, displeasure to displeasure, as (said he) their Servants have reported, and they agreeably do shew the same.

Again in the said Appeal he shewed that the Bishop of Canterbury and the other Commissioners ought to have considered and done better in that matter for honour and obedience to the Kings Majesty, which hitherto they have not done (said he) in that they have not given place to his provocations and appellations heretofore made unto him, justly and lawfully, and upon good and just causes, namely, for the unjust griefs they did against him, which he said do appear in the Acts of that matter: as in pronouncing him *contumacem* unreasonably without good cause, and further in assigning the Term *ad audiendum suale decretum*, and in committing him to straight prison, as appeareth in their Acts. Therefore he did not only, *Ex abundantia, ad omnem juris cautelam*, decline and refuse their pretended jurisdiction as before, but also by these presents here shewed, he did appeal from the said Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest, unto the Kings Majesty, asking also those Letters of appeal which the Law doth admit, and he did not intend to go from his former provocations and appellations, but to joyn and cleave unto them in every part and parcel, submitting himself to the protection and defence of the Kings Majesty: and he therein made intimation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to his said Collegues, to all intents and purposes that might come thereof.

Furthermore, as touching the supplication above mentioned, which Bonner (as we said) put up in Writing to the Commissioners, the Copy thereof hereunder likewise ensueth.

The supplication of Bonner to the Chancellor of England, with all the rest of the Kings Majesties most honourable privy Council.

Please it your most honourable good Lordships, with my most humble recommendations, to understand, that albeit I have according to the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm made supplication, provocation, and appellation unto the Kings most excellent Majesty, from the unlawful and wicked process of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, Master Secretary Smith, and the Dean of Pauls, as also as will from their unjust interlutory; as also their definitive sentence, whereby in Law I ought to have liberty to come abroad and prosecute the same, yet such is the malignity of the Judges against me, with bearing and maintenance of other which sundry and many ways have sought my ruine and destruction, that I am here penned and locked up, used very extremely at their pleasure, and for the contentation of the said Master Smith, not suffered to find surerries, or to go abroad to prosecute and sue my said appellation.

In consideration whereof, it may please your said good Lordship to take some order and redress herein, especially for that it is now the time that the Kings Subsidy, now due, ought to be called upon, and Justice also ministered unto his Majesties Subjects, which, being as I now am, I cannot be suffered to do. And thus without further extending my Letter therein, considering that your great wisdom, experience, and goodness can gather of a little, what is expedient and necessary for the whole, I do beseech Almighty God to preserve and keep well all your honourable good Lordships.

Written in haste this seventh of October, 1549, in the Marshalsey.

Your honourable Lordships poor Orator, and most bounden Bondsman,

Edmund London.

These things ended, the Archbishop said unto him: My Lord, where you say that you come coasted, or else you would not have appeared, I do much marvel of you. For you would thereby make us and this audience here believe, that because you are a prisoner, ye ought not therefore to answer. Which if it were true, it were enough to confound the whole State of this Realm.

For I dare say, that of the greatest Prisoners and Rebels that ever your Keeper there (meaning the under Marshal) hath had under him, he cannot shew me one that hath used such defence as you here have done.

Well (quoth the Bishop) if my Keeper were learned in the Laws, I could shew him my mind therein.

Well, said the Archbishop, I have read over all the Laws as well as you, but to another end and purpose than you did, and yet I can find no such priviledg in this matter.

Then Master Secretary Smith did very fore burthen and charge him, how disobediently and rebelliously he had always behaved himself towards the Kings Majesty and his Authority.

Whereupon, the Bishop under his Protestation answered again. That he was the Kings Majesties lawfull and true Subject, and did acknowledge his Highness to be his gracious Sovereign Lord, or else he would not have appeared unto him as he did, yea, and would gladly lay his hands and his neck also under his Graces Feet, and therefore he desired that his Highness Laws and Justice might be ministered unto him.

Yea (quoth Master Secretary) you say well my Lord, but I pray you what other hath all these Rebels both in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and other places done? Have they not said this? We be the Kings true Subjects, we acknowledge him for our King, and we will obey his Laws, with such like: and yet when either commandment, Letter, or Pardon was brought unto them from his Majesty, they believed it not, but said it was forged and made under a Hedge, and was Gentlemens doings, so that indeed they neither would nor did obey any thing.

Ah Sir, said the Bishop, I perceive your meaning: as who should say that the Bishop of London is a Rebel like the people them. Yea by my Troth, quoth the Secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Then the Dean of Pauls said unto him, That he marvelled much, and was very sorry to see him so untractable, that he would not suffer the Judges to speak.

To whom the Bishop disdainfully answered; Well, Master Dean, you must lay somewhat. And likewise at another time as the Dean was speaking, he interrupted him and said, You may speak when your turn cometh.

Then said the Secretary Smith, I would you knew your duty.

I would (quoth he again) you knew it as well as I: with an infinite deal more of other such stubborn and contemptuous talk and behaviour towards them. Which the Commissioners weighing, and perceiving no likelihood of any tractable reason in him, determined that the Archbishop, with their whole content, should at that present there openly read and publish their final Decree or Sentence definitive against him. Which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the Bishoprick of London, and further as in the same appeareth, in tenor as followeth.

Sententia deprivationis lata contra Edmundum London. Episcopum.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas misericordie divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Anglie Primas & Metropolitani, Nicholaus eadem misericordie Rossensis Episcopus, Thomas Smith miles, illustrissimi in Christo Principis & Domini nostri Domini Edwardi sexti, Des gratia, Anglie, Francie, & Hybernie Regis, fidei defensoris, & in terris Ecclesie Anglicane supremi capituli, Secretariorum principatum alter, & Wilhelmus May, juris Civilis Doctor, Ecclesie Cathedralis divi Pauli Decanus, dicti illustrissimi Principis, & Domini nostri Regis, ad infra scripta, una cum eximio viro Domino Wilhelmo Petro Militre, ejusdem serenissime Regie Majestatis etiam Secretariorum principatum altero, Commissarii sive Judices delegati cum ista clausula, videlicet, Deputamus vos quinque, quatuor vel tres vestrum, &c. Rite & legitime deputati contra Edmundum permisso divina London. Episcopum in causa & causis, in literis Commissionibus dictae serenissime Regie Majestatis expressis, & specificatis, rite & legitime procedentes & judicialiter inquirentes, auditisque per nos & intellectis ac primo examine debiti

maturs

Letters of appeal called Appells.

The copy of Bonner's supplication.

{KING} {Edm. 6}

Bonner.

The Arch. bishop.

Secretary Smith.

Bonner.

Secretary Smith. Bonner compared to the Rebels of Devonshire.

Bonner. The people laughing at Bonner.

Doctor May.

Bonner with his taunts.

Secretary Smith.

Bonner. The contemptuous talk of Bonner.

The Archbishop answered to the words of Bonner.

KING mature discussis meritis & circumstantiis causæ & causarum inquisitionis ejusmodi, servatisque ulterius per nos de jure in hac parte servandis in presentia sui Episcopi antedicti, judicialiter coram nobis constituti, ac protestantis de coactione, & de cæteri, prout in ultima protestatione hodie per te facta continetur, ad definitionem causæ & causarum hujusmodi, prolationemque sententiæ nostræ, sive nostri finalis decreti, super eisdem ferendum sic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia tam per acta innotuit, deducta, proposita, exhibita, allegata, probata, pariter & confessata in causa & causis hujusmodi, facta habita & iusta, quam per confessionem tuam propriam, factique notorietatem, & alia legitima documenta, evidentem invenimus, & compertum habemus te prefatum Episcopum London. inter cætera, pro meliori officii tui pastoralis administratione, in mandatis habuisse, ut de his qui duas aut tres uxores aut maritos in unum haberent, aut qui externos & non probatos Ecclesiasticos in hoc regno sequerentur, quibus rebus tua Diocesis Londinensis, præcipue erat infestata, inquireret, seque ea facere omnino neglecti: Item expresse tibi per Regiam Majestatem prescriptum fuisse, ut ipse Episcopus adesses concionibus ad crucem Pauli habitis, tam ut eas honestares tua presentia quam ut possis eos accusare, si qui male ibidem concionarentur, te tamen contra non salum abussu, sed etiam scriptis literis, Majorem London. & Aldermannen, ut inde recederent admonuisse & exhortatum fuisse: Item, inter alia quoque per Regiam Majestatem tibi injuncta in mandatis tibi datum fuisse, quod articulum quemdam, statum reipublice tunc periculosissima rebellionis proditorum contra illum articulum sententium gravissime perturbatæ præcipue concerneret, & propterea supremum, necessarium, & specialiter tibi injunctum, videlicet

Ye shall also set forth in your Sermon, that our Authority of our Royal Power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this your younger age, than is and was of any of our Predecessors, though the same were much older, as may appear by example of Josias and other young Kings in Scripture. And therefore all our Subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws and Statutes, than if we were thirty or forty years of age.

Apud crucem sive suggestum Divi Pauli London. certo die tibi in ea parte præfixo, & limitato in publica tua concione, tunc & ibidem populo recitares, & explicares, seque modo & forma præmissa eundem articulum iuxta mandatum, & officii tui debitum recitare & explicare minime curasse, sed contumaciter & inobedienter omisisse, in maximum Regiæ Majestatis contemptum, ac in ejus regni præjudicium non modicum, necnon in subditorum suorum malum & perniciosum exemplum, contumaciæque & inobedientiæ multiplicem, tam in hac nostra inquisitione, quam alias perpetrasse, commississe & contraxisse: Idcirco nos Thomas Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus Primas & Metropolitanus, judexque delegatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris præponentes, de & cum expresso consensu pariter & assensu Collegarum nostrorum prædictorum una nobiscum assidentium, deque & cum consilio Jurisperitorum, cum quibus communicavimus, in hac parte, Te Edmundum London. Episcopum antedictum a tuo Episcopatu London. una cum suis juribus & pertinentiis commoditatibus, & cæteriis emolumentis quibuscumque deprivandum & prorsus amovendum fore de jure debere, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, prout per præsentem sic deprivamus & amovimus per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.

Which ended, the Bishop immediately did therefrom appeal by word of mouth, alledging, that the same Sentence there given against him, was *Lex nulla*. The tenor of whose words I thought here to express, according as they were by him uttered, in this wise as followeth.

I Edmund Bishop of London, brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do under my former Protestation heretofore made, and to the intent it may also appear, that I have not being so here in this place,

consented nor agreed to any thing done against me and in my prejudice, alledge and say that this sentence given here against me, is *Lex nulla*; and so far forth as it shall appear to be Aliqua; I do say it is Iniqua & Injusta, and that therefore I do from it, as Iniqua & Injusta, appeal to the most excellent and noble King Edward the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also Ireland, next and immediately under God here on Earth, Supreme head, and unto his Court of Chancery or Parliament, as the Law, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm will suffer and bear in this behalf, desiring instantly first, second and third, according to the Law, Letters, reverential or dismissores, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessary in any wise; and thereupon also the said Bishop required the publick Notary or Attorney, William Say, to make an Instrument, and the witnesses aforesaid and other present to record the same. To whom so appealing, and requiring as aforesaid, the said Judges delegate said, that they will declare and signify to the King's Majesty what is done in this matter, and thereupon will defer or not defer to his said appellation, according as his Graces pleasure and commandment shall be given to them in that behalf, and after all this, the said Bishop of London said to them, Jam functi estis officio. What will your Grace do with me now, touching my imprisonment? Will ye keep me still in prison? Shall I not now be at liberty to prosecute mine appeal? To whom the Archbishop answering, said, That they perceived now more in that matter than they did at the first, and that this matter is greater Rebellion than he is aware of, and therefore said that as yet they would not discharge him, and thereupon they committed him again to his keeper in prison.

This talk finished, the Archbishop considering that most of the audience there present did not understand the meaning of the Sentence being read in the Latin Tongue, said to them, Because there be many of you here that understand not the Latin Tongue, and so cannot tell what judgment hath been here given, I shall therefore tell you the effect thereof; and therewith did declare in English the causes expected in the Sentence, adding thereunto these words,

Because my Lord of London is found guilty in these matters, therefore we have here by our Sentence deprived him of our Bishoprick of London; and this we shew unto you to the intent that from henceforth ye shall not esteem him any more as Bishop of London.

Then Bonner desired the Archbishop to declare likewise what he had done, and how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his froward contempt, refused it, saying, you may do it your self. Whereupon very disdainfully again he said, Jam functi estis officio. What will your Grace do with me touching my imprisonment? Will you keep me still in Prison?

To whom the Commissioners answered, That they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was greater Rebellion than he was aware of, and therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him again to his Keeper to be kept in prison. Where he most justly remained until the death of that most worthy and godly Prince King Edward the Sixth. After which time he wrought most horrible mischief and cruelties against the Saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole Reign of Queen Mary. From the executing of the which like Tyranny the Lord of his great mercy keep all other such, Amen.

Now, immediately after his deprivation, he writeth out of the Marthaley other Letters supplicatory unto the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the Kings Council. Wherein he thus complaineth, that by reason of the great enmity that the Duke of Somerset and Sir Thomas Smith bare unto him, his often and earnest Sutes unto the King and his Council could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desired their Lordships, for the causes aforesaid, to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute his matter before them, and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their honours as appeareth by the words of his own supplication hereunder following.

Letters reverential or dismissores.

Ann. 1549

The Archbishop declared the effect of Bonner's sentence in English.

Bonner deprived and unhithoped.

Bonner desired words to the Commissioners.

Bonner again committed to his keeper.

Thus after the Commissioners had finished with Boner, he being now Prisoner in the *Marshalsey*, leaving no shift of the Law unfought how to work for himself as well as he might, drew out a certain Supplication, conceived and directed to the Kings Majesty, out of the said Prison of the *Marshalsey*.

To the right Honourable, my Lord Chancellor of England, with all the rest of the most honourable Privy-Council.

PLEASE it your most Honourable good Lordships with my most humble Commendations to understand, that albeit heretofore I have made such Suit, and to such persons as I cannot devile to make more, or to more higher; that is to wit, to the Kings most excellent Majesty, and his most gracious Person in divers sorts, and also unto your most honourable good Lordships being of his Privy-Council, for redress of such notable and manifest injuries and extremities as have been contrary to all Law, Honesty, and good Reason inflicted upon me by my Lord of *Canterbury*, my Lord of *Rochester*, Doctor *Smith*, and Doctor *May*: yet because the said Doctor *Smith* being a Minister to the Duke of *Somerset*, and they both my deadly Enemies, hath sundry ways studied and laboured my ruine and destruction, staying and letting heretofore all my lawful Remedies and Suits, having therein help and furtherance of these two other aforesaid persons, being ready at foot and hand to accomplish all their desires and pleasures, I shall at this present, having for a time forborn to trouble (for good respects) your most honourable good Lordships with any my Suits, and especially for your other manifold great affairs in the Kings Majesties businesses, my self yet, the mean while, neither wanting good will, ne yet just cause (being where I am) to make such Suit, renew my Suit, and most humbly beseech your most honourable good Lordships to give me leave to make most humble Supplication again to your said Lordships, for honest and lawful liberty to prosecute my Appellation and Supplication heretofore made to the Kings most excellent Majesty, and according to the Law to make my suit for redress of the said great and manifest injuries, extremities, and wrongs done against me by the said persons. And your said Lordships, over and besides the furtherance of Justice many ways herein to me and other, and the Collection of the Kings Majesties Subsidy now to be levied of the Clergy in my Diocese, which hitherto hath been and is staid by reason of the premises, shall also bind me most greatly and intirely to pray daily for the good preservation of your said most honourable good Lordships in all honour, felicity, and joy, long to continue and endure unto Gods pleasure. Written in the *Marshalsey* the 26th of October, 1549.

Your Lordships most faithful and assured
Beadsman Edmund London.

A Supplication made and directed by Edmund Bonner, late Bishop of London, to the Kings Majesty, out of the Prison of the *Marshalsey*.

Bonners
Supplicati-
on to the
King.

IN the which Supplication, first after the used form of stile, he prayed for the prosperous estate of the King long to Reign. Then he shewed that his faithful heart and service to him hath, is, and shall be, as it was to his Father before.

Then he declared how he had been belied of evil men, and misreported not to bear a true heart to his Grace, but a rebellious mind, in denying his Royal Power in his Minority, where indeed he faith, His Grace should find him always during life both in heart, word and deed to do and acknowledge otherwise, and to be most willing to shew, &c. and to do all other things for his Grace, as willingly as any other Subject, or as those that were his denouncers, who he thought were not sent of his Grace, but pretended Commissioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certain Commissioners (who said they were sent by his

Grace) alledging the same not to be lawful; and of his long and sharp imprisonment, and that the Commissioners observed neither Law nor reasonable Order, but extremity. And where he had made Appeal to his Grace, and he could not have it; he desired to have Law to prosecute and sue his Appeal for his remedy, and that he (considering his Vocation) might not be shut up and put from liberty, which his meaneest Subjects have.

Then he desired his Graces Letters of *Saperfedees* against the Commissioners, and that the matter might be heard before the Council, and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithful man, and herein to have wrong. So in the end he concluded, this (prostrating himself even to the very ground, and humbly kissing his Graces Feet) to be the only thing which he humbly desired, &c.

THIS done, and the Supplication perused, the King effusions giveth in charge and commandment to certain men of Honour and Worship, and Persons skillful in the Law, as to the Lord *Rich*, high Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Marquis *Dorset*, the Bishop of *Ely*, Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *William Herbert* Knights, Doctor *Rich*, *Wootton*, *Ed. Montague*, Lord Chief Justice, Sir *John Baker* Knight, with Judge *Hales*, *John Gofnold*, Doctor *Oliver*, and also Doctor *Layton*, that they scanning and perusing all such Acts, Matters, and Minuments of the said Bonner by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alledged, with all and singular his Protections, Recusations, and Appellations, should upon mature consideration thereof give their direct answer upon the same, whether the Appellation of the said Bonner were to be deferred unto whether the Sentence defined against him stood by the Law sufficient and effectual, or not. Who effusions after diligent discussion and considerate advisement had of all and singular the premises, gave their resolute answer, that the pretended Appellation of *Edmund Bonner* aforesaid was naught and unreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred unto; and that the Sentence by the Commissioners against him, was rightly and justly pronounced. And this was the conclusion of Bonners whole matter, and deprivation for that time.

Thus then leaving Doctor Bonner a while in the *Marshalsey* with his Keeper, we will proceed (the Lord permitting) further in the course of our story, as the order of years and time requireth. And although the trouble of the Lord Protector falleth here jointly with the deprivation of Doctor Bonner, yet because he was shortly again delivered out of the same through the Lords mighty working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his second trouble, which was two years after; and so in the mean time, returning again into our discourse, intend by the Lords leave to collect and continue the matters begun, touching the Kings godly proceedings for reformation of Religion in the foresaid year of our Lord, curring, Anno 1549.

And here first a note would be made of *Peter Martyr* and of his learned travels, and disputation in the University of *Oxford* the said present year with Doctor *Chedsey*, and other more about the matter of the Sacrament; which was, that the substance of Bread and Wine was not changed in the Sacrament, and that the Body and Blood of Christ was not carnally and bodily in the Bread and Wine, but united to the same Sacramentally.

In like manner, some touch or mention here also would be made of the Ecclesiastical Laws, for the gathering and compiling whereof thirty two persons were assigned by Act of Parliament the said present year, 1549. But because these be rather matters of tractation, than historical, I mean (God willing) to defer the further consideration thereof unto the end of the History of this Kings days, and so to pass forward to other matters in the mean while.

Books of Latine-Service called in and abolished.

IT followeth then in story, that certain of the vulgar multitude, hearing of the apprehension of the Lord Protector, and supposing the alteration of publick Service into

KING
Edm. 6

Bonners Ap-
pellation
to the King
perused and
tried, and
found by
the Law un-
effectual
and unreaso-
nable.

The Sentence
of Bonners de-
privation by
the Peers
and learned
men of the
Realm,
found to be
just and
lawful.

The first
trouble of
the Lord
Protector
was about
the month
of October,
1549.

Disputati-
on of Peter
Martyr
with Doctor
Chedsey in
Oxford.

Ecclesiasti-
cal laws by
Act of Par-
liament to
be compiled
by 32 per-
sons. Stat.
An. 3 Ed. 6.

Erill dispo-
sed people
thinking to
have their
Latine-Ser-
vice again
after the
suppression
of the Lord
Protec-
tor.

{ KING } into English, and Administration of the Sacrament and other Rites lately appointed in the Church, had been the act chiefly or only of the said Lord Protector, began upon the same to noise and brute abroad, that they should now have their old *Latine-Service* with holy Bread and holy Water, and their other like superstitious Ceremonies again: whereupon the King, with the body and state of the Privy-Council then being, directed out his Letters of Request, and strait commandment to the Bishops, in their Dioceses, to cause and warn the Dean and Prebendaries of their Cathedral Churches, all Parsons, Vicars and Curates, with the Church-Wardens of every Parish within their Dioceses, to bring in and deliver up all *Antiphoners, Missales, Grailes, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Piet, Portusces, Journals, and Ordinals* after the use of *Salus, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford*, or any other private use, and all other Books of Service, the having whereof might be any let to the Service now set forth in English, charging also and commanding that all such as shall be found stubborn or disobedient in this behalf should be committed unto Ward.

The Kings Commandment to the Bishops.

Books of Latine Service called in. Ann. 1549.

Common Bread used in the holy Communion.

And because the King moreover was advertised, That there was a slackness and frowardness among the people, refusing to pay toward the finding of Bread and Wine for the holy Communion, by reason whereof the Communion in many places was omitted, the Bishops in like manner had given in charge to provide for redress thereof, and to punish them which should refuse so to do. Whereby it may appear to us now, that no Wafer-Cakes, but common Bread was then by the Kings appointment ordinarily received and used in Churches. This was about the later end of December, Anno 1549.

Taking down of Altars, and setting up the Table in stead thereof.

Taking down Altars.

Furthermore, in the year next following, 1550. other Letters likewise were sent for the taking down of Altars in Churches, and setting up the Table in stead of the same, unto *Nicholas Ridley*, who, being Bishop of *Rocheſter* before, was then made Bishop of *London* in *Bonnys* place. The Copy and Contents of the Kings Letters are these, as followeth.

The Kings Letters to Nicholas Ridley Bishop of London, &c.

The Kings Letter to Nicholas Ridley then Bishop of London.

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where it is come to our knowledge, that the Altars within the most part of the Churches of this Realm being already upon good and godly Considerations taken down, there do yet remain Altars standing in divers other Churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our Subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance ingender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by these and such like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our Royal Office and Cure, we do accompt the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our Realm; we have thought good by the advice of our Council to require you, and nevertheless especially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said Altars, to give substantial Order throughout all your Dioceses, that with all diligence all the Altars in every Church or Chappell, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said Dioceses, be taken down, and in stead thereof a Table to set up in some convenient part of the Church, within every such Church or Chappell, to serve for the ministracion of the blessed Communion. And to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving Subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose, the which, and such other as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared

Altars taken down and destroyed.

Considerations to be used to persuade the people.

to the people by some discreet Preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking down of the said Altars; so as both the weak Consciences of other may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the foresaid Considerations in that our Cathedral Church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise by your Chancellor, or some other grave Preacher, both there and in such other Market-Towns and most notable places of your Dioceses, as you may think most requisite.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of Westminster, the 24th day of November, the fourth year of our Reign.

Edward Somerset,
Thomas Crammer,
William Walsbyrne,
John Warwick,
John Bedford,
William North,
Edward Clinton,
H. Wentworth,
Thomas Ely.

Reasons why the Lords Board should rather be after the form of a Table, than of an Altar.

The first Reason.

First, The form of a Table shall more move the simple from the superstitious Opinions of the Popish Mals, unto the right use of the Lords Supper. For the use of an Altar is to make Sacrifice upon it; the use of a Table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now when we come unto the Lords Board, what do we come for? To Sacrifice Christ again, and to Crucifie him again, or to feed upon him that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his Body, and spiritually to drink his Blood, which is the true use of the Lords Supper, then no man can deny but the form of a Table is more meet for the Lords Board than the form of an Altar.

Considerations and Reasons why the Table were more convenient in the Church than the Altar.

The second Reason.

Item, Whereas it is said, The Book of Common Prayer maketh mention of an Altar; wherefore it is not lawful to abolish that which the Book alloweth. To this is thus answered, The Book of Common Prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lords Supper is ministered, indifferently a Table, an Altar, or the Lords Board, without prescription of any form thereof, either of a Table or of an Altar: so that whether the Lords board have the form of an Altar, or of a Table, the Book of Common Prayer calleth it both an Altar and a Table. For as it calleth it an Altar, whereupon the Lords Supper is ministered, a Table, and the Lords Board, so it calleth the Table where the holy Communion is distributed with Lauds and Thanksgiving unto the Lord, an Altar, for that there is offered the same Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of Common-Prayer.

The second Reason. Answer to certain Cavillers which take hold of the term of the Altar in the Kings Book.

The Table how it may be called an Altar, and in what respect.

The third Reason.

Thirdly, The Popish Opinion of Mals was, That it might not be celebrated but upon an Altar, or at the least upon a Super-Altar, to supply the fault of the Altar, which must have had his prints and characters, or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious Opinion is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an Altar, than of a Table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious Opinion, to have the Lords Board after the form of a Table than of an Altar.

The third Reason. This reason for taking away the superstitious Opinion, serveth also as well for the abolishing of other things more besides Altars, &c.

The fourth Reason.

The fourth Reason.
The name of an Altar, how it is derived, and what it significeth.

Fourthly, The form of an Altar was ordained for the Sacrifices of the Law, and therefore the Altar in Greek is called *θυσιαστήριον*, Quasi *Sacrificii locus*. But now both the Law and the Sacrifices thereof do cease; wherefore the form of the Altar used in the Altar ought to cease withall.

The fifth Reason.

The fifth Reason.
Christ used a Table and not an Altar.
The Altar never used among the Apostles.

Fifthly, Christ did institute the Sacrament of his Body and Blood at his last Supper at a Table, and not at an Altar, as it appeareth manifestly by the three Evangelists. And Saint Paul calleth the coming to the holy Communion, the coming unto the *Lords Supper*. And also it is not read, that any of the Apostles or the Primitive Church did ever use any Altar in ministrat[i]on of the holy Communion.

Wherefore seeing the form of a Table is more agreeable to Christs Institution, and with the usage of the Apostles, and of the Primitive Church, than the form of an Altar, therefore the form of a Table is rather to be used than the form of an Altar in the Administration of the holy Communion.

The sixth Reason.

The sixth Reason.

Finally, It is said in the *Preface* of the Book of *Common Prayer*, that if any doubt do arise in the use and practising of the same Book; to appeale all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the Bishop of the Diocess, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same Order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that Book.

After these Letters and Reasons received, the forenamed *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, consequently upon the same did hold his Visitation, wherein, amongst other his Injunctions, the said Bishop exhorted those Churches in his Diocess, where the Altars did then remain, to conform themselves unto those other Churches which had taken them down, and had set up in stead of the multitude of their Altars one decent Table in every Church.

Anno 1550.

Nicholas Ridley Bishop of *London* appointed in his Diocess the right form of a Table.

Upon the occasion whereof there arose a great diversity about the form of the Lords Board, some using it after the form of a Table, and some of an Altar. Wherein when the said Bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, for the appeasing of such diversity, and to procure one godly Uniformity, but to exhort all his Diocess unto that which he thought did best agree with Scripture, with the usage of the Apostles, and with the Primitive Church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of *Common Prayer*, (as is before proved) but also might highly further the Kings most godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vain and superstitious Opinions of the Popish Mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use taught by holy Scripture of the *Lords Supper*, and so appointed he the form of a right Table to be used in his Diocess, and in the Church of *Paul* brake down the Wall standing then by the high Altars side.

The Wall by the high Altars side in *Pauls Church* broken down by *Nicholas Ridley*.

Now we will enter (God willing) into those matters which happened between King *Edward* and his Sister *Mary*, as by their Letters here following are to be seen.

To my Lord Protector and the rest of the Kings Majesties Council.

Lady Maries Letters to the Lords of the Council.

MY Lord, I perceive by the Letters which I late received from you, and other of the Kings Majesties Council, that ye be all sorry to find so little Conformity in me touching the Observation of his Majesties Laws; who am well assured, that I have offended no Law, unless it be a late Law of your own making, for the altering of matters in Religion, which in my Conscience is not worthy to have the name of a Law, both

for the Kings Honour sake, the wealth of the Realm, and giving an occasion of an evil bruse through all Christendom, besides the partiality used in the same, and (as my said Conscience is very well perswaded) the offending of God, which passeth all the rest: but I am well assured that the King his Fathers Laws were all allowed and consented to without compulsion by the whole Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all ye Executors sworn upon a Book to fulfil the same, so that it was an authorized Law, and that I have obeyed, and will do with the Grace of God, till the Kings Majesty my Brother shall have sufficient years to be a Judge in these matters himself. Wherein, my Lord, I was plain with you at my last being in the Court, declaring unto you at that time whereunto I would stand, and now do assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering mine Opinion, is for two causes:

One principally for my Conscience sake; the other, That the King my Brother shall not hereafter charge me to be one of those that were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such change, since the death of the King my Father, to every indifferent person it well appeareth, both to the displeasure of God, and unquietness of the Realm.

Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loth to see his Highness take hurt, or that any evil should come to this his Realm, as the best of you all, and none of you have the like cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his Majesties poor and humble Sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his Realm (being born within the same) with all wealth and prosperity to Gods Honour.

And if any judge of me the contrary for mine Opinions sake, as I trust none doth, I doubt not in the end, with Gods help, to prove my self as true a natural and humble Sister, as they of the contrary Opinion, with all their devices and altering of Laws, shall prove themselves true Subjects: praying you my Lord, and the rest of the Council, no more to trouble and unquiet me with matters touching my Conscience, wherein I am at a full point, with Gods help, whatsoever shall happen to me, intending, with his Grace, to trouble you little with any worldly Suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live in quietness, and pray for the Kings Majesty and all you, heartily wishing, that your proceedings may be to Gods Honour, the safeguard of the Kings Person, and quietness to the whole Realm.

Moreover, where your desire is, That I should send my Controuler and Doctor Hopton unto you, by whom you would signify your minds more amply, to my contentation and honour: it is not unknown to you all, that the chief charge of my house, resteth only upon the travels of my said Controuler, who hath not been absent from my house three whole days since the setting up of the same, unless it were for my Letters Patents, so that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little portion would not have stretched so far. And my Chaplain by occasion of sickness hath been long absent, and is not yet able to ride.

Therefore like as I cannot forbear my Controuler, and my Priest is not able to journey, so shall I desire you my Lord, and all the rest of the Council, that having any thing to be declared to me, except matters of Religion, ye will either write your minds, or send some trusty Person, with whom I shall be contented to talk, and make answer as the case shall require; assuring you that if any Servant of mine, either Man or Woman, or Chaplain, should move me to the contrary of my Conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used within my house. And thus my Lord, with my hearty Commendations, I wish unto you and the rest as well to do as my self.

From my house at *Kinming-Hall*, the two and twentieth of June, 1545.

Your assured friend to my prayer,

Mary.

A remem-

{ KING }
[449.6]

A remembrance of certain matters appointed by the Council to be declared by *D. Hopton* to the Lady *Maries* Grace, for answer to her former Letter; which said *Hopton* was after she came to her Reign Bishop of *Norwich*.

Her Grace writeth, That the Law made by Parliament is not worthy the name of Law, meaning the Statute for the Communion, &c.

You shall say thereto,

THe fault is great in any Subject to disallow a Law of the King, a Law of a Realm, by long study, free disputation, and uniform determination of the whole Clergy, consulted, debated, and concluded; but the greater fault is in her Grace, being next of any Subject in blood and estate to the Kings Majesty her Brother and good Lord, to give example of disobedience, being a Subject, or of unreasonableness, being his Majesties Sister, or of neglecting the Power of the Crown, she being by limitation of Law next to the same. The example of disobedience is most perilous in this time, as she can well understand; Her unkindness reflecteth in the Kings own acceptance; The neglecting of the Power before God is answerable, and in the World toucheth her honour.

The Executors (she saith) were sworn to King Henry the Eighth his Laws.

You shall say,

It is true, they were sworn to him, his Laws, his Heirs and Successors; which Oath they duly observe, and should offend if they should break any one jot of the Kings Laws now being, without a dispensation by a Law, and herein her Grace shall understand, That it is no Law, which is dissolved by a Law: neither may her Grace do that injury to the Kings Majesty her Brother, to diminish his Authority so far, that he may not, by the free consent of a Parliament, amend and alter unprofitable Laws, for the number of inconveniences which hereof might follow, as her Grace with consideration may well perceive.

Offence taken by the sending for her Officers.

You shall say,

If her Grace consider the first Letters of that purpose, they will declare our good meaning to her, and her gentle usage, requiring the presence of her truly Servant, because she might give more trust to our Message.

Her House is her Flock.

You shall say,

It is well liked her Grace should have her House or Flock, but not exempt from the Kings Orders; neither may there be a Flock of the Kings Subjects, but such as will hear and follow the Voice of the King their Shepherd. God disalloweth it, Law and Reason forbiddeth it, Policy abhorreth it, and her Honour may not require it.

Her Grace deferreth her Obedience to the Kings Laws, until his Majesty be of sufficient years.

You shall say,

She could in no one saying more disallow the Authority of the King, the Majesty of his Crown, and the State of the Realm. For herein she suspendeth his Kingdom, and esteemeth his Authority by his Age, not by his Right and Title. Her Grace must understand he is a King by the Ordinance of God, by descent of Royal Blood, not by the numbering of his years.

As a Creature subject to Mortality, he hath Youth, and by Gods Grace shall have Age; but as a King he hath no difference by days and years. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young Children to have been Kings by Gods special Ordinance, but also (which is to be noted) to have had best success in their Reign, and the favour of God in their proceedings. Yea, in their first years have they most purely reformed the Church and state of Religion. Therefore her Grace hath no cause thus to diminish his Majesties Power, and to make him as it were no King until he think him of sufficient years. Wherein how much his Majesty may be justly offended, they be sorry to think.

She saith she is subject to none of the Council.

You shall say,

If her Grace understandeth it of us in that acceptance as we be private men, and not Counsellors sworn to the Kings Majesty, we knowledge us not to be Superiors; but if she understand her writing of us as Counsellors and Magistrates ordained by his Majesty, her Grace must be contented to think us of Authority sufficient by the reason of our Office to challenge a Superiority; not to rule by private affection, but by Gods Providence; not to our estimation, but to the Kings Honour, and finally to increase the Kings estate with our Counsel, our Dignity and Vocation; and we think her Grace will not forget the saying of *Solomon* in the sixth Chapter of the Book of *Wisdom*, to move a King to Rule by Counsel and Wisdom, and to build his estate upon them. Wherefore her Grace must be remembered, the Kings Majesties political Body is not made only of his own Royal material body, but of a Council, by whom his Majesty ruleth, directeth and governeth his Realm. In the place of which Council her Grace is not ignorant that we be set and placed. Wherefore the reputation she shall give us, she shall give it to the Kings Honor, and that which she shall take from us, she shall take from his Majesty, whose Majesty we think if it might take increase or honour, as God giveth a daily abundance, it should receive rather increase from her, being his Majesties Sister, than thus any abatement.

She received Master Arundel, and Master Englefield.

You shall say,

All the Council remembreth well her refusal to have her house charged with any more number, alledging the small proportion for her charge, and therefore it was thought to come more for their earnest Suit, meaning to be privileged Subjects from the Law, than of her desire, which refused very often to increase her number. Their caution the King might not suffer, to have his Law disobeyed, their Countries where they should serve by them to be destitute, and having been Servants to his Majesty, the circumstances of their departure might in no wise be liked.

She refused to bear any man to the contrary of her Opinion.

You shall say,

It is an answer more of will than of reason, and therefore her Grace must be admonished neither to trust her own opinion without ground, neither to mislike all others having ground. If hers be good, it is no hurt if she hear the worse. If it be ill, she shall do well to hear the better. She shall not alter by hearings, but by hearing the better. And because she shall not mislike the offer, let her Grace name of learned men whom she will, and further than they by Learning shall prove she shall not be moved. And so far it is thought reason will compel her Grace.

In the end ye shall say,

The good wills and minds of the Lord Protector and the Council is so much toward her Grace, that howsoever she would her self in honour be esteemed, howsoever in conscience quieted, yea howsoever benefited, saving their duties to God and the King, they would as much, and in their doings (if it please her to prove it) will be nothing inferior, assuring her Grace, that they be most sorry that she is thus disquieted: and if necessity of the cause, the honour and surety of the King, and the judgment of their own conscience moved them not, thus far they would not have attempted. But their trust is, her Grace will allow them the more, when she shall perceive the cause, and think no less could be done by them, where she provoked them so far.

Note Dr. Hughton's allusion of the Communion in those days.

These and other of like credit, more amply committed to you in speech, you shall declare to her Grace, and further declare your confidence for the allowing of the manner of the Communion, as ye have plainly professed it before us.

At Richmond the fourteenth of June, 1549.

The Lady Mary to the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, June 27. 1549.

MY Lord, I perceive by Letters directed from you, and other of the Kings Majesties Council, to my Controulour, my Chaplain, and Master Englefield my Servant, that ye will them upon their Allegiance, to repair immediately to you, wherein you gave me evident cause to change mine accustomed opinion of you all: that is to say, to think you careful of my quietness and well doing, considering how earnestly I writ to you for the stay of two of them, and that not without very just cause. And as for Master Englefield, as soon as he could have prepared himself, having his horses so far off, although ye had not sent at this present, he would have performed your request. But indeed I am much deceived. For I suppose ye would have weighed and taken my Letters in better part, if ye have received them; if not, to have tarried my answer, and I not to have found so little friendship, nor to have been used so ungently at your hands: in sending for him upon whose travel doth rest the whole charge of my whole house, as I writ unto you lately; whose absence therefore shall be to me and my said house no little displeasure, especially being so far off. And beside all this, I do greatly marvel to see your writing for him, and the other two, with such extreme words of peril to issue towards them in case they did not come, and specially for my Controulour, whose charge is so great, that he cannot suddenly be met to take a journey: which words in mine opinion needed not (unless it were in some very just and necessary cause) to any of mine, who taketh my self Subject to none of you all, not doubting but if the Kings Majesty my Brother were of sufficient years to perceive this matter, and knew what lack and incommodity the absence of my said Officer should be to my house, his Grace would have been so good a Lord to me, as to have suffered him to remain where his charge is. Notwithstanding, I have willed him at this time to repair to you, commanding him to return forthwith for my very necessities sake, and I have given the like leave to my poor sick Priest also, whose life I think undoubtedly shall be put to hazard by the wet and cold painful travel of this journey. But for my part I assure you all, that since the King my Father, your late Master, and very good Lord, died, I never took you for other than my Friends; but in this it appeareth contrary. And saving I thought verily that my former Letters should have discharged this matter, I would not have troubled my self with writing the same, not doubting but ye do consider, that none of you all would have been contented to have been thus used at your inferiours hands; I mean, to have had your Officer or any of your Servants sent for by force (as ye make it) knowing no just cause why. Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that ye had not this remembrance towards me, who always have willed and wished you as well to do as my self, and both have and will pray for you all as

heartily, as for mine own Soul, to Almighty God, whom I humbly beseech to illuminate you all with his holy Spirit, to whose mercy also I am at a full point to commit my self, whatsoever shall become of my Body. And thus with my Commendations I bid you all farewell. From my house at Kenninghall, the 27th of June.

Your Friend to my power, though you give me contrary cause,
Mary.

A Copy of the Kings Majesties Letter to the Lady Mary the four and twentieth of January, 1550.

Right dear, &c. We have seen by Letters of our Council, sent to you of late, and by your answer thereunto, touching the cause of certain your Chaplains, having offended our Laws in saying of Mass, their good and convenient advices, and your fruitless and indirect mistaking of the same: which thing moveth us to write at this time, that where good counsel from our Council hath not prevailed, yet the like from our self may have due regard. The whole matter we perceive rests in this, that you being our next Sister, in whom above all other our Subjects nature should place the most estimation of us, would wittingly and purposefully, not only break our Laws your self, but also have others maintained to do the same. Truly howsoever the matter may have other terms, other sense it hath not: and although by your Letter it seemeth you challenge a promise made, that so you may do: yet surely we know the promise had no such meaning, neither to maintain, ne to continue your fault. You must know this, Sister, you were at the first time, when the Law was made, born withal, not because you should disobey the Law, but that by our lenity and love shewed you might learn to obey it. We made a difference of you from our other Subjects, not for that all other should follow our Laws, and you only gainstand them, but that you might be brought as far forward by love, as others were by duty. The error wherein you would rest is double, and every part to great, that neither for the love of God we can well suffer it unredressed, neither for the love of you can we but wish it amended. First, you retain a fashion in honouring of God, who indeed thereby is dishonoured, and therein err you in zeal for lack of Science, and having Science offered you, you refuse it, not because it is Science, we trust (for then should we despair of you) but because you think it is none. And surely in this we can best reprehend you, learning daily in our School, that therefore we learn things because we know them not, and are not allowed to say we know not those things, or we think they be not good, and therefore we will not learn them. Sister, you must think nothing can commend you more than reason, according to the which you have been hitherto used; and now for very love we will offer you reason our self. If you are persuaded in conscience to the contrary of our Laws, you or your Perfwaders shall freely be suffered to say what you or they can, so that you will hear what shall be said again.

In this point you see I premit not my estate, and talk with you as your Brother rather than your supreme Lord and King. Thus should you, being as well content to hear of your opinions as you are content to hold them, in the end thank us as much for bringing you to light, as now before you learn you are loth to see it. And if thus much reason with our natural love shall not move you, whereof we would be sorry, then must we consider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our Laws. For though hitherto it hath been suffered in hope of amendment, yet now, if hope be none, how shall there be surceance? Our charge is to have the same care over every mans estate, that every man ought to have over his own. And in your own house as you would be loth openly to suffer one of your Servants, being next you, most manifestly to break your Orders, so must you think in our state it shall miscontent us to permit you, so great a Subject, not to keep our Laws. Your nearness to us in blood, your greatness in estate, the condition of this time maketh your fault the greater. The example is unnatural that our Sister should do less for us than our other Subjects. The cause is slanderous for so great a Personage to forsake our Majesty.

Finally,

KING
Edw. 6.

Finally, It is too dangerous in a troublesome Commonwealth, to make the people to mistrust a Faction. We be young, you think, in years to consider this. Truly Sister, it troubleth us somewhat the more; for it may be, this evil suffered in you is greater than we can discern, and so we be as much troubled because we doubt whether we fee the whole peril, as we be for that we fee. Indeed we will presume no further than our years giveth us; that is, in doubtful things not to trust our own wits, but in evident things we think there is no difference. If you should not do as other Subjects do, were it not evident that therein you should not be a good Subject? Were it not plain in that case, that you should use us not as your Sovereign Lord? Again, if you should be suffered to break our Laws manifestly, were it not a comfort for others so to do? And if our Law be broken, and contemned, where is our estate? These things be so plain, as we could almost have judged them six years past. And indeed it grieveth us not a little, that you, which should be our most comfort in our young years, should alone give us occasion of discomfort. Think you not but it must needs trouble us, and if you can so think, you ought Sister to amend it. Our natural love towards you without doubt is great, and therefore diminish it not your self. If you will be loved by us, these few tokens of love towards us, that we say not the with the Psalm, *Mala pro bonis mihi reddiderunt*. If you will be believed when by writings you confess us to be your Sovereign Lord, hear that which in other things is often alleged, *Offende mihi fidem tuam ex falsis tuis*. In the answer of your Letter to our Council, we remember you stick only upon one reason divided into two parts. The first is, that in matters of Religion your Faith is none other, but as all *Christendom* doth confess. The next is, you will assent to no alteration, but with things to stand as they did at our Fathers death. If you mean in the first to rule your Faith by that you call *Christendom*, and not by this Church of England wherein you are a Member, you shall err in many Points, such as our Fathers and yours would not have suffered, whatsoever you say of the standing still of things as they were left by him. The matter is too plain to write, what may be gathered, and too perilous to be concluded against you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our Authority, of things not altered by our Father, you should do us too great an injury. We take our self, for the administration of this our Commonwealth, to have the same Authority which our Father had, diminished in no part, neither by example of Scripture, nor by universal Laws. The stories of Scripture be so plentiful, as almost the best ordered Church of the Israelites was by Kings younger than we be. Well Sister, we will not in these things interpret your writings to the worst; Love and Charity shall expound them. But yet you must not thereby be bold to offend in that whereunto you see your writings might be wrested. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duty, and if any impediment be thereof, not of purpose, you shall find a brotherly affection in us to remedy the same. To teach and instruct you we will give Order, and so procure you to do your duty willingly, that you shall perceive you are not used merely as a Subject, and only commanded, but as Daughter, a Scholar, and a Sister, taught, instructed and persuaded. For the which cause, when you have considered this our Letter, we pray you that we may shortly hear from you.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty.

My duty most humbly remembered to your Majesty, please it the same to understand that I have received your Letters by Master Throgmorton this bearer. The contents whereof do more trouble me than any bodily sickness, though it were even to the death; and the rather for that your Highness doth charge me to be both as breaker of your Laws, and also an incourager of others to do the like. I most humbly beseech your Majesty to think that I never intended towards you otherwise than my duty compelleth me unto; that is, to wish your Highness all Honour and Prosperity, for the which I do and daily shall pray. And where it pleaseth your Majesty to write, that I make

a challenge of a promise made otherwise than it was meant, the truth is, the promise could not be denied before your Majesties presence at my last waiting upon the same. And although, I confess, the ground of Faith (whereunto I take reason to be but an Hand-Maid) and my conscience also hath and do agree with the same: yet touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your Majesty (God knoweth by whose persuasion) to write, it was not so meant; I shall most humbly desire your Highness to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either will your Majesty's Ambassador, now being with the Emperor, to inquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to have him move it, or else to cause it to be demanded of the Emperors Ambassador here, although he were not within this Realm at that time. And thereby it shall appear that in this point I have not offended your Majesty, if it may please you so to accept it. And albeit your Majesty (God be praised) hath at these years as much understanding and more, than is commonly seen in that Age, yet considering you do hear but one part (your Highness not offended) I would be a Suitor to the same, that till you were grown to more perfect years, it might stand with your pleasure to stay in matters touching the Soul. So undoubtedly should your Majesty know more, and hear others, and nevertheless be at your liberty and do your will and pleasure. And whatsoever your Majesty hath conceived of me, either by Letters to your Council, or by their report, I trust in the end to prove my self as true to you, as any Subject within your Realm, and will by no means stand in argument with your Majesty, but in most humble wise beseech you, even for Gods sake, so suffer me, as your Highness hath done hitherto. It is for no worldly respect I desire it, God is my Judge, but rather than to offend my conscience, I would desire of God to lose all that I have and also my life; and nevertheless live and die your humble Sister and true Subject. Thus after pardon craved of your Majesty for my rude and bold writing, I beseech Almighty God to preserve the same in Honour with as long continuance of health and life, as ever had Noble King. From Beaulieu, the third of February.

Your Majesties most humble and unworthy Sister, Mary.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council the fourth of December, 1550.

My Lords, your Letters dated the second of this present were delivered unto me the third of the same. And where you write that two of my Chaplains, Doctor Millet and Barkly, be indicted for certain things committed by them contrary to the Kings Majesties Laws, and Process for them also awarded forth, and delivered to the Sheriff of Essex; I cannot but marvel they should be so used, considering it is done, as I take it, for saying Mass within my house: and although I have been of my self minded always, and yet am so have Mass within my house; yet I have been advertised that the Emperors Majesty hath been promised that I should never be inquieted nor troubled for my so doing, as some of you my Lords can witness. Furthermore, besides the declaration of the said promise made to me by the Emperors Ambassador that dead is from his Majesty, to put my Chaplains more out of fear, when I was the last year with the King's Majesty my Brother, that question was then moved, and could not be denied, but affirmed by some of you before his Majesty to be true, being not so much inquieted for the trouble of my said Chaplains, as I am to think how this matter may be taken, the promise to such a person being no better regarded. And for mine own part, I thought full little to have received such ungentleness at your hands, having always (God is my Judge) wished unto the whole number of you as to my self, and have refused to trouble you, or to crave any thing at your hands, but your good will and friendship, which very slenderly appeareth in this matter. Notwithstanding, to be plain with you, howsoever ye shall use me or mine (with Gods help) I will never vary from mine opinion touching my Faith. And if ye or any of you bear me the less good will for that matter, or fault in your Friendship towards me only for the same, I must and will be contented, trusting that God will in the end show his

mercy

mercy upon me, assuring you, I would rather refuse the friendship of all the world (whereunto I trust I shall never be driven) than forsake any point of my Faith. I am not without some hope that ye will stay this matter, not enforcing the rigour of the Law against my Chaplains. The one of them was not in my house these four months, and Doctor Mallet, having my licence, is either at Windsor, or at his Benefice, who, as I have heard, was indicted for saying Mals out of my house, which was not true. But indeed the day before my removing from Woodham-water, my whole Household in effect being gone to Newhall, he said Mals there by mine appointment. I see and hear of divers that do not obey your Statutes and Proclamations, and nevertheless escape without punishment. Be ye Judges if I be well used to have mine punished by rigour of a Law, besides all the false bruits that ye have suffered to be spoken of me. Moreover, my Chaplain Doctor Mallet, besides mine own Commandment, was not ignorant of the promise made to the Emperor, which did put him out of fear. I doubt not therefore but ye will consider it, as by that occasion no piece of friendship be taken away, nor I to have cause but to bear you my good will, as I have done heretofore: for albeit I could do you little pleasure, yet of my friendship ye were sure, as if it had been in my power, ye should have well known. Thus with my hearty Commendations to you all, I pray Almighty God to send you as much of his Grace, as I would wish to mine own Soul.

From Boulien, the fourth of December.

Your assured friend to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, the five and twentieth of December.

AFTER our due Commendations to your Grace. By your Letters to us, as an answer to ours, touching certain Process against two of your Chaplains, for saying Mals against the Law and Statute of the Realm, we perceive both the offence of your Chaplains is otherwise excused than the matter may bear, and also our good wills otherwise misconstrued than we looked for. And for the first part, where your greatness reason to excuse the offence of a Law, is a promise made to the Emperors Majesty, whereof you write, that first some of us be witnesses, next that the Embassador for the Emperor declared the same unto you; and lastly, that the same promise was affirmed to you before the Kings Majesty at your last being with him: we have thought convenient to repeat the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded, whereupon it shall appear how evidently your Chaplains have offended the Law, and you also mistaken the promise. The promise is but one in it self, but by times thrice as you say repeated. Of which times, the first is chiefly to be considered, for upon that do the other two depend. It is very true the Emperor made request to the Kings Majesty, that you might have liberty to use the Mals in your house, and to be as it were exempted from the danger of the Statute. To which request divers good reasons were made, containing the discommodities that should follow the grant thereof, and means devised rather to persuade you to obey and receive the general and godly Reformation of the whole Realm, than by a private fancy to prejudice a common Order. But yet, upon earnest desire and entreaty made in the Emperors name, thus much was granted, that for his sake and your own also, it should be suffered and winked at, if you had the private Mals used in your own Closet for a season, until you might be better informed, whereof there was some hope, having only with you a few of your own Chamber, so that for all the rest of your Household the Service of the Realm should be used, and none other; further than this the promise exceeded not. And truly such a matter it then seemed to some of us, as indeed it was, that well might the Emperor have required of the Kings Majesty a matter of more profit, but of more weight or difficulty to be granted his Majesty could not. At this grant in words, there was by the Embassador now dead, ostentatives devised some writings, as a testimony of the same. But that was ever denied; not because we

meant to break the promise, as it was made, but because there was daily hope of your Reformation. { KING }
{ Edw. 6 }

Now to the second time, you say the Emperors Embassadors Declaration made mention of a promise to you, it might well so be. But we think no otherwise than as it appeareth before written. If it were, his fault it was to declare more than he heard; ours it may not be, that deny not what we have said. As for the last time when ye were with the Kings Majesty, the same some of us (whom by these words your Letter noteth) do well remember, that no other thing was granted to you in this matter, but as the first promise was made to the Emperor, at which time you had too many arguments made to approve the proceedings of the Kings Majesty, and to condemn the abuse of the Mals, to think that where the private Mals was judged unjustly, there you should have authority and ground to use it. About the same time, the Embassador made means to have some testimony of the promise under the great Seal; and that not being heard, to have it but by a Letter; and that also was not only denied, but divers good reason alleged, that he should think it denied with reasons, and so to be contented with an answer. It was told him, in reducing that which was commonly called the Mals to the Order of the Primitive Church, and the Institution of Christ, the Kings Majesty and his whole Realm had their Consciences well quieted, against the which if any thing should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, and a very sin against a truth known. Wherefore to licence by open act such a deed, in the conscience of the Kings Majesty and his Realm, were even a sin against God. The most that might herein be born, was, that the Kings Majesty might, upon hope of your Graces reconciliation, suspend the execution of his Law, so that you would use the licence as it was first granted. Whatsoever the Embassador hath said to others, he had no other manner of grant from us, nor having it thus granted, could alledge any reason against it. And where in your Letter your Grace noteth us as breakers of the promise made to the Emperor, it shall appear who hath broken the promise; whether we that have suffered more than we licenced, or you that have transgressed that which was granted. Now therefore we pray your Grace confer the doings of your Chaplains with every point of the premises; and if the same cannot be excused, then think also how long the Law hath been feared. If it prick our consciences somewhat, that so much should be used as by the promise you may claim, how much more should it grieve us to licence more than you can claim? And yet could we be content to bear a great burthen to satisfy your Grace, if the burthen pressed not our consciences so much as it doth, whereof we must say as the Apostle said, *Gloria in nobis est haec, testimonium conscientiae nostrae*. For the other part of your Graces Letter, by the which we see you misconstrue our good wills in writing to you, howsoever the Law had proceeded against your Chaplains, our order in sending to you was to be liked, and therein truly had we special regard of your Graces Degree and Estate. And because the Law it self respecteth not persons, we thought to give respect to you, first signifying to you what the Law required, before it should be executed, that being warned, your Grace might either think no strangeness in the execution, or for an example of obedience cause it to be executed your self. Others we see perplexed with suddenness of matters; your Grace we would not have unwarned, to think any thing done on a sudden. Truly we thought it more commendable for your Grace to help the execution of a Law, than to help the offence of one condemned by Law. And in giving you knowledge what the Kings Laws required, we looked for help in the execution by you the Kings Majesties Sister. The greater Personage your Grace is, the higher to the King, so much more ought your example to further his Laws. For which cause it hath been called a good Commonwealth where the people obeyed the higher Estates, and they obeyed the Laws. As nature hath joynted your Grace to the Kings Majesty to love him most entirely, so hath Reason and Law subdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not but your Grace remembereth: and as they both be joynted together in you his Majesties Sister, so we trust you will not sever them; for indeed your Grace cannot love him as your Brother, but you must obey his Majesty as his Subject.

Example

{ Anno }
{ 1550 }

(KING
Edward.) Example of your obedience and reverence of his Majesties Laws is instead of a good Preacher to a great number of his Majesties Subjects, who if they may see in you negligence of his Majesty, or his Laws, will not fail, but follow on hardly, and then their fault is not their own but yours, by example; and so may the Kings Majesty, when he shall come to further judgment, impute the fault of divers evil people (which thing God forbid) to the sufferance of your Graces doings. And therefore we most earnestly, from the depth of our hearts desire it, that as nature hath set your Grace nigh his Majesty by blood, so your love and zeal to his Majesty will further his estate by obedience. In the end of your Letter two things be touched, which we cannot premit; the one is, you seem to charge us with permission of men to break Laws and Statutes. We think indeed it is too true, that Laws and Proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is, but that we permit them, we would be sorry to have it proved. The other is, that we have suffered brutes to be spoken of you, and that also must be answered as the other. It is pity to see men so evil, as whom they may touch with tales and infamies they care not, fo they mis not the best. Such is the boldness of people, that neither we can fully bridle them to raise tales of you, nor of our selves. And yet whenever any certain person may be gotten, to be charged with any such, we never leave them unpunished. Indeed the best way is, both for your Grace, and us also, that when we cannot find and punish the offender, let us say as he said that was evil spoken of, *Yet will I so live, as no credit shall be given to my backbiters.* Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your Grace, we would friendly have admonished you thereof, and so also proceeded, as either the tale-tellers should have been punished, or else to have proved their tales. And therefore we pray your Grace to think no unkindness in us, that any evil brutes have been spread by evil men; but think rather well of us, that howsoever they were spread, we believed them not. Hitherto your Grace seeth we have written somewhat at length, of the promise made to you, and our meanings in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our Letter, we will as briefly as we can remember to you two special matters, whereof the one might suffice to reform your proceedings, and both together, well considered, we trust shall do your Grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be desired to follow; The other is, the commodity that thereby shall ensue. They both make a just commandment, and because of the first, the later followeth, that first shall be entreated of. We hear say, your Grace refuseth to hear any thing reasoned contrary to your old determination, wherein you may make your opinion suspicious, as that you are afraid to be diffwaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any storm or weather; if it be but of sand, you do best to cliche the weather. That which we profess hath the foundation in Scriptures upon plain Texts and no Glosses, the confirmation thereof by the use in the Primitive Church, not in this later corrupted. And indeed our greatest change is not in the substance of our faith, no not in any one Article of our Creed; only the difference is, that we use the Ceremonies, Observations and Sacraments of our Religion, as the Apostles and first Fathers in the Primitive Church did. You use the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarous and ignorance nourished, and seem to hold for Custom against the Truth, and we for Truth against Custom. Your Grace in one or two places of your Letter seemeth to speak earnestly in the maintenance of your faith, and therein (so that your faith be according to the Scriptures) we must have the like opinion; the saying is very good, if the faith be found. But if every opinion your Grace hath (we cannot tell how conceived) shall be your faith, you may be much better instructed. Saint Paul teacheth you, that faith is by the Word of God. And it was a true saying of him that said, *Non qui cuius credit fidelis est, sed qui Deo:* For where hath your Grace ground for such a faith, to think Common Prayer in the English Church should not be in English; that Images of God should be set up in the Church; or that the Sacrament of Christs body and blood should be offered by the Priests for the dead; yea, or that it should be otherwise used than by the Scripture it was instituted? Though you have no Scripture to maintain them,

we have evident Scriptures to forbid them. And although fault may be found, that of late Baptism hath been used in your Graces house, contrary to law, and utterly without licence, yet is it the worse, that contrary to the Primitive Church, it hath been in an unknown Tongue, by the which the best part of the Sacrament is unused, and as it were a blind bargain made by the Godfathers in a matter of illumination; and thus in the rest of the things in which your Grace differeth from the common order of the Realm, where have you ground or reason, but from custom, which oftentimes is mother of many errors? And although in Civil things she may be followed where the cause is quiet, yet not in Religions where the excuse is no error, as in *Leviticus* it is said, *Ye shall not do after the custom of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the custom of Canaan; no, ye shall not walk in their laws, for I am your Lord God, keep you my laws and commandments.* The points wherein your Grace differeth in your Faith; as you call it, may be shewed where, when, how and by whom they began since the Gospel was preached, the Church was planted, and the Apostles martyred. At which time your faith depended upon the Scripture, and otherwise there was no necessity to believe. For as *Hierome* saith, *Quod de Scripturis non habet authoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnimus qua probatur.* And because your Grace, as we hear say, readeth sometimes the Doctors, we may alledge unto you two or three places of other principal Doctors. *Augustine* saith, *Cum Dominus tacerit, quis nostrum dicat, illa vel illa sunt: aut si dicere audeat, unde probat?* And *Chrysostome's* saying is not unlike; *Multi, inquit, gaudent spiritum sanctum, sed qui propria loquuntur, falso illum praesentant.* And if you will take their meaning plain, read the fifth Chapter of the first Book of *Ecclesiastica historia*; and where *Constantine* had these words in the Council. *In disputationibus, inquit, rerum divinarum habetur praescripta spiritus sancti doctrina; Evangelici & Apostolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis ostendunt sensum numini; proinde discordia posita, sumamus ex verbis spiritus sancti questionum explicationes.* What plainer sayings may be than these to answer your fault? Again, too infinite it were to remember your Grace of the great number of particular errors (crept into the Church) whereupon you make your foundation. The fables of false Miracles and lewd Pilgrimages may somewhat teach you. Only this we pray your Grace to remember with your self, the two words that the Father said of his Son Jesus Christ, *Ipsum audite.* To the second point of the commodity that may follow your obedience, we having by the Kings authority in this behalf, the governance of this Realm, must herein be plain with your Grace. And if our speech offend the same, then must your Grace think it is our charge and office to find fault where it is, and our part to amend it as we may. Most sorry truly we be, that your Grace, whom we should otherwise honour for the Kings Majesties sake, by your own deeds should provoke us to offend you; we do perceive great discommodity to the Realm by your Graces singularity (if it may be so named) in opinion; and in one respect, as you are Sister to our Sovereign Lord and Master, we most humbly beseech your Grace to shew your affection continually towards him, as becometh a Sister. And as your Grace is a Subject, and we Counsellors to his Majesties Estate, we let you know the example of your Graces opinion hindereth the good weal of this Realm, which thing we think is not unknown to you; and if it be, we let your Grace know it is too true. For Gods sake we beseech your Grace, let nature let before your eyes the young age of the King your Brother. Let reason tell you the foolishness of the people; how often can you without a willing heart think that you should be the cause of disturbance? If your Grace see the King, being the ordinary Ruler under God, not only of all others in the Realm, but of you also, call his people by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can your Grace stay your self without following; much worse to stay other that would follow their Sovereign Lord? Can it be a love in you to forsake him, his rule and law, and take a private way by your self? If it be not love, it is much less obedience. If your Grace think the Kings Majesty to be over his people as the head in a mans body is over the rest, not only in place but in dignity and science, how can you being

being a principal member in the same body, keep the non-diffidence from the head? We pray your Grace most earnestly, think this thing so much grieveth us, as for our private affection and good wills to you (though we should dissemble) yet for our publick office we cannot but plainly inform your Grace, not doubting but that your wisdom can judge what our office is, and if it were not your own cause, we know your Grace by wisdom could charge us, if we suffered the like in any other. Truly every one of us apart honoureth your Grace for our Masters sake, but when we joyn together in publick service, as in this writing, we do, we judge it not tolerable, to know disorder, to see the cause, and leave it unamended. For though we would be negligent, the World would judge us. And therefore we do altogether effusions require your Grace, in the Kings Majesties name, that if any of your two Chaplains, *Mallet* or *Barkley*, be returned, or as soon as any of them shall return to your Graces house, the same may be, by your Graces commandment or order, sent and delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, who hath commandment from the Kings Majesty, by order of the Law and of his Crown, to attach them, or if that condition shall not like your Grace, yet that then he may be warned from your Graces house, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the Law. Which thing we think surely neither your Grace will mean, nor any of your Council assent thereto. And so to make an end of our Letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto deferred for our great business, we trust your Grace first seeth how the usage of your Chaplains differeth from the manner of our licence, and what good intent moved us to write to you in our former Letters; lastly, that the things wherunto the King and the whole Realm hath consented, be not only lawful and just by the policy of the Realm, but also just and godly by the laws of God. So that if we, which have charge under the King, should willingly consent to the open breach of them, we could neither discharge our selves to the King for our duties, neither to God for our conscience, the consideration of which things we pray Almighty God, by his holy Spirit, to lay in the bottom of your heart, and thereupon to build such a profession in you, as both God may have his true honour, the King his due obedience, the Realm concord, and we most comfort. For all the which we do heartily pray, and therewith for the continuance of your Graces health to your hearts desire.

From Winchester the five and twentieth of December.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council,
the second of May, 1551.

M^R Lords, after my hearty commendations to you, although both I have been and also am loth to trouble you with my Letters, yet nevertheless the news which I have lately heard touching my Chaplain Doctor Mallet, forceth me therunto at this present; for I hear by credible report, that you have committed him to the Tower, which news seems to me very strange. Notwithstanding I thought it good by this to desire you to advertise me what is the cause of his imprisonment, assuring you I would be sorry that any of mine should deserve the like punishment, and there is no creature within the Kings Majesties Realm would more lament, than any belonging to them should give just cause so to be used, than I would do: who would have thought much friendship in you, if you had given me knowledge wherein my said Chaplain had offended, before you had ministered such punishment unto him, especially requiring you to let me know by this bearer the truth of the matter. And thus thanking you for the short dispatch of the poor Merchant of Portugal, I wish to you all no worse than to my self, and so bid you farewell.

From Beaulieu the second of May.

Your Friend to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, the sixth
of May, 1551.

After our humble commendations to your Grace, we have received your Letters of the second of this Month, by the which your Grace seemeth to take it strangely that Doctor Mallet is committed to Prison, whereto we have the more marvel, seeing it hath been heretofore signified unto you, that he hath offended the Kings Majesties Laws, and was therefore condemned, and your Grace hath been by our Letters earnestly desired that he might be delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, according to the just process of the Law, to the which all manner of persons of this Realm be subject: Wherefore howsoever it seem strange at this time to your Grace, that he is imprisoned, it may seem more strange to other that he hath escaped it thus long; and if the place, being the Tower, move your Grace not to impute his imprisonment to his former offence, then we pray your Grace to understand that indeed it is for the very same, and the place of the imprisonment to be at the Kings Majesties pleasure, from whom, besides the charge of his Laws, we have express commandment to do that we do. And so we beseech your Grace to think of us, that neither in this case, nor in any other, we mean to do any other than minister, and see, as much as in our power lieth, justice ministered indifferently to all persons. Which doing, then we think your Grace should not think it any lack of friendship that we did not certify you of the offence of your Chaplain, although indeed the cause hath already been certified. And we trust your Grace both of your natural nearness to the Kings Majesty, and your own good wisdom, will not mislike our Ministry in the execution of the Laws of the Realm, and the pleasure of the Kings Majesty. So we wish to your Grace, from the bottom of our heart, the grace of Almighty God, with the riches of his holy gifts.

The Lady Mary to the Council, the eleventh
of May.

M^R Lords, it appeareth by your Letters of the sixth of this present which I have received, that the imprisonment of my Chaplain Doctor Mallet is for saying of Mass, and that he was condemned for the same. Indeed I have heard that he was indicted, but never condemned. Nevertheless I must needs confess and say, that he did it, but by my commandment, and I said unto him, that none of my Chaplains should be in danger of the Law for saying Mass in my house. And thereof to put him out of doubt, the Emperors Ambassador that dead is, declared unto him before that time, how and after what sort the promise was made to his Majesty, whereby it appeareth that the man hath not in that willingly offended. Wherefore I pray you to discharge him of imprisonment, and set him at liberty; if not, ye minister cause not only to him, but to others, to think that I have declared more than was true, which I would not wittingly do, to gain the whole World. And herein, as I have often said, the Emperors Majesty can be best Judge. And to be plain with you according to mine old custom, there is not one amongst the whole number of you all, that would be more loth to be found untrue of their word than I. And well I am assured, that none of you have found it in me. My Lords, I pray you seek not so much my dishonour, as to disprove my word, whereby it shall appear too plain, that you handle me not well. And if you have cause to charge my Chaplain for this matter, say that to me, and I will discharge it again, by your promise made to the Emperors Majesty, which you cannot rightly deny; wishing rather that you had refused it in the beginning, than after such promise made, and to such a person, to turn to go from it; which my Lords, as your very friend I heartily desire you to consider, and to give me no cause to think you otherwise than my friends, considering I have always, and yet do (God is my judge) wish to you all no worse, neither in souls nor bodies, than to my self, and so, with my hearty commendations, I commit you all to God.

From Beaulieu the 11th of May.

Your assured friend to my power; Mary.

The

THE KING
(Edward)

The Council to the Lady Mary, the seven and twentieth of May 1551.

After our due commendations to your Grace, although the same receiveth not answer so soon, as perchance was looked for upon the return of your Graces servant: Yet we doubt not but your Grace understanding that where we have matters of estate pertaining to the Kings Majesty in hand, as indeed we have had of late, the deferring of the answer, in a matter being no greater, requireth to be born withal. And touching the answer of your Graces Letter for Doctor Mallet, we pray your Grace to understand, that although you write he was indicted, but not condemned, and so seem to take exception at the manner of his imprisonment; yet if they which informed your Grace of that manner of reason in the law, were as well disposed to please your Grace with truth, as the reason indeed is not true, then should they have told your Grace that by the Act of Parliament, if either Mallet hath been convicted by the Oaths of twelve men, or that the fact have been notorious, then the punishment doth follow justly. The truth of the one and the other way of conviction in this case is notorious enough, besides his flying from the process of the law. And where your Grace, to relieve him, would take the fault upon your self, we are sorry to perceive your Grace to ready to be a defence to one that the Kings Law doth condemn. Nevertheless, he is not punished because your Grace bad him, and willed him to do that which was an offence, but he is punished for doing it: And if we should not to see the Kings laws executed without respect, it might appear that we have too much neglected our duty; and for that your Grace taketh it as a discredit to your self, that he should be punished for that you bad him do, alleging to him that you had authority so to do, and that so promise was made to the Emperor, it hath been both written and said to your Grace what is truth in that behalf. And howsoever that your Grace pretendeth your Licence to have Mals said before your self, for a time of your reconciliation, it had been far out of reason to have desired that whosoever was your Chaplain, might say Mals in any house that was yours, when your Graces self was not there; for so is Dr. Mallets offence, for saying Mals at one of your houses where your Grace was not, which thing as it was never granted, so do we not remember that ever it was demanded. The fault that hath been at any time made, either by the Emperors Embassador that dead is, or by him that now is, was never but in respect of your Grace, and not to be taken that the Emperor or his Embassador meant to privilege Master Doctor Mallet, or any other, to say Mals out of your presence. Wherefore as we do plainly write to your Grace, so we do pray you to take it in good part, and think we be as ready to do our due reverence towards your Grace in any thing we may do with our duty to our Master, as any your Grace may command; and of such wisdom we know your Grace to be, that ye should judge the better of us, for that we be diligent to see the Laws of the Realm executed, wherein resteth the strength and safeguard of the Kings Majesty our Sovereign Lord and Master.

The Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council the one and twentieth of June 1551.

My Lords, although I received by my servants this bearer (who lately delivered unto you my Letters, wherein I desired to have my Chaplain Dr. Mallet discharged of his imprisonment) your gentle message in general words, for the which I give you most hearty thanks; yet have I no knowledge whether you will set him at liberty or no; but I think that your weighty affairs at that time was the let and cause ye did not write, for else I doubt not but ye would have answered me. Wherefore not being satisfied, and understanding ye would gladly please me, I thought good sometime to desire you that my said Chaplain may have his liberty, wherein I assure you yeshall much gratifie me, being not a little troubled, that he is so long in Prison without just cause, seeing the matter of his imprisonment is discharged by the promise made to the

Emperors Majesty, as in my late Letter I declared unto you. Wherefore, my Lords, I pray yet let me have knowledge by this Bearer, how ye will use me in this matter; wherein if ye do please me accordingly, then shall it well appear that ye regard the foresaid promise, and I will not forget your gentleness therein, God willing, but requite it to my power. And thus with my hearty commendations to you all, I bid you farewell. From Beaulieu the one and twentieth of June.

Your assured friend to my power;
Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary the twenty fourth of June 1551.

After our humble commendations to your Grace, we have received your Graces Letter of the one and twentieth hereof, wherein is received the same request that in your former Letters hath been made for the release of Doctor Mallet, and therein also your Grace seemeth to have looked for the same answer of your former Letter, the which indeed partly was omitted (as your Grace conjectureth) by the reason of the Kings Majesties affairs, wherewith we be thoroughly occupied: partly for that we had no other thing to answer, than you had heretofore heard in the same matter. And therefore where your Grace desireth a resolute answer, we assure the same we be right sorry for the matter, and that it should be your Graces chance to move it, fith we cannot with our duties to the Kings Majesty accomplish your desire. So necessary a thing it is to see the laws of the Realm executed indifferently in all manner of persons, and in these cases of contempt of the Ecclesiastical Orders of this Church of England, that the same may not, without the great displeasure of God, and the slander of the State, be neglected; and therefore your Grace may please to understand, that we have not only punished your Chaplain, but all such others whom we find in like case to have disobeyed the Laws of the Kings Majesty. And touching the excuse your Grace oftentimes useth, of a promise made, we assure your Grace, none of us all, nor any other of the Council, as your Grace hath been certified, hath ever been privy to any such promise, otherwise than hath been written. And in that matter your Grace had plain answer both by us of the Kings Majesties Council, at your being left in his Majesties presence; and therein also your Grace might perceive his Majesties determination; wherunto we beseech your Grace not only to incline your self, but also to judge well of us that do addict our selves to do our duties. And so also shall we be ready to do, with all our hearts, our due reverence toward your Grace, whose preservation we commend to Almighty God with our prayer.

The Copy of the Lady Maries Letter to the Kings Majesty.

My Duty most humbly remembered to your Majesty; if I may please the same to be advertised, that I have received by my servants your most honourable Letters; the contents whereof do not a little trouble me, and so much the more, for that any of my said servants should move or attempt me in matters touching my soul, which I think the meanest Subject within your Highnesss Realm could ever bear at their servants hands, having for my part utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and of all other persons least regarded them therein, to whom I have declared what I think, as the which trusted that your Majesty would have suffered me your poor Sister and Bearerwoman to have used the accustomed Malt, which the King your Father and mine, with all his Predecessors did evermore use. Wherein also I have been brought up from my youth. And therunto my Conscience doth not only bind me, which by no means will suffer me to think one thing, and do another, but also the promise made to the Emperor by your Majesties Council was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not offend the Laws, although they seem now to qualifie and deny the thing. And at my last waiting upon your Majesty,

I was so bold to declare my mind and Conscience to the same, and desired your Highness, rather than you should constrain me to leave Maf, to take away my life, whereunto your Majesty made me a very gentle answer. And now I most humbly beseech your Highness to give me leave to write what I think touching your Majesties Letters. Indeed, they be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless (in mine opinion) not your Majesties in effect, because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your Highness) that although our Lord be praised your Majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than other of your years, yet it is not possible that your Highness can at these years be a Judge in matters of Religion; and therefore I take it that the matter in your Letters proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings your Majesty not offended, I intend not to rule my Conscience. And thus without molesting your Highness any further, I humbly beseech the same, even for Gods sake, to bear with me as you have done, and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your Majesty or your Realm; for I use it not after such sort, putting no doubt but in time to come, whether I live or dy, your Majesty shall perceive that mine intent is grounded upon a true love towards you, whose Royal Estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my daily prayer according to my duty. And after pardon craved to the Emperor, your Highness will suffer and bear with me as you have done, till your Majesty may be a Judge herein your self, and rightly understand their proceedings; (of which your goodness yet I despair not :) otherwise rather than to offend God and my Conscience, I offer my body at your will, and death shall be more welcome than life with a troubled Conscience; most humbly beseeching your Majesty to pardon my slowness in answering your Letters. For mine old dislike would not suffer me to write any longer. And thus I pray Almighty God to keep your Majesty in all virtue and honour, with good health and long life to his pleasure.

From my poor House at Copped-Hall, the
Nineteenth of August.

Your Majesties most humble Sister

Mary.

*A Copy of the Kings Majesties Letters to the
said Lady Mary.*

Right dear and right entirely beloved Sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you, of that which we for Gods cause, your souls health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of our Realm, have so long desired; assuring you that our sufferance hath much more demonstration of natural love, than contention of our Conscience, and foresight of our safety. Wherefore although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love; yet we be loth to feel it decay, and mean not to be so careless of you as we be provoked.

And therefore meaning your weal, and therewith joining a care not to be found guilty in our Conscience to God, having cause to require forgiveness that we have so long, for respect of love toward you, omitted our bounden duty, we send at this present our right truly and right well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord Rich Chancellor of England, and our truly and right well-beloved Counsellors, Sir A. W. Knight, Controllor of our Household, and Sir W. P. Knight, one of our Principal Secretaries in message to you, touching the order of your house, willing you to give them firm credit in those things they shall say to you from us, and do therein in our name.

Given under our Signet at
our Castle of Windsor, the
24th of August, in the
first year of our Reign.

*A Copy of the Kings Majesties instructions, given
to the said Lord Chancellor, Sir A. W. and
W. P. Knights, &c. the four and twentieth of
August 1551.*

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First you the said Lord Chancellor and your Colleagues shall make your immediate repair to the said Lady Mary, giving to her his Majesties hearty commendations, and shew the cause of your coming to be as followeth.

Although his Majesty hath long time, as well by his Majesties own mouth and writing, as by his Council, travelled that the said Lady being his Sister, and a principal Subject and Member of his Realm, should both be indeed, and also shew her self conformable to the Laws and Ordinances of the Realm, in the Profession and Rites of Religion, using all the gentle means of exhortation and advice that could be devised, to the intent that the Reformation of the fault might willingly come of her self, as the expectation and desire of his Majesty, and all good wise men was; yet notwithstanding his Majesty (seeth that hitherto no manner of amendment hath followed, but by the continuance of the error, and manifest breach of his laws no small peril consequently may hap to the state of his Realm, especially the sufferance of such a fault being directly to the dishonour of God, and the great offence of his Majesties Conscience, and all other good men; and therefore of late, even with the consent and advice of the whole state of his Privy Council, and divers others of the Nobility of his Realm, whose names ye may repeat, if you think convenient, his Majesty did resolutely determine it just, necessary and expedient, that her Grace should not in any wise use or maintain the private Maf, or any other manner of Service, than such as by the Law of the Realm is authorized and allowed: And to participate this his Majesties determination to her Grace, it was thought in respect of a favourable proceeding with her self, to have the same not only to be manifested by her own Officers and Servants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed with them in her house, as well for the quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the less molesting of her Grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitariness, wherein her Grace was then by reason of the late sickness. For which purpose her three servants, Rochester, Englefield and Walgrave were sent in message in this manner. First to deliver his Majesties Letter to her, next to discharge the complaints of saying Maf, and prohibiting all the Household from hearing any. Wherein the Kings Majesty perceiveth upon their own report, being returned to the Court, how negligently, and indeed how fallily they have executed their commandment and charge, contrary to the duty of good Subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his Majesty. Inasmuch as manifestly they have before his Majesties Council refused to do that which pertaineth to every true faithful Subject, to the offence so far of his Majesty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wise the punishment of them could be forbore; and yet in the manner of the punishment of them, his Majesty and his Council hath such consideration and respect of her person being his Sister, that without doubt his Majesty could not with honour have had the like consideration or favour in the punishment of the dearest Counsellor he hath, if any of them had so offended; and therefore his Majesty hath sent you three not only to declare to her Grace the causes of their sending thither of late his Officers in message, but also the causes of their absence now presently. And further, in the default of the said Officers, to take order, as well with her Chaplains, as with the whole Household, that his Majesties laws may be there observed. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answer in his Majesties name certain points of her Letter, sent now lately to his Majesty. The Copy of which Letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed therein. First, her allegation of the promise made to the Emperor, must be so answered, as the truth of the matter serveth, whereof every of you have heard sufficient testimony divers times in the Council. For her offering of her body at the Kings will, rather than to change her

KING her Confidence, it grieveth his Majesty much, that her Confidence is so settled in error, and yet no such thing is meant of his Majesty, nor of any one of his Council, once to hurt, or will evil to her body, but even from the bottom of their heart they with to her *Mentem sanam in corpore sano*. And therefore ye shall do very well to persuade her Grace, that this proceeding cometh only of the Confidence the King hath to avoid the offence of God, and of necessary counsel and wisdom to see his laws in so weighty causes executed. *Item*, because it is thought that *Rochester* had the care and consideration of her Graces provision of household, and by his absence the same might be disordered or disurnished; his Majesty hath sent a trusty skilful man of his own household, to serve her Grace for the time. Who also is sufficiently instructed of *Rochester* of the state of her things of household. And if there shall be any thing lacking in the same, his Majesties pleasure is, that his servant shall advertise his own chief Officers of household, to the intent if the same may be supplied of any store here, or elsewhere helped conveniently, her Grace shall not lack.

Item, Having thus proceeded with her Grace, as for the declarations of the causes of your coming, ye shall then cause to be called before you the Chaplains, and all the rest of the household there present, and in the Kings Majesties name most straightly forbid the Chaplains either to say or use any Mass or kind of Service, other than by the law is authorized; and likewise ye shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, upon pain to be most straightly punished, as worthily falling into the danger of the Kings indignation, and alike charge to them all, that if any such offence shall be openly or secretly committed, they shall advertise some of His Majesties Council. In the which clause ye shall use the reasons of their natural duty and allegiance that they owe as Subjects to their Sovereign Lord, which derogate all other earthly duties.

Item, If you shall find either any of the Priests, or any other person disobedient to this order, ye shall commit them forthwith to Prison, as ye shall think convenient.

Ann. *Item*, Forasmuch as ye were privy to the determination at *Richmond*, and there understood how necessary it was to have reformation herein; his Majesty upon the great confidence he hath in your wisdom and uprightness, re-mitted to your discretion the manner of the proceeding herein, if any thing shall chance to arise there that in your opinions might, otherwise than according to these Instructions, conduce you to the execution of your charge, which in one summe is to avoid the use of the private Mass, and other unlawful service in the house of the said Lady Mary.

Item, Ye shall devise by some means as you may, to have understanding after your departure, how the order you give is observed, and as you shall judge fit, to certifye his Majesty.

E. S. W. W. I. W. I. B.
W. N. W. H. F. H. I. G.
T. D. W. C.

The Story of Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester briefly collected, the residue whereof concerning his acts and doings may further appear in the Book of Acts and Monuments, in the first Edition, Page, 728.

The Story of Stephen Gardiner. Although the first imprisonment of *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, in order of time was before the deprivation of *Bishop Bonner*; yet forasmuch as he was not deposed from his Bishoprick till the next or second year after, which was 1551. I have therefore driven off the History of the said Bishop of *Winchester* to this present place, intending nevertheless here not to extend and prolept the explication of that busie matter, with all circumstances and particularities thereof, so amply and full as I might, partly for that being done in my first Volume of *Acts and Monuments*, it may here suffice and content the Reader, being disposed there to search and further to read touching the same, partly also considering

how this present Volume is grown already very large and great, I thought not to pester the same with any more superfluous than needs must; and therefore leaving out his idle Letters, his long procees of Articles and Examinations, his tedious talk, with the multitude of Depositions brought in against him, and other his acts and interludiculous superfluous, I mind here (the Lord willing) briefly and summarily to excerpt only the principal effects, as to the Story may seem most appertinent, referring the residue to be searched (if any Reader so list to do) to the Book of *Monuments* aforesaid, beginning in the Page 728.

Briefly therefore, as touching the acts, doings, defencings and misdemeanors of this stout Prelat and Bishop of *Winchester*; first we will set before the Reader the Copy of a certain Write or Evidence against the said Bishop, wherein as in a brief summe generally is described the whole order and manner of his misordered demeanor, copied out of the publick Records in manner as followeth.

The Copy of a Writ or Evidence touching the order and manner of the misdemeanour of Winchester, with declaration of the faults wherewith he was justly charged.

WHereas the Kings Majesty, by the advice of the Lord Protector and the rest of his Highnes Privy Council, thinking requisite for sundry urgent considerations to have a general visitation throughout the whole Realm, did about ten Months past address forth Commissions, and by the advice of sundry Bishops, and other the best learned men of the Realm, appointed certain Orders or Injunctions to be generally observed; which being such as in some part touched the Reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the Realm, were (as reason would) of all men of all sorts obediently received, and reverently observed and executed, saving only of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who as well by conference with others as by open Protestation and Letters also, shewed such a wilful disobedience therein, as if it had not been quickly espied, might have bred much quietness and trouble: Upon the knowledge thereof he being sent for, and his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the presence of the whole Council so used himself, (as well in denying to receive the said Orders and Injunctions, as otherwise) as he was thought worthy most sharp punishment; and yet considering the place he had been in, he was only sequestered to the Fleet, where after he had remained a certain time, as much at his ease as if he had been at his own house, upon his promise of conformity he was both let at liberty again, and also licensed to repair to and remain in his Diocels at his pleasure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance and contention in that one small City and Shire, than was almost in the whole Realm after. Besides that, the Lord Protector's Grace and the Council were informed, that to withstand such as he thought to have been sent from their Grace and Lordships into those parts, he had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and hamessed; and moreover when such Preachers, as being men of godly life and learning were sent into that Diocels by his Grace and Lordships to preach the Word of God, had appointed to preach, the Bishop, to disappoint and disgrace them, and to hinder his Majesties proceedings, did occupy the Pulpit himself, not fearing in his Sermon to warn the people to beware of such new Preachers, and to embrace none other Doctrine but that which he had taught them (than the which words none could have been spoken more perilous and seditious. Whereupon being citations sent for, and their Grace and Lordships objecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had just cause to charge him, they did in the end upon his second promise leave him at liberty, only willing him to remain at his house at *London*, because they thought it most meet to sequester him from his Diocels for a time; and being come to his house, he began afresh to rustle and meddle in matters wherein he had

For the full tradition of *Stephen Gardiner's* story read in the Book of *Acts and Monuments* of the first Edition, Page 728.

The Write or Evidence given out against *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*.

Winchester mistaking himself before the Council. *Winchester* committed to the Fleet. *Winchester* delivered out of the Fleet and set at liberty. *Winchester* forgetteth himself again in his Diocels.

Winchester sent for by the Council. *Winchester* kept his house. *Winchester* again became known with the Council.

neither commiſſion nor authority; part whereof touched the Kings Maſteſty. Whereof being yet once again admoniſhed by his Grace and their Lordſhips, he did not only promiſe to conform himſelf in all things like a good Subject, but alſo becauſe he underſtood that he was diversly reported of, and many were alſo offended with him, he offered to declare to the World his conformity, and promiſed in an open Sermon ſo to open his mind in ſundry Articles agreed upon, that ſuch as had been offended ſhould have no more cauſe to be offended, but well ſatisfied in all things. Declaring further, that as his own Conſcience was well ſatisfied, and liked well the Kings proceedings within this Realm, ſo would he utter his Conſcience abroad, to the ſatisfaction and good quiet of others. And yet all this notwithstanding, at the day appointed, he did not only moſt arrogantly and diſobediently, and that in the preſence of his Maſteſty, their Grace and Lordſhips, and of ſuch an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been ſeen, ſpeak of certain matters contrary to an expreſs commandment given to him on his Maſteſties behalf both by mouth and by Letters, but alſo in the reſt of the Articles whereunto he had agreed before, uſed ſuch a manner of utterance as was very like, even there preſently, to have ſtirred a great tumult; and in certain great matters touching the policy of the Realm, handled himſelf ſo colourably, as therein he threw himſelf an open great offender, and a very ſeditious man; ſo much as theſe his proceedings were of ſuch fort, as being ſuffered to eſcape unpunished, might breed innumerable inconveniences, and that the clemencies ſhewed to him afore, by their Grace and Lordſhips, did work in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldneſs to demean himſelf more and more diſobediently againſt his Maſteſties and his Graces proceedings; it was determined by their Grace and Lordſhips, that he ſhould be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by Sir Anthony Wingfield, and that at the time of his committing, Sir Ralph Sadler, and William Hamming, Clerk of the Council, ſhould ſeal up the Doors of ſuch places in his houſe as they ſhould think meet; all which was done accordingly.

By this Evidence above mentioned, firſt here is of the Reader to be noted how lowly and diſobediently the ſaid Stephen Gardiner miſuſed himſelf in the Kings general Vilitation, in denying to receive ſuch Orders and Injunctions, as for the which he juſtly deſerved much more ſevere puniſhment, albeit the King with his Uncle the Lord Protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him take the Fleet. In the which houſe, as his durance was not long, fo his intreating and ordering was very eaſie. Out of the which Fleet divers and ſundry Letters he wrote to the Lord Protector and other of the Council, certain alſo to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome to Maſter Ridley Biſhop of London; the particulars were too long here to rehearſe, conſidering how this Book is overcharged as ye ſee already; and eſpecially ſeeing the fame to be notified in our firſt Edition ſufficiently, as is aforeſaid. Wherefore omitting the rehearsal of theſe ſaid Letters, and referring the Reader to the Book aforeſaid, I will only repeat one Letter of the ſaid Biſhop, with the answers of the Lord Protector unto the ſame; the contents whereof are theſe as follow.

A Letter of Wincheſter to Maſter Vaughan.

A Letter of
Stephen Gardiner
ſent to
Cuthbert
Vaughan.

MAſter Vaughan, after my right hearty commendations: In my laſt Letters to my Lord Protector, ſignifying, according to the general commandment by Letters given to all Juſtices of Peace, the ſtate of this Shire, I declared (as I ſuppoſed true) the Shire to be in good order, quiet and conformity, for I had not then heard of any alteration in this Shire, which the ſaid Letters of commandment diſſidit. Now of late within theſe two days I have heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is told me) innovation in the Town of Portsmouth, where the Images of Chriſt and his Saints have been moſt contemptuouſly pulled down, and ſpitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the Mayor, the Kings Maſteſties chief Miniſters, as well to know the truth, as to conſult with you for the Reformation of it, to the intent I may be ſeen to diſcharge my duty, and diſcharging it indeed both to God, and to the Kings Maſteſty, under whom I am here

Images
pulled
down at
Portsmouth.

appointed to have Cure, and care to relieve ſuch as be by any ways fallen, and preſerve the reſt that ſtand from like danger.

Ye are a Gentleman with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wiſe, and eſteem to have more knowledge, wiſdom and diſcretion than to allow any ſuch enormities, and therefore I do the more willingly conſult with you herein, with requeſt friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter, who be the doers, and the circumſtances of it, and whether ye think the matter ſo far gone with the multitude, and whether the reproof and diſproving of the deed, might without a further danger be enterpriſed in the Pulpit or not, minding, if it may ſo be, to ſend one thither for that purpoſe upon Sunday next coming. I would uſe preaching as it ſhould not be occaſion of any further folly where a folly is begun, and to a multitude, perſuaded in the opinion of deſtruction of Images, I ſhould never preach. For (as Scripture writeth us) we ſhould caſt no precious ſtones before Hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be Hogs and worſe than Hogs; there be any groſſer Beasts than Hogs be, and have been ever ſo taken, and in England they are called Lollards, who denying Images, thought thereunto the Crafts of painting and graving to be generally ſuperfluous and naught, and againſt Gods Law.

In Germany ſuch as maintained that opinion of deſtroying of Images were accounted the dogs caſt out by Luther after he had turned all his brewings in Chriſts Religion, and ſo taken a Hogs meat. For the reproof of whom Luther wrote a Book ſpecially, and I have with mine eyes ſeen the Images ſtanding in all Churches, where Luther was had in eſtimation. For the deſtruction of Images containeth an enterpriſe to ſubvert Religion, and the ſtate of the World with it, and eſpecially the Nobility, who by Images ſet forth and ſpread abroad to be read of all people, their Lineage, Parentage, with remembrance of their ſtate and acts; and the Purſevant carrieth not on his breaſt the Kings name written with ſuch Letters as a few can ſpell, but ſuch as all can read be they never ſo rude, being great known Letters in Images of three Lions, and three flowers de luce, and other beaſts holding robes Arms. And be that cannot read the Scripture written about the Kings Great Seal, yet be can read St. George on Horſeback on the one ſide, and the King ſitting in his Maſteſty on the other ſide, and readeth ſo much written in theſe Images, as if he be an honeſt man, he will put off his Cap, and although if the Seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a Candle of it, yet he would not be rodded to have broken the Seal for that purpoſe, or to call it a piece of wax only whiſt it continueth whole. And if by reviling of ſtocks and ſtones, in which matter Images be graven, the ſetting of the truth to be read of all men, ſhall be contemned, how ſhall ſuch writing continue in honour as is compriſed in clout and pitch, whereof and whereupon our Books be made, ſuch as few can ſkill of, and not the hundredth part of the Realm? And if we a few that can read, becauſe we read in one ſort of Letters, ſo priviledged as they have many reliſts, ſhall pull away the Books of the reſt, and would have our letters only in eſtimation, and blind all them, ſhall not they have juſt cauſe to miſtruſt what is meant? And if the Croſſe be a truth, and if it be true that Chriſt ſuffered, why may we not have a writing thereof, ſuch as all can read, that is to ſay an Image? If this opinion ſhould proceed, when the Kings Maſteſty hereafter ſhould ſhow his perſon, his lively Image, the honour due by Gods Law among ſuch might continue, but as for the Kings Standards, his Banners, his Arms ſhould hardly continue in their due reverence for fear of Lollards Idolatry, which they gather upon Scripture beaſtly, not only untruly. The Scripture reproverh falſe Images made of ſtocks and ſtones, and ſo it doth falſe men made of fleſh and bones.

When the Emperors money was ſhewed to Chriſt where-in was the Image of the Emperor, Chriſt contemned not that Image calling it an Idol, nor noted that money to be againſt Gods Law, becauſe it had an Image in it, as though it were againſt the precept of God, Thou ſhalt have no graven Image; but taught them good civility, in calling it the Emperors Image, and bad them uſe the money as it was ordered to be uſed in his right uſe.

{ KING
Edw. 6 }

Then were
the old Fa-
thers and
Biſhops in
the ſecond
the Church,
with Epi-
ſcopus and
Canon
Magus, and
all the
Council of
France, Hogs
and Dogs.

Wincheſter's
reaſon. The
Purſevant
carrieth
about Saint
George on
Horſeback,
and the
King ſit-
ting on
Images ſhall
ſtand in
Churches.

Books ſerve
only to be
read and
not to be
katechized
unto and
wrote
ſhipped; for
ſo are they
no Books,
but are
made Idols,
and are to
be broken.

{ Anno
1550 }

(KING)
(Lords)

There is no Scripture that reproveth truth, and all Scripture reproveth fallhood. False writings, false books, false images, and false men, all be naught, to be contemned and despised, as for paper, ink, parchment, bones, wood, bones, A.B. of the Chancery hand, and A. B. of the Secretary hand, a Letter of Germany fashion, or of any other form, they be all of one estimation, and may be, of man inclining to the Devil, used for fallhood, or applying to Gods gracious calling, used to set forth truth. It is a terrible matter to think, that this false opinion conceived against Images should trouble any mans head: and such as I have known vexed with that Devil (as I have known some) be nevertheles wondrously obstinate in it; and if they can find one that can sell Latine to help forth their madness, they be more obstinate than ever were the Jews, and slander whatsover is said to them for their relief. Of this sort I know them to be, and therefore if I wist there were many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my Lord Protector. But if you thought there might be other ways used first to a good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceeding with you and the Mayor, with both your helps to do that may ly in me to the redress of the matter, which I take to be such an enterprise against Christ Religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitate with the Devils insigation, and at this time much hurtful to the common estate, as ye can of your wisdom consider. Whom I heartily desire and pray to send me answer by this Bearer to these my Letters, to the intent I may use my self in sending of a Preacher thither, or writing to the Lord Protector, as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well.

From my house at Wolve-
lay, the 3d of May, 1547.
Steph. Wint.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, answering to the Letter above.

After hearty commendations, I received of late two Letters from your Lordship, the one inclosed in a Letter of Master Vaughan's to us, and directed to him, the other directed straight unto us, very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earnest you are that no Innovations should be had. The which mind of yours, as we do highly esteem and allow, proceeding from one that would quietly, so we would likewise wish, that you should take good heed that too much fear of Innovation or disturbance doth not cause both of them to be. Many times in an Host, he that crieth *Enemies, Enemies*, when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a Mutiny or Rebellion to be made; and he that for fear of a sickness to come, taketh unadvisedly a purgation, sometimes maketh himself sick indeed. We perceive by the said your Letters, that heinous facts and words have been brought to your ears, than there was cause why; and those facts which were punishable, be already by him redress.

For Images.

For the matter of Images, an order was taken in the late King of famous memory, our Sovereign Lords days. When the abused Images (yet lurking in some places by negligence of them who should ere this time have looked unto the same) be now abolished, let not that be a matter of the abolishing of all Images. Though Felons and Adulterers be punished, all men be not slain. Though the Images which did adulterate Gods glory be taken away, we may not think by and by all manner of Images to be destroyed. Yet after our advice, better it were for a time to abolish them all, than for that the dead Images, the Kings loving Subjects, being faithful and true to the Kings Majesty, should be put to variance and disturbance. With quietness the Magistrates and Rulers shall keep them well in order, whom contentious Preachers might irritate and provoke to disorder and strife. So it must be provided that the Kings Majesties Images, Arms and Ensigns, should be honoured and worshipped after the decent order and invention of human laws and ceremonies; and nevertheless that other Images, contrary to Gods Ordinances and Laws, should not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration and

invocation, (which forbidden by God) should derogate his honour, and be occasion to accumulate Gods wrath upon us. Where they be taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the Church or Marketstead, following the late King of famous memory his counsel and order; yet more gentleness was shewed to those Books of Images, than to the true and unfeigned Books of Gods Word, both being abused, the one with idolatry, the other with contention. The Scripture was removed for a time from certain persons, and almost from all: The Images were left still to them who most did abuse them, the thing being yet closed from them which should teach the use. Wherefore it may appear unto us meet, more diligent heed to be taken that the abused before be not abused again, the advantage of some Priests, simplicity of Laymen, and great inclination of mans nature to Idolatry, giving cause thereto.

They that condemn Images, because the matter that they are made of is but vile, as stocks and stones, may likewise despise printing in Paper because the ink hath Pich in it, and the Paper is made of old Rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reasoned why a man should be more aggrieved, that an Image of Wood, though it were of Saint Ann, or St. Margaret should be burned, than he will that the Bible, wherein the undoubted Word of God is comprised, should be torn in pieces, burned or made paste of. Nor do we now speak of false Bibles, not false Gospels, but of the very true Gospel, either in *Latine, Greek or English*, which we see every day done, and sometime commanded, because the Translator displease us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and detestable fact done. But let one Image either for age, and because it is worn-eaten, or because it hath been foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a stock or a stone, but a true Saint of flesh and bone should be cast into the fire, which were a detestable and a terrible sight. We cannot see but that Images may be counted marvellous Books to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kissed, upon whom we have rubbed our Beads and Fingertchiefs, unto whom we have lighted Candles, of whom we have asked pardon and help, which thing hath seldom been seen done to the Gospel of God, or the very true Bible. For who kisseth that but the Priest or the Mats, at a painted Picture, or in such a ceremony? Or who kneeleth unto it, or setteth a Candle before it? And yet it seeth or heareth, as well as the Images or Pictures either of *S. John*, or our Lady, or Christ.

Indeed Images be great Letters; yet as big as they be, we have seen many which have read them amiss. And belike they be so likely to be read amiss, that God himself, fearing the Jews to become evil Readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvel though in reading of them the lay-people are many times deceived, when your Lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most common Image. Your Lordship hath found out, in the Kings Highness Great Seal, *St. George* on Horseback, which the Graver never made in it, nor the Sealer ever sealed with it; and this Inscription is not very little, and if it were, it could not escape your Lordships eyes. As the Inscription testifieth, the Kings Image is on both the sides; on the one side as in War the chief Captain; on the other side as in Peace the liege Sovereign; in harness with his Sword drawn to defend his Subjects; in his Robes in the Seat of Justice with his Scepter rightfully to rule and govern them, as he whom both in Peace and War we acknowledge our most natural and chiefest Head, Ruler, and Governour. If it were *St. George* (my Lord) where is his Spear and Dragon? And why should the Inscription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the Image? Yet it is called sometimes so of the rude and ignorant people; but not by and by, that that is commonly called so, is always true. And some have thought that by like deceiving, as your Lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the Image of *Bellerophon* or *Perseus* was turned first and appointed to be *St. George*, and of *Poliphemus*, of *Hercules*, or of some other *Colossus*, to be *St. Christopher*, because authenticall Histories have not fully proved their two lives. But those be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus invented upon some device, or rising of a true fact or History, and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

More gentle-
ness shewed to
the Books of
Images,
than to the
Books of
Gods Word
in K. Henrys
time.

Popish: can
better abide
the Book of
Gods Word
than Images
to be burnt
ed.

Images false-
ly called
and coun-
ted for
lay mens
Books.

Winchester
overseen in
mistaking
the Kings
Image for St.
George on
Horseback.

Dislike of
of Images.

It were hardly done indeed my Lord, if that you, and a few which can read, should take away from the unlearned multitude their Books of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a few which can read in one or two Languages, (as *Greek and Latin*) the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and privileges, should pull away the *English* Books from the rest which only understand *English*; and would have only your Letters of *Greek and Latin* in estimation, and bind all them which understand not these languages, from the knowledge of Gods Word. And indeed, my Lord, by your saying they have just occasion to suspect what is meant.

What you mean by true Images and false Images, it is not so easy to perceive. If they be only false Images, which have nothing that they represent, as Saint *Paul* writeth, *An Idol is nothing*, (because there is no such god) and therefore the Crois can be no false Image, because it is true that Christ suffered upon it: then the Image of the Sun and the Moon were no Idols, for such things there be as the Sun and the Moon, and they were in the Image then so represented, as Painting and Carving doth represent them. And the Image of *Nimrod* and *Cesar*, and (as some write) the Images of all the twelve chosen gods (as they called them) were the Images of once living men. And it might be said that the Image of God the Father hath no such eyes, nose, lips, and a long gray beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But if that be a false Image and an Idol which is otherwise worshipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the Brazen Serpent, being a true Image and representation of Christ, by abuse was made an Idol; it may be thought in times past, and peradventure now at this time, in some places, the Images not only of *St. John*, or *St. Anne*, but of our Lady and Christ be false Images and Idols, representing to foolish, blind and ignorant mens hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you (my Lord) to have been removed sooner, and before that the Captain there should have need to have done it. But if your Lordship be slack in such matters, he that removeth false Images and Idols abused, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

Christ called not the money, having *Cesars* Image in it, an Idol, when it was used to lawful uses, and to pay the due tribute wital. But when a man doth not use those Images graven in money to do his neighbour good, and the Commonwealth service, *St. Paul* Christ's Disciple called that covetousness, and the serving and bondage to Idols. So that even in money may be Idolatry, if we make too much of those Images which Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some so ticklish, and so fearful one ways, and so tender stomached, that they can abide no old abuses to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterprise against all Religion and good order; as there be on the contrary side some too rash, who having no consideration what is to be done, headlong will set upon every thing. The Magistrates duty is betwixt these, so in a mean to see and provide that old dotting should not take further or deeper root in the Commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the seen and tried truth, nor long abuse, for the age and space of time only, still be suffered; and yet all these with quietness and gentleness, and without all contention, if it were possible to be reformed. To the which your Lordship, as a man to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and persuasion, could bring great help and furtherance, if it were your pleasure, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full desire and purpose, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the Kings Majesties time, whose Majesties Reign God preserve, all abuses with wisdom reformed, Christs Religion with good and politic order of the Commonwealth, without any contention and strife among the Kings subjects, might flourish and daily increase. And this to your Lordships Letter sent to *Matter Vaughan* of *Portsmouth*.

The Image of the Father is false, and therefore by Winchester's reason to be abolished.

1 Cor. 8. *Winchester's distinction between true and false Images asured.*

If it be against reason, that learned men should take from the unlearned the books of their Images, much more is it against reason, to take from them the books of Gods word.

Winchester to the Lord Protector.

MAY it please your Grace to understand, that I have noted some points in your Lord of *St. Davids* Sermon, which I send unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I think, for the whole I cannot express: somewhat I shall incurber you with my babbling, but he hath incumbered some friends more with his rattling. And alas, my Lord, this is a piteous case, that having so much business as ye have, these inward disorders should be added unto them, to the courage of such as would this Realm any ways evil. For this is the thing they would desire, with hope thereby to disorder this Realm, being now a time rather to repair that which needeth reparation, than to make any new buildings which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord shall maintain estimation. The contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid. There was never attempt of alteration made in *England*, but upon comfort of discord at home, and we be to them that mind it. If my Lord of *St. Davids*, or such others have their head cumbered with any new Platform, I would wish they were commanded, between this and the Kings Majesties full age, to draw the Plat, diligently to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the Chalk in the unreasonable time of building, and when the Kings Majesty cometh to full age, to prevent their labours to him, and in the mean time not to disturb the State of the Realm, whereof your Grace is Protector, but that you may in every part of Religion, Laws, Lands, and Decrees (which four contain the State) deliver the same unto our Sovereign Lord, according unto the trust you be put in, which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish and desire. To which desired effect there can be nothing so noisome and contrarious, as trouble and disquiet. Wherein your Grace shall be specially troubled, as on whose shoulders all the weight lyeth, and whatsoever shall happen amiss by the faults of other, shall be imputed to your Grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that you mind not to be faulty in either, yet if the effect be not to the Realm as it were to be withheld, the Prince though he were of age should be excused, and the Governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of preeminence and authority, and specially in this Realm, as stories make mention, which should not discourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be reserved at home; and at home if the beginning be refuted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my Brother of *St. Davids*, may like a Champion with his sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of licence opened, there shall more by folly thrust in with him than your Grace would wish. Thus, as I think, I write homely to your Grace, because you were content I should write wherein I consider only to have all things well. And because your Grace is the Protector, and the chief Director of the Realm, to prevent unto your wisdom what my folly is, I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing over much, and yet I have had an hiding that they that so blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the state that you be in, it shall be ever commendable to foresee the worst. In quiet ye be strong, in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring your self in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to scourge the other. Whereas in concord they be both yours, in an honest, reverent, lovely fear to do their duty, which I doubt not your wisdom can consider. And consider also how noisome any other outward incurber might be in the time of the minority of our Sovereign Lord. I told the Emperors Council, That our late Sovereign Lord did much for the Emperor, to enter War with him, and to put his Realm in his old days in the adventure of fortune, whether he should enjoy it or no, for that is the nature of War. And sometime the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye administer the Realm for another, it were a marvelous question of him that shall enjoy the Realm to say, What meant you in the time of administration to adventure my Realm? Why took ye not rather for the time of my minority any Peace, whatsoever it were, which is better than the best War, as some men have written? I know you have au-

KING 2
EAD. 63

He noted
Mr. Barlow.

Where quiet and tranquillity goeth with right form, and religion, by all means it is to be maintained, but contrary, where Gods religion is lacketh, there the second Table must give place to the first. This Bishop's reason is as one having more respect to worldly tranquillity than to Gods glory.

Why Winchester's unpertinence of giving false counsel, and fit the Lord Protector to choose all good men, and all goodly counsel.

KING 1
Edw. 6.
thority sufficient, and wisdom plenty, and yet being entered to write, I forget for the time what ye be, and commune with you as I were talking at *Brussels* with you, devising of the world at large. And if I were sworn to say what I think of the state of the world I would for a time let *Scots* be *Scots*, with disdain to have them, unless it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young *Malier* when he cometh to age. And in the mean time prepare him money for it, and let the *Realm* in an order which it hath need of. And for a stay, if the *Emperor* would offer the *King of Romans* Daughter, as he did; do with him in our *Maiers* minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this alliance your estimation shall encrease, and our Sovereign Lords surely not a little encrease and be augmented. For of *France* it must be taken for a rule, They be so wanton, they cannot do well longer than they see how they may be scourged if they do not. Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occasion of writing, and shall pray God to put into your mind that which shall be for the best, as I trust he will; and in the mean time to extinguish this barbarous contention at home, which can serve only to do hurt, and no good. I had fished a Letter to *Malier Ridley*, which I send unto your Grace, and encounter you with these melancholly writings, ingendered of this fondness, which be not worth the reading. And so it may like you to use them, for having heard that which ye have laid unto me, and otherwise heard and seen what you do, I shall go occupy my wit in other matters, and now such as have fond enterprises shall see that I letted not their follies, which they called Gods Word. But for his time the *King our Sovereign Lord* that dead is, and after his time you have done much to your honour and reputation; howsoever all shall be here not contented; which miscontentation hath been so fond in some, as they have burst out and wished, that they might without breach of his Laws kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath been cause why I am glad both to depart hence, and to depart the sooner, and pray to God to order all things for the best, With preservation of our Sovereign Lord, and increase of your Graces honour. At my House in *Southwark*, the last of *February*.

Your Graces humble Beadman, S. W.

Another Letter of S. W.

After my humble commendations to your Grace, it may like the same to understand, I have seen of late two Books set forth in *English* by *Bale*, very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. And albeit that your Grace needeth not mine advertisement in that matter, yet I am so bold to trouble your Grace with my Letters for mine own commodity, wherewith to fastidie mine own conscience, to write and say as becometh me in such matters, which I desire your Grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little to see, so soon after my late Sovereign Lord and *Maiers* death, a Book spread abroad more to his dishonour (if a Prince honour may be by vile inferior subjects impeached) than professed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have suffered under him as a Martyr, and the woman therewith to be by *Bales* own elucidation (as he calleth it) so set forth and painted as the appeareth to be, and is boasted to be a Sacramentary, and by the Laws worthy (as the suffered) the pains of death; such like things have by stealth in our late Sovereign Lords days gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wont in such cases to speak, I keep my wont to write to your Grace now, in whose hands I know the state of the Realm to be for the time in Government, and to whom for respects of old acquaintance I wish all felicity. In these matters of Religion I have been long exercised, and have (thanks be to God) lived so long as I have seen them thoroughly tried, and besides that I have learned in written Books of authority, I have perceived by Books written without authority, as by *Malier Bale*, *Joy*, and other, and especially as *Bale* useth now, that Scripture doth by abuse, service to the right hand and the left at once, in so much as at one time *Bale* praileth *Luther*, and

setteth his death forth in *English*, with commendation as of a Saint, which *Luther* (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the Presence really of Christs natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar. And yet *Bale* the noble Clerk would have *Anne Aiskew*, blasphemously denying the Presence of Christs natural Body, to be taken for a Saint also. So as *Bales* Saints may vary in Heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might suffice to disprove the mans credit, if thwarting talk were more desired of many than the truth indeed, which truth was supposed to have been both in writing and exercise well established, long before our late Lords death; and *Bale* and his adherents in their madnes plainly repoved and condemned. I cannot forget, your Grace told me you would suffer no innovation: and indeed if you deliver this Realm to the King at eighteen years of age, as the King his Father, whose soul God awhile left it, as I trust you shall, the act is so honourable and good, as it were pety to trouble it with any innovation, which were a charge to your Grace more than needed, being already burdened heavily. And albeit in the Commonwealth every man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the Kings Majesty) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his eye directed unto you both here and abroad, you shall shadow mens doings if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And for my part besides my duty to the Kings Majesty and the Realm, I would that your Grace in whom since your Government I have found much gentleness and humanity, had as much honour with good success as ever any had, and pray to God that men would let your Grace alone and suffer the Realm in the time of your Government in quiet among our selves, whereby we may be the more able to resist foreign trouble, which your Grace doth prudently foresee. Certain Printers, Players, and Preachers make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what Sacraments we should have. And if the agreement in Religion made in the time of our late Sovereign Lord be of no force in their judgment, what establishment could any new agreement have? And every uncertainty is noisome to any Realm. And where every man will be *Maler*, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, at the self same time almost every man would be believed; and amongst them *Bale*, when his untruth appeareth evidently in setting forth the Examination of *Anne Aiskew*, which is utterly misreported. I beseech your Grace to pardon my babling with you. But I see my late Sovereign Lord and *Maler* slandered by such simple persons, Religion assaulted, the Realm troubled, and peaceable men disquieted, with occasion given to enemies to point and say, that after *Wickliff*s strange teaching in the Sacraments of Christs Church hath vexed other, it is finally turned unto us to molest and scourge us, for other fruit cannot *Bales* teaching have, ne the teaching of such other as go about to trouble the agreement established here. In which matter I dare not desire your Grace specially to look earnestly unto it, lest I should seem to note in you that which becometh me not. And I know that your Grace being otherwise occupied, these things may creep in as it hath been heretofore; sometime it may be hard for your Grace to find out or pull out the root of this naughtiness: but yet I am so bold to write of these, of mine own stomach, which have ever used, for discharge of my self, to say and write in time and place as I thought might do good for relief of the matter, remitting the right to the disposition of God, who hath wrought wonders in these matters, since they were first moved, and given me such knowledge and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth, I mean knowledge and experience of them that be chief stirres, to infect with untruth, as they cannot speak or report truly in common matters. The pretence is of the spirit, and all is for the flesh, women, and meat, with liberty of hand and tongue, a dissolution and dissipation of all estates, clean contrarious to the place God hath called your Grace unto. For it tendeth all to confusion and disorder, which is the effect of untruth.

Bale hath set forth a prayer for the Duke *John of Salisbury*, wherein the Duke remitteth to Gods judgment to be shewed here in this world the justness of his cause concerning Religion, and desireth God, if his cause be not good,

Luther and
how *Augustin*
why not as
well saint
with in
Heaven,
though they
varied in
one small
point here,
as yet in
Heaven, both
the Pope
strenuously
vary, as yet
led your
left in all
vets.

If the
Articles
might have
continued
still, all
were quiet
with *Wickliff*:
clutter
howsoever
it were a
very safe
with the
true chu
of Christ.
Players and
Preachers
trouble
Wickliff,
Every uncer
tainty is
noisome
I grant.
But reform
ation of
Religion is
not by and
by the cause
of uncer
tainty in a
Comman
wealth, not
market-v
ry men to
be a *Maler*.
The King is
troubled
by the much
like is the
it is not
it was he
that trou
bled the
Kingdom
of *Wickliff*.
Bale laid on
a force, if it
do vex it,
the fault is
not in the
fact, but in
the ill
which can
not abide it

Wickliff
what is
said, so long
as he pro
veth not, it
mattereth
not what he
saith.

A Roman
fight; the
Sun, at the
Duke of
Saxony
king.

The true
Religion
and opinion
of these
Germans
will be
found not
to disagree,
when the
Bishop of
Winchester
shall not be
able to
prove the
contrary, as
yet he hath
not done
hitherto.

Germany
with their
Religionists
doth stand
notwith-
standing
Winchester
and the Em-
peror did
withstand
them, what
they both
could.

His argu-
ments, Gods
Law, hath
rule of all
Men and
Women, if
they under-
stand Gods
Law.

Erge, men
and women
have rule of
all.

His argu-
ments
quia constat
A. Irenaeus
His argu-
ment should
thus pro-
ceed, Gods
Law hath
rule of all
Men and
Women, if
they are
Gods Law.

Erge, such
Men and
Women
have rule of
all, and
thus is the
form of the
argument
good, and
the matter
false.

Winchester
tried to
Lent,
though he
loved no
Fith.

The abolition
of Christ
have diverse
and sundry
ends: some
were need-
ful to ful-
fill the law.

Some pecu-
liar to his
own person
Some per-
taining to
the public ex-
ample.

to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour and possessions, with many such gay words whereby to tempt God: since which prayer the Duke is indeed taken as all the world faith, and at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangeness in the Sun, as we saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marvellous; but whether the one were a token ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many Commonwealths have continued without the Bishop of Rome's Jurisdiction, but without true Religion, and with such opinions as Germany maintained, no estate hath continued in the circuit of the world to us known since Christ came.

For the Turks and Tartars Government is as it were a continual war, and they uphold their rule with subduing of Nobility by fire and sword. Germany with their new Religion could never have stood, though the Emperor had let them alone: for if it be perverted the understanding of Gods Law to be at large in women and children, whereby they may have the rule of that, and then Gods Law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? These of some will be called witty reasons, but they be indeed truths children, and so is all the eloquence, which some (to dispraise me) say I have, whatsoever they say of me. For truth is of it self, in a right meaning mans mouth, more eloquent than forged matters can with study bring forth. What Richmes be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond (saying your Graces honour) and foolish? and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cause such as used to make provision for fish against Lent, fearing now in Lent to be so sick as the Rime purporteth and like to die indeed, to forbear to make their accustomed provision for the next year.

And thereto shall it come if the common diet be not certain. For the Fishmonger will never hope to have good sale, when the Butcher may with Flesh out-face him. And Fish is that great treasure of this Realm, and food inestimable. And these good words I give, although I love it not my self: for such as love not Fish should nevertheless commend it to other, to the intent the Flesh by them forborn might be to such as love it only the more plenty. The publick defamation and trifling with Lent is a marvellous matter to them that would say evil of this Realm; for there is nothing more commended unto us Christian men in both the Churches of the Greeks and Latins, than Lent is, if all men be not liars. In the King our late Sovereign Lords days this matter was not thus spoken of. And I think our enemies would with we had no Lent. Every Country hath its peculiar inclination to naughtiness: England and Germany unto the Belly, the one in Liquor, the other in Meat; France a little beneath the Belly; Italy to amities and pleasures devised; and let an English Belly have a further advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was Purveyor for the Seas, what an exclamation was there (as your Grace shewed me) of the Bishops fasting-day, as they called Wednesday, and Winchester, Winchester, grand mercy for your Wine, I beseech your heart for your water? Was not that Song, although it was in sport, a signification how both men be to have their license restrained? or their accustomed fare abated? unless it were in extremum necessity, I hear say that the Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tongue, with other new (whom I know not) as being one of Christs Miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow, at which teaching all the world will laugh. For Christian men have Christ for an example in all things, both to use the world as he did only for necessity, and to contemn the world as he did, and in case to refuse it, and chuse the vile death, as he did the death of the Crois, which things he did like a Master most perfect, for he was very God, and we must endeavour our selves in the use of his gifts to follow that he did, not to fast forty days without meat as Christ did, for we be but prentices, and carry about a ruinous carcass, that must have some daily reparation with food: but yet was there never any that said, how therefore we should do nothing, because we cannot do all, and take Christs Fast for a miracle only. And yet all that follow Christ truly, they work daily Miracles, in subduing and conforming by Gods grace their sensual appetites, and humble obeying to the will of God, which no man can of

himself do. And Christ promised that his true servants should work the works that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore it is a slender matter to say, Lent was one of Christs Miracles, for so it was to love his enemies, and specially those that scourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that a legation hath place) taught Christian men to follow, because it was a Miracle, as they might say: it were more tolerable to forget Lent (as Poggio telleth) of a Priest in the Mountains, that knew not how the year went about, and when the Weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbours were towards Palm Sunday, he devised an excuse to his Parish, and bad them prepare therefore, for indeed the year had somewhat slipped him, but he would fashion the matter so, as they should be as soon at Easter as the rest; and thus did he pass over Lent with much less slander, than to teach it for a Doctrine, that Lent was one of Christs Miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us. For although it was indeed a great Miracle, (as all Christs doings were) yet was it not a greater Miracle, nor more against mans nature, than to love them that laboured and were hostile to take away the natural life of his Manhood. For as the nature of man desireth relief, so doth he abhor destruction or hurt. In will and desire men follow Christ in all things; in execution they cannot: for we have brittle Vessels, and God giveth his gifts to men, as he seeth expedient for his Church; so as men cannot heat the lame when they will, as Christ did when he would, but as God shall think profitable for the edification of the Flock assembled.

Gregory Nazianzen speaketh of some that enterprised to imitate Christs Fast above their power, whose immoderate zeal he doth not disallow, nor requiring of all men to do, for that is an extremity, ne yet assailing the matter, as our new Schoolmen do, that Christian men should let Christs Fast alone as a Miracle; which manner of solution I heard a good Fellow make, when it was told him he might not revenge himself, And when he was stricken on the one ear, he should put forth the other. I am, quoth he, a man, I am not God, if Christ being God did so, he might (quoth he) if it had pleased him, have done otherwise. And so when it hath been alledged, that Christ fasted forty days, he might (quoth he) have eaten if he had list; these triflings in sport might be drawn to grave speech, if Christian men shall refuse to follow Christ in Miracles.

For all his life was Miracles, and his love that is our Badge most miraculous of all, to die for his enemies. I beseech your Grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the Common-house, that when I am in my tale, think I should have liberty to make an end, and specially writing to your Grace, with whom I account I may be bold, assuring you it proceedeth of a zeal towards you to whom I wish well, whose intent although it be such as it ought to be, and as it pleased you to shew me it was, yet are such things spread abroad whereof the evil willers of the Realm will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on Wheels. If any man had either fondly or indifferently spoken of Lent to engrave it to be an importable burthen, I would wish his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the form received, but this I reckon, that no Christian man may contemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his Fast, and in that time such as have been in the rest of the year, worldly to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the Feast of Easter, whereof St. Chrysostome speaketh expressly. And for avoiding contempt, a licence truly obtained of the superior serveth. And so I heard the Kings Majesty our Sovereign Lord declare when your Grace was present. And therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of Licences; and to declare that himself contemned not the Fast, he was at charge to have (as your Grace knoweth) the Lent daily prepared, as if it had been for himself, and the like hereof I hear say your Grace hath ordered for the Kings Majesty that now is, which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, ne the Rimes set abroad. Lent is among Christian men a godly Fast to exercise men to forbear, and in England both godly and politick, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall shew, if it be ever attempted, which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in Rime, and Stephen

Stocketh

KING
Edw. 6

A Tale of
Pegg m.

This cro-
neth not,
for though
a man of
nature ab-
horreth his
destruction,
as he defi-
reth relief;
yet it fol-
loweth not
that a man
should de-
sire so the
destruction
of another
mans soul,
as he desi-
reth relief
of his body.

KING *Stockfish* bequeathed, not to me, though my name be noted, wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondness. But I would desire of God to have the strength of this Realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations.

And if all men be liars, as it is now to my understanding strangely published, methink *Bale* and such new men, as be new liars, should be most abhorred and detested, and so much the more dangerous as they be new. That which in *Italy* and *France* is a matter of combat, is now found to be improprie to all men. God grant the truth to be desired of all men truly. But as one asked, when he saw an old Philosopher dispute with another, what they talked on; and it was answered how the old man was disputing what was virtue: it was replied, If the old man yet dispute of virtue, when will he use it? So it may be said in our Religion, If we be yet searching for it, when shall we begin to put it in execution? I would make an end of my Letters, and cannot, wherein I account my self faulty. And though I may err, as every man may, yet I lie not, for I say as I think, forasmuch as I have said, and further think your Grace hath no trouble trouble-some, but this matter of Religion unseasonably brought into the defamation of our late Sovereign Lords acts, doings, and Laws. I beseech your Grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldness, which growth of the familiarity I have heretofore had with your Grace, which I cannot forget. And thus inforcing my self to an end, I shall pray to Almighty God to preserve your Grace in much felicity, with increase of honour and achieving of your hearts desire.

At Winchester the one and twentieth of March.

Your Graces Humble Beadman,
S. W.

The Letter of the Lord Protector, answering
to Winchester.

YOUR Letters dated the one and twentieth day of May, as concerning two Books new set forth by one *Bale*, and certain Sermons preached here, were with convenient speed delivered unto us. And like as in your Letters to *Edward Vaughan* of *Portsmouth*, so in those to us we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearful of innovation: which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is desirous of quiet, good order and continuance of the godly state of this Realm; so we do marvel that so soon, so far off, and so plainly, you can hear tell and say of so many things done here, which indeed we being here and attendant upon the same cannot yet be advertised of. The world never was so quiet or so unite, but that privily or openly those three which you write of, Printers, Players, and Preachers, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the Magistrates were unawares of. And they which already be banished and have forsaken the Realm, as suffering the last punishment, be boldest to set forth their mind; and dare use their extreme license or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hid. There have foolish and naughty Rimes and Books been made and set forth, of the which as it appeareth you have seen more than we and yet to our knowledge too many be bought; but yet after our mind it is too fore and too cruelly done to lay all those to our charge, and to ask as it were account of us of them all. In the most exact cruelty and tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, yet *Pesquill* (as we hear say) writeth his mind, and many times against the Bishops tyranny, and sometime toucheth other great Princes, which thing for the most part he doth falsely, not that the Bishop alloweth *Pesquill's* Rimes and Verses, specially against himself, but because he cannot punish the Author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late Kings days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and politic Prince, and a diligent executor of his Laws; and when your Lordship was most diligent in the same, yet as your Lordship it self writeth, and it is too manifest to be unknown,

there were that wrote such lewd Rimes and Plays as you speak of, and some against the Kings proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or forgotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that about *Jack of Lents* lewd Ballad, and certain, as it was reported unto us, godly Sermons (which be evil in your Letters joyned together) you be so earnest, when against Dr. *Smith's* Book, being a man learned in the Doctors and Scripture, which made so plain against the Kings Highness authority, and for the furtherance of the Bishop of *Rome's* usurped power, your Lordship neither wrote nor said any thing. And as it appeared you be so angry with his retraction (which frankly without fear, dread, compulsion, or imprisonment, only with learning and truth overcome, he came unto) that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of Scripture. Except peradventure you think that the saying of *David*, *Omnis homo mendax*, cannot be interpreted, *Every man as a liar*, which howsoever your Lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeareth unto us them of him taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of a man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so Clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the subtil difference of lying and telling of a lie, or as it is in *Latin* called, *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*: but if your Lordship be loth to be counted *mendax*, which belike he hath interpreted a liar, or a lying man, and think it a matter of combat, he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is a matter for Clerks to dispute of; we would have wished your Lordship to have written against his Book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended which the Author himself refuseth to aver: your Lordship writeth earnestly for *Lent* which we go not about to put away, no more than when Dr. *Smith* wrote so earnestly that every man should be obedient to the Bishops; The Magistrates by and by went not about to bring Kings and Princes and other under their subjection. Writers write their fantasie, my Lord, and Preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done that is spoken. The people buyeth those foolish Ballads of *Jack-a-Lent*. So bought they in times past Pardons, and Carols, and *Robin Hood's* Tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet; and peradventure of the Sermons there is, and indeed there is (if it be true that we have heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, than it was of the Preachers there and then spoken or meant. *Lent* remaineth still my Lord, and shall God willing till the Kings Highness, with our advice and the residue of his Graces Council, take another order, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the Kings Majesty remaineth Head of the Church, although through sinister ways, and by subtil means some Traytors have gone about, and daily do, to abuse the Kings Majesties Supremacy, and bring in the Bishop of *Rome's* Tyranny, with other Superstition and Idolatry. On both sides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordship writeth, we are set in a painful room to reform all lightness and lewdness, to the which we do endeavour our self to the best of our power, although not so cruelly and fiercely as some peradventure would wish, yet not so loosely that there needeth such exclamations or great fear to be. We do study to do all things temperately, and with quiet and good order. And we would with nothing more than your Lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither Superstition, Idolatry, or Papacy, should be brought in, nor lightness, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken with jealousie as negligence, with too much fear or too much patience. No ways worse than when one is over light eared the one way, and deaf on the other side. Rumours by space and times increase naturally, and by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will with (and trust you have) your heart faithful to us: our most hearty and continual prayer to God is, to leave this Realm to the Kings Highness, at his Graces age by you written, rather more flourishing in men, possessions, wealth, learning, wisdom, and Gods Religion and Doctrine, if it were possible,

Quiet may
be as well
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jealousie as
by negligence.

ble and Gods will, than we found it. And that is our whole intent and eſperance, to the which we reſuſe no mans help, as knoweth God, in whom we bid you heartily Farewell.

Another Letter of Winchester to the Lord Protector.

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace: upon the return of my ſervant *Meſſie* with your Graces Letters, anſwering to ſuch my Letters, wherein I ſignified the robbing of my Secretary, I read the ſame gladly, as by the contents of the matter I had cauſe ſo to do, which was ſuch a comfortable as I digeſted eaſily the reſt of the great Packet, having been accuſtomed thereunto in the Kings my late Sovereign Lords days, which faſhion of writing his Highneſſe (God pardon his ſoul) called whetting, which was not all the moſt pleaſant unto me at all times, yet when I ſaw in my doings was no hurt, and ſometimes by the occaſion thereof the matter amended, I was not ſo coy as always to reverſe my argument, nor ſo that his affairs went well, did I ever trouble my ſelf, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when ſuch as were privy to his Letters directed unto me, were afraid I had been in high diſpleaſure (for the terms of the Letters founded ſo) yet I my ſelf feared it nothing at all, I eſteemed him, as he was, a wife Prince; and whatever he wrote or ſaid for the preſent, he would after conſider the matter as wiſely as any man, and neither hurt nor inwardly diſfavour him that had been bold with him. Whereof I ſerve for a proof, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gave me the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, he ſaid he had often ſquared with me, but he loved me never the worſe; and for a token thereof gave me the Biſhoprick. And once when he had been vehement with me, in the preſence of the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and ſaw me diſſinail with it, he took me apart into his Bed-chamber, and comforted me and ſaid, that his diſpleaſure was not ſo much to me as I did take it, but he miſliked the matter, and he durſt more boldly direct his ſpeech to me, than to the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any diſpleaſant words paſſed from him, as they did ſometimes, I ſold them up in the matter; which hindred me a little: for I was reported unto him that I ſhooked not and was ſtubborn, and he had commended unto me certain mens gentle nature (as he called it) that wept at every of his words, and me thought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was ſorry when he was moved; but elſe I know when the diſpleaſure was not juſtly grounded in me, I had no cauſe to take thought, nor was I at any time in all my life miſcontent or grudging at any thing done by him, I thank God for it.

And therefore being thus brought up, and having firſt read your Graces moſt gentle Letters, ſignifying the device of a Proclamation to ſtay theſe rumors, and reading the ſame Proclamation, which my ſervant brought with him; I read with the more quiet your Graces great Letters, and would have layed them up without further answer, were it not that percaſe my ſo doing might be miſtaken. For ghum ſilence may have another conſtruction than frank ſpeech, where a man may ſpeak, as I reckon I may with your Grace, upon confidence whereof I am bold to write thus much for my Declaration touching your Graces Letters of the 27 of *May*, that how earneſt ſoever my Letters be taken in fearing any innovation, I neither inwardly fear it, neither ſhew any demonstration in mine outward deeds to the world here, or in communication, that I do fear it to be done by authority, but in my ſelf reſiſt the rumors and vain enterpriſes, with confidence in the Truth and your Graces wiſdom; for if I feared it indeed, with perſwaſion it ſhould come to paſſe, I ſhould have ſmall luſt to write in it; but I fear more indeed the trouble that might ariſe by light boldneſſe of other, and the cumber of ſuch matters whiles other outward affairs occupy your Graces mind, than the effect by your direction that hath been talked of abroad; and yet in the writing I do ſpeak as the matter leads, continuing mine old manner to be earneſt, which as ſome men have diſpleaſed, ſo ſome have commended it; and therefore in a good honeſt matter I follow rather mine own inclination, than to take the pains to ſpeak as butter would not melt in my mouth: where-

with I perceive your Grace is not miſcontent, for the which I moſt humbly thank you. And firſt as concerning *Perſmouth*, I wrote to the Captain and Mayor in the thing as I had information, and by men of credence. And yet I ſuſpended my credit till I had heard from thence, as by my Letters appeareth: and as I was loth to have it ſo, ſo was I loth to believe it. And to ſhew that I feared no innovation by authority, ne regarded any ſuch danger, I went thither my ſelf, and in conſequence was in ſuch familiarity with the Captain, that after he had ſhewed me all the gentle entertainment that he could, he deſired me to make an exhortation to his men as they ſtood handſomely with their weapons, wherewith they had ſhewed warlike feats: which I did, and departed in amity with the Captain and Soldiers, and all the Town; the Captain telling me plainly, he was nothing offended with any thing I had ſaid in my Sermon, ne was there cauſe why he ſhould. But the very act indeed in deſiding the Images had no ſuch ground as Maſter Captain pretended: For I aſked ſpecially for ſuch as had abuſed thoſe Images, and no ſuch could be ſhewed, for that I enquired for openly. And the Image of Saint *John* the Evangelist ſtanding in the Chancel by the high Altar was pulled down, and a Table of Alabaſter broken: and in it an Image of Chriſt crucified ſo contemptuouſly handled, as was in my heart terrible, to have the one eye boſed out, and the ſide pierced; wherewith men were wonderouſly offended, for it is a very perfection beyond the Sea, uſed in that form where the perſon cannot be apprehended. And I take ſuch an act to be very ſlanderous, and eſteeming the opinion of breaking Images, as unlawful to be had, very dangerous, void of all learning and truth, wrote after my falſhion to the Captain, which Letters I perceive to have come to your Graces hands. I was not very curious in the writing of them, for with me Truth goeth out plainly and roundly, and ſpeaking of the Kings Seal, I uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old fort. When as I conſider of a good will, the people taking Saint *George* for a Patron of the Realm under God, and having ſome confidence of ſuccour by Gods ſtrength * derived by him, to encreaſe the eſtimation of their Prince and Sovereign Lord, I called their King on Horſeback in the feat of arms, Saint *George* on Horſeback; my knowledge was not corrupt, I know it repreſenteth the King, and yet my ſpeech came forth after the common language, wherein I truſt is none offence. For beſides learning, I by experience have known the preheminnence of a King both in war and peace, and yet if I had wiſt my Letter ſhould have comen to your Graces hands to be answered, then I would have been more preſiſe in my ſpeech, than to give occaſion of ſo long an argument therein. As for Saint *George* himſelf, I have ſuch opinion of him as becometh me. And have read alſo of *Bellerophon* in *Flamer*, as they call him, the Father of Tales, but I will leave that matter. And as for Books, let *Latin* and *Greek* continue as long as it ſhall pleaſe God, I am almoſt paſt the uſe of them, what ſervice thoſe Letters have done, experience hath ſhewed, and Religion hath continued in them fifteen hundred years; but as for the *Engliſh* Tongue, it ſelf hath not continued in one form of underſtanding two hundred years, and without Gods work and ſpecial miracles it ſhall hardly continue Religion long, when it cannot laſt it ſelf; and whatever your Graces mind is now in the matter, I know well, that having the Government of the Realm, your Grace will uſe the gift of policy, which is the gift of God.

And even as now at this time Biſhops be refrained by a ſpecial policy to preach only in their Cathedral Churches, (the like whereof hath not been known in my time) ſo upon another occaſion your Grace may percaſe think expedient to reſtrain (further than the Parliament hath already done) the common reading of the Scripture, as is now refrained the Biſhops liberty of preaching, As for the Brazen Serpent, it did not in all mens language repreſent Chriſt, and if I had written to another than your Grace, I might have had the like matter of argument that was taken againſt me of Saint *George* on Horſeback. For *Gregory Nazianzen*, chief Divine in the *Greek* Church, calleth the Serpents death the figure of the death of Chriſt, but not the Serpent to be the figure of Chriſt; and yet when I had done all my argument, I would reſolve

How to escape
ſemper in
caſu.

RING
Edw. 6

Ambad. Ro.
Ad De-
um pro-
cedunt
quoniam nihil
autem laus,
ſuffragante
non ſit opus
ſed merita
divina.

ſ. Anno
1550.

1 KING
Edw. 6 } as is resolved with me in the speech of S. George on horse-
back, that the common speech is otherwise, and so it is
in saying the Serpent to be a true figure of Christ, and yet
Gregory Nazianzen called the Serpent it self *Avitruov* of
Christ in these words *Οὗτος ὁ Χρῆς* in his Sermon *de Paschate*:
and yet in *Almechorus Domini*, we read *Arius, Leo, Yermis*,
spoken of Christ, and some expound the Scripture *sicut*
Moses, &c. after that sort. And as your Grace laid when
I was last at your house with the French Ambassador, ye
wished him and me together disputing, to see when we
would make an end, even so it is in these matters, when
they come in an argument, for a by thing (as S. George
on Horseback) when it escaped me, or speaking of the
Brazen Serpent following a speech not thoroughly dis-
cussed, shall be occasion of a digression all out of pur-
pose. And therefore was it a great gift of God, that our
late Sovereign Lord (God rest his soul) set these matters
in quiet: Who had heard all these reasons touching Images
which be now rehearsed in your Graces Letters, and
having once My Lord of Canterbury and me present
with him alone in his Palace, that they all otherwise
New-Hall, handled that matter at length, and discus-
sed with My Lord of Canterbury the understanding of
Gods Commandment to the Jews, so as all the Clerks
in Christendom could not attend it. And where as
one had denied the Image of the Trinity to be had,
by reasons as be touched in your Graces Letters, I
heard his Highness answer to them at another time.
And when he had himself specially commanded divers
Images to be abolished, yet (as your Grace knoweth)
he both ordered, and himself put in execution the kneeling
and creeping before the Image of the Crois, and
established agreement in that truth through all this
Realm, whereby all arguments to the contrary be
assailed at once. I would with Images used as the
Book of his Highness set forth doth prescribe, and no
otherwise. I know your Grace only tempereth me with
such reasons as other make unto you, and I am not fully
at liberty, although I am bold enough (and some will
think too bold) to answer some things as I would to ano-
ther man mine equal, being so much inferior to your
Grace as I am: But me thinketh S. Pauls solution during
the Kings Majesties minority should serve instead of all.
Not talem consuetudinem non habemus. We have no such
custom in the Church.

When our Sovereign Lord cometh to his perfect age
(which God grant) I doubt not but God will reveal
that which shall be necessary for the governing of his peo-
ple in Religion. And if any thing shall be done in the
mean time (as I think there shall not) by your Graces
direction, he may when he cometh to age say in the rest, as
I hear say, he said now of late concerning procession, that
in his Fathers time men were wont to follow procession;
upon which the Kings Majesties saying, the procession
(as I heard) was well furnished afterwards by your
Graces commandment; which speech hath put me in re-
membrance, that if the Bishops and other of the Clergy
should agree to any alteration in Religion to the con-
demnation of any thing set forth by his Father, whereby
his Father might be noted to have wanted knowledge
or favour to the truth, what he would say I cannot tell,
but he might use a marvelous speech, and for the excel-
lency of his spirit, it were like he would, and having so
just a cause against Bishops as he might have, it were to be
feared he would. And when he had spoken, then he
might by his Laws do more than any of our sort would
gladly suffer at these days: For as the allegation of his
authority represented by your Grace shall be then answered
(as your Grace now writeth unto me) that your Grace
only desireth truth according to Gods Scripture, and it
may be then said, we Bishops, when we have our So-
vereign Lord and head in minority, we fashion the matter
as we list, and then some young man that would have a
piece of the Bishops Lands shall say: the beauly Bishops
have always done so, and when they can no longer main-
tain one of their pleasures of rule and superiority, then
they take another way and let that go, and for the time
they be here spend up that they have, which eat you and
drink you what he list and we together, with *Edamus Ci-
vibamus, cras moriemur*. And if we shall alledge for our
defence the strength of Gods truth, and the plainness of

Scripture, with the word of the Lord, and many gay
terms, and say we were convinced by Scriptures, such an
excellent judgement, as the Kings Majesties like to have,
will never credit us in it, nor be abused by such a vain an-
swer. And this is a worldly politick consideration, and
at home: For the noise abroad in the world will be
more slanderous than this is dangerous. And touching
the Bishop of Rome, the doings in this Realm hereto-
hath never done him so much displeasure, as the altera-
tion in Religion, during the Kings Majesties minori-
ty, should serve for his purpose: for he wanted not
wits to beat into other Princes ears, that where his au-
thority is abolished, there at every change of Gover-
nours shall be change in Religion, and that which
hath been amongst us by a whole consent established,
shall by the presence of another understanding in Scripture
straight be brought in question; for they will give it
no other name but a pretence, how stiffly soever we
will affirm otherwise, and call it Gods word. And
here it should be much noted that My Lord of Can-
terbury, being the high Bishop of the Realm, highly
in favour with his late Sovereign Lord, and My Lord
of Duresme a man of renowned fame in learning and
gravity, both put by him in trust for their Council in
the order of the Realm, should so soon forget their
old knowledge in Scripture set forth by the Kings Ma-
jesties Book, and advise to inveigh such matter of altera-
tion. All which things be (I know well) by your
Grace and them considered. And therefore it is to me
incredible that ever any such thing should be indeed with
effect, whatsoever the lightness of talk shall spread abroad
which your Grace hath by Proclamation well stayed.
But if you had not, and the world talked so fast as
ever they did, I assure your Grace I would never
fear it, as men fear things they like not, unless I saw it
in execution; for of this sort I am that in all things I think
should not be done in reason, I fear them not, wherewith
to trouble me otherwise than to take heed if I can, and to
the head Governours (as now to your Grace) shew my
mind, and such experience hath every man of me that hath
communed with me in any such matters. And therefore
albeit your Grace writeth wisely, That over much fear doth
hurt, and accelerateth sometime that which was not in-
tended, yet it needs not to me, for I have learned that lesson
already, and would a great many more had, which indeed
should be great stay. And thus I talk with your Grace
homely, with multiplication of speech, impertinent and
not necessary, as though I meant to send you as great a
packet as I received from you.

One thing necessary to answer your Grace in, is touch-
ing your marvel; how I know sooner things from
thence than your Grace doth there; which ariseth not
upon any desire of knowledge on my behalf, for evil
things be over soon known, nor upon any slackness of
your Graces behalf there, who is and is noted very vi-
gilant, as your Graces charge requireth. But thus it is,
even as it was when I was in some little authority, they
that were the evil doers in such matters would hide them
from me. So now they have handled it otherwise; for
as for *Jacks of Lems English Testament*, it was openly
sold in Winchester Market, before I wrote unto your
Grace of it. And as for *Bales Book*, called *Eluci-
dation of Ann Askewys Martyrdom*, they were in these
parts common, some with leaves unglewed, where
Master Pagers was spoken of, and some with leaves glewed
ed. And I call them common, because I saw at the least
four of them. As for *Bales Book*, touching the death
of *Luther*, wherein was the Duke of *Saxoniens* prayer
(whereof I wrote) it was brought down into this coun-
tre by an honest Gentleman, to whom it was (as I
remember he told me) given at London for news, and
he had it a great while ere I wrote to your Grace. I had
not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men
spake otherwise than they knew. And in the mean time
Doctor *Smith* recanted, which a Priest of this Town (who
to mine own mouth boasted himself to be your Gra-
ces Chaplain, but I believed it not) brought down with
speed, and made by means to have it brought to my know-
ledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and by filled all
the country hereabouts, of tales of me. And when I saw
Doctor *Smiths* recantation begin with, *Omnis homo mens*

Canterbury
and Duresme
were carried
at of Winches

If every
thing were
an Oracle
by and by
that King
Henry did,
then Win-
chester were
a good Lo-
gician.

Wherefore
then serve
the Scrip-
tures for
Reasons for
Reasons to
be relied by
if God re-
ver reveal
any thing in
a Realm,
but by the
Kings own
person in
the mean
age?

(Anno
1556.)

Dr. Sm. B.
recanted at
Winchester

Harz

dax, so Englished, and such a new homily, as he would make all the Doctors of the Church Liar with himself, knowing what opinions were abroad, it enforced me to write unto your Grace for the sake of my conscience; giving this judgment of *Smith*, that I neither liked his tractation of unwritten verities, nor yet his retractation, and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him. I saw him not, that I wrote, these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the Commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten verities he was so mad to say, Bishops in this Realm may make Laws; I have witness, that I said at that word, we should be then *Daws*, and was by and by sorry that ever he had written of the Sacrament of the Altar, which was not, as it was noised, untouched with that word, All men are liars, which is a marvellous word, as it foundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house than a liar. And the depraving of mans nature in that fort is not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture. For albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been from the beginning delivered through mans hand, and taught by mans mouth; which men the Scripture calleth holy men, and that is contrary to liars. And therefore *St. Augustin* in his Book de *Mendacio*, saying, *Omnis homo mendax*, signifieth, *Omnis homo peccans*. If *Smith* had only written of Bishops Laws, and then said he had, saving your honour lied loudly, or to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly; for he that seeketh for much company in lying as he did, hath small humility; for he would hide himself by the number. And thus much as touching *Smith*, of whom, or his Book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking. But to the matter I wrote of, I have told your Grace how I came to knowledge of them, very scarcely in time, but in the thing over quickly, and never had any such thought in my life, as I denied to your Grace, to be worthily charged with them, by them I mean that may hereafter charge; for I know no such yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your Grace in that fort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoyce; but where things were otherwise (as I trust they shall not) I have nothing to do to ask any account, I trust I shall never forget my self so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction in our late Sovereign Lords life. And for my quietness in this estate I account my self to have a great treasure of your Graces rule and authority, and therefore will worship and honour it otherwise than to use such manner of presumption to ask any account. And I know your Grace cannot stay these matters so suddenly, and I esteem it a great matter, that things be staid hitherto thus; but if things had encreased as the rumors purposed, your Grace might have been incumbered more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your Grace goeth well about to stay it. As for my self, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complain of the universal disposition of them in my Diocess. I know but one way of quiet, to keep and follow such Laws and Orders in Religion as our late Sovereign Lord left with us; which, by his life, as the Bishops and Clergy said was the very truth, so I never read yet or heard any thing why to swerve from it, nor think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the Kings Majesties minority, whereby to impair the strength of the accord established. Which I write not mistrusting your Grace in the contrary, but declaring my self, and wishing the same mind to other about you, as I trust they have, for which I shall pray to God, who prospered our late Sovereign Lord in that rebellion, as we have seen experience, and by your Graces foresight and politic government shall find the like prosperity to our Sovereign Lord that now is; wherein I shall do my part, as a Subject most bounden many ways thereunto. I send unto your Grace herewith my disquisition of My Lord of *St. Davids* Purgation, wherein I walk somewhat more at liberty than writing to your Grace, and yet I take my self liberty enough, with a reverend mind nevertheless to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I trust your Grace will bear with

me after your accustomed goodness, for whose prosperity I shall continually pray, with encrease of honour.

At Winchester the sixth of June.

S. W. To the Lord Protector.

After most humble commendations to your Grace, I have received this day Letters from My Lord of *Canterbury*, touching certain Homilies, which the Bishops in the Convocation holden *Anno Dom. M. v. xliij* agreed to make for stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people, for other agreement there had not then passed among us. Since that time God gave our late Sovereign Lord the gift of pacification in those matters, which established by his Highness authority in the convocation extinguished our devices, and remaineth of force with your Grace, wherein to avoid many encumbrous arguments which wit can devise against the truth, I send to your Grace the Copy of mine answer to My Lord of *Canterbury*, to whom I write and offer my self more largely, than I ever did in any matter of the Realm, to any man besides my Sovereign Lord, or the chief Governour as your Grace, for I am not factious, and use only to say as I am bound to say as occasion serveth, for that is my duty, having no other thing purposed but truth and honesty, whatsoever any man shall otherwise say of me, I am bulwer with your Grace than needeth but; such commendations as it pleased your Grace to send me by *Master Coke* (for the which I most humbly thank your Grace) hath engendered thus much more boldness, that ever me thinketh I should desire your Grace, not to suffer the Kings Majesty our late Sovereign Lords determination to slip the Anker-hold of authority, and come to a disputation, for eviſion whereof, afterward the burden must rest on your Grace, unto whom I desire all prosperous success, and the increase and continuance of such honour as God hath granted to your virtue, not to fall in encumber of any by-matter that need not to be stirred. If your Grace think not your self encumbered with my babbling, and inculcating that needeth not unto you, I would answer your Graces Letters of 6. of *April*, so as your Grace will by other Letters withdraw your name, that I may be seen to dispute with one not so far above me in authority, as your Grace is, which I have thought requisite to advertise, lest by my silence your Grace should deem I thought my self overcome in those matters, where indeed I am of a contrary mind, and can shew whereupon to ground me, why I should so think; And thus desiring your Grace to take in good part my doings, I shall continually pray for the preservation of your Grace long in felicity. At Westminster the 10th of June 1547.

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your Grace, since my Letters unto your Grace wherewith I sent unto you such Letters as I had writtan to My Lord of *Canterbury* for answer to his Letters touching Homilies, I have since received other Letters from My said Lord of *Canterbury*, requiring the said Homilies by virtue of a Convocation holden 5 years past, wherein we communed of that which took none effect then, and much less needeth to be put in execution now, nor in judgement cannot without a new authority from the Kings Majesty that now is, commanding such a matter to be entered, I wrote at length to My Lord of *Canterbury*, and sent the Copy of those Letters to your Grace, not to the intent your Grace should lose so much time to read them, for they be tedious in length, but only for my discharge, who never meddled, yet by private Letters with any man in the Realm to perswade or dissuade matters of Religion,

UNG-^{ed}ligion, but with the Prince himself, or him that had the managing of the great matters under him. And following this determination am I bold to send your Grace the Copy of such Letters as I write to My Lord of *Canterbury*, whose Letters to me, I could not of congruence forbear to answer, nor answering forbear to speak freely as I think. And sorry I am to hear the matter of Homilies spoken of in this time, your Grace hath done prudently to stop the vain rumours by Proclamation, and it hath wrought good effect, and me thinketh is not best to enterprise any thing to tempt the people with occasion of tales, whereby to break the Proclamation and offend: And to this effect I wrote to My Lord of *Canterbury*: For like as in a natural body, rest without trouble doth confirm and strengthen it, so is it in a Commonwealth, trouble travel-eth and bringeth the things to looseness: And My Lord of *Canterbury* is not fitter of his life when the old order is broken, and a new brought in by Homilies, that he shall continue to see his new device executed, for it is not done in a day, I would there were nothing else to do now, I have known business to occupy such as were put in trull, when Religion hath been untouched, a new order engendereth a new cause of punishment against them that offend: And punishments be not pleasant to them that have the execution, and yet they must be, for nothing may be contented. And thus I travel in the matter with My Lord of *Canterbury*, because he would I should weigh things, and so do I as indifferently as ever did man for the preservation of the Ship wherein I sail my self, and so many other whose prosperity I am bound to wish, I can admit no innovations.

S. W.

S. W. To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good Grace with thanks, that it hath pleased you to be content to hear from me, wherein now I have from your Grace liberty to write at large, I cannot find the like gentleness in my body to spend so much time as I would: And therefore shall now desire your Grace to take in good part, though I gather my matter into brief sentences.

The Injunctions in this visitation contain a commandment to be taught and learned, two Books, one of the Homilies that must be taught other by Priest. Another of *Erasmus* Paraphrases, that the Priest must learn himself, these Books strive one with another directly, &c. Thus I have signified to your Grace some special faults that be *Erasmus* own faults; and in my judgment great faults, but I have not written all: And your Grace shall further understand that he who it is, I know not who hath taken the labours to translate *Erasmus* into English, hath for his part offended sometime, as appeareth plainly by ignorance, and sometime evidently of purpose, to put in, leave out, and change as he thought best, never to the better but to the worse, with the specialties whereof, I will not now encumber your Grace, but assure you it is so. And here I will grant to your Grace, that for every lie I make unto you, let one c. pound fine upon mine head, and let me live here like a Beggar, whilst my revenues pay it: My words you have in writing, and be against me matter of record; and so I yield to have me charged, as the Bishop of *London* was with offering the form of his Bishoprick, which matter came to my remembrance in the writing herof; and now I have written unto your Grace upon what foundation my Conscience is grounded, I shall truly declare unto you the manner of my proceeding from the beginning I never heard of the execution of the visitation, till your Grace was departed from *London* Northward; and as the Books flowed abroad by liberty of the Printers they came to my hands, I never slept while I had perused them, as soon as I had found certain faults I wrote to the Council, trusting upon such earnest advertisement as I made, they would incontinently have sent for me, and upon knowledge of so evident matter as me thought I had to shew, have stayed till your Graces return, I saw a determination to do all things suddenly at one time, whereunto although your Grace agreed, yet of your wisdom I conjectured ye had rather have had it tarry

whiles your return, if you had not been pressed: And that word pressed I noted in your Graces Letters to me, wherein you wrote you were pressed on both sides: me thought if by bringing my self to most extrem danger in your absence, I could have stayed this matter, besides my duty to God, and to my Sovereign Lord I had done also your Graces pleasure, of whom I have this firm opinion, that willingly and wittingly your Grace will neither break the Act of Parliament, nor command Books to be bought with authority, that contain such doctrine as these Books do: Thus I adventured in your Graces absence, wherein although I had remembrance of your Grace; yet I made not your Grace my foundation, but God chiefly as God knoweth with the preservation of our late Sovereign Lords honour that dead is, and the security of our late Sovereign Lord that now is.

Let no man be offended with the vehemency of my writing, for I wrote with a whole heart, and if I could have written it with the blood of my heart I would have done it, to have done good, in staying the thing till it had been more maturely digested, and till your Graces safe return, I touched the Act of Parliament lively, but as truly as ever was any thing spoken of. And I never wept more bitterly then I did for a conceit that troubled my head which never passed my lips, nor shall never come out of my Pen, I will tell it your Grace, and you require it. Now whether the King may command against an

Act of Parliament, and what danger they may fall in, that break a Law? with the Kings content I dare say no man alive at this time hath had more experience, what the Judges and Lawyers have said then I: First I had experience in mine old Matter the Lord Cardinal, who obtained his Legacy by our late Sovereign Lords request at *Rome*: And in his light and knowledge occupied the same with his two Crosses, and Maces born before him many years; yet because it was against the laws of the Realm, the Judges concluded the offence of the Proclamation: Which conclusion I bear away, and take it for a Law of the Realm, because the Lawyers so said, but ray reason digested it not. The Lawyers for confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of the Lord *Tiptoft* as I remember, a jolly Civilian, he was Chancellor to the King, who because in execution of the Kings Commission he had offended the Laws of the Realm he suffered on *Tower-hill*, they brought in examples of many Judges that had fines let on their heads in like case for doing against the Law of the Realm by the Kings commandment. And then was brought in the Judges Oath, not to stay any Process or judgment for any commandment from the Kings Majesty. And one Article against My Lord Cardinal, was that he had granted Injunctions to stay the Common Laws, and upon that occasion, *Magna Charta* was spoken of, and it was made a great matter the stay of the Common Law, and this I learned in that case, sithence that time being of the Council, when many Proclamations were devised against the Carriers out of Com, at such time as the transgressors should be punished, the Judges would answer it might not be by the Laws, whereupon ensued the Act of Proclamations, in the passing of which Act many liberal words were spoken, and a plain promise, that by authority of the Act for Proclamations, nothing should be made contrary to an Act of Parliament, or Common Law, when the Bishop of *Exeter*, and his Chancellor were by one body brought in a *Pamunire*, which matter my Lord Privy Seal cannot forget, I reasoned with the Lord *Audley* then Chancellor, so far as he bade me hold my peace for fear of entering into a *Pamunire* my self, whereupon I stayed, but concluded, it seemed to me strange that a man authorized by the King (as since the Kings Majesty hath taken upon him the supremacy every Bishop is such a one) could fall in a *Pamunire*. After I had reasoned the matter once in the Parliament House, where was free speech without danger, and there the Lord *Audley* then Chancellor, to falsifie me familiarly; because I was in some secret estimation as he then knew, thou art a good fellow Bishop, quoth he, which was the manner of his familiar speech, look the Act of Supremacy, and there the Kings doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction; and in another Act it is provided, that no spiritual Law shall have place contrary to

Which resolution I have, chapter and his name is first say, if all craty pradia were known:

Crossed by last time.

And why you and your break the Act of Parliament of King Edward for the Commission by a Proclamation, or setting up the stile in Q. Marias days. Like bladed like man.

Which I have never heard of the visitation, till your Grace was departed from London Northward; and as the Books flowed abroad by liberty of the Printers they came to my hands, I never slept while I had perused them, as soon as I had found certain faults I wrote to the Council, trusting upon such earnest advertisement as I made, they would incontinently have sent for me, and upon knowledge of so evident matter as me thought I had to shew, have stayed till your Graces return, I saw a determination to do all things suddenly at one time, whereunto although your Grace agreed, yet of your wisdom I conjectured ye had rather have had it tarry

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a Common Law or Act of Parliament. And this were not (quoth he) you Bishops would enter in with the King, and by means of his Supremacy order the Laity as ye listed; but we will provide quoth he, that the *Premunire* shall ever hang over your heads, and so we Lay men shall be sure to enjoy our inheritance by the Common Laws, and Acts of Parliament. It is not yet full two years ago, since in a case of *Jewels* I was fain with the Emperors Embassador, and after in the Emperors Court, to defend and maintain by commandment, That the Kings of this Realm were not above the order of their Laws. And therefore the *Jeweller*, although he had the Kings Bill signed, yet it would not be allowed in the Kings Court, because it was not obtained according to the Laws, in which matter I was very much troubled, even this time twelve months, when I was in Commission with My Lord great Master, and the Earl of Southampton for altering the Court of Augmentations. There was My Lord *Mountague*, and other of the Kings Learned Council, of whom by occasion of that matter I learned what the King might do contrary to an Act of Parliament, and what danger it was to them that meddled against the Act it is fresh in memory, and they can tell whether I said true or no; and therefore being learned in so notable cases, I wrote in your Graces absence to the Council therein, as I had learned by hearing the Commons speak, whose judgments rule those matters, howsoever my reason can digest them, and so wrote to the Council; which my writings I fashioned so as I trusted My Lord would have stayed till your Graces return. And thus I have declared to your Grace the purpose of my writing to the Council so vehement, which nevertheless I continued with all humility to abide the order of authority, and learn all other obedience; for therunto I have ever had as great regard as any man in this Realm. And as my word is *Vana salus hominis*, so I assure your Grace I practise it thoroughly in my deeds.

When My Lords sent last for me, I came to them with as much speed as I might, with my sleeves and bosome full of Books to furnish my former Allegations: I was heard very well and gently, and me thought I shewed matter that should have moved, for I shewed the two Books to be contrary, as I have written before, wherewith they said they were not moved, adding how their Conscience agreed not with mine, using many good words to bring me to such conformity, as they would have had me at; whereupon knowing that I know, I could not relent, but after I had been a little beside from them, and was returned, they entered a precise order with me, either to receive precisely the Injunctions, or to refuse; in which case they had further to say to me, adding that your Grace was privy to that was done there that day: My answer was, that I would receive the Injunctions as far as Gods Law and the Kings would bind me; and because I saw they grew to such preciseness, and remembering how after a good sort they had caused me to be accompanied before with Master *Wingfield*, making innovations, what would be the end if I would not yield? I would not therefore leave unpoken, that I thought might avoid that followed: I told them there were 3 weeks of delay to the coming of the Visitors to me: In the mean time, I offered to go to Oxford to abide the discussion there, which offer was not allowed. I desired them to go to my house at London, and to have Learned men speak with me there, which was not accepted. I entered then the allegation of the Gospel of the Servant that said he would not do a thing, and yet did it, and so I said it might be that although I then said nay, as my Conscience served me, yet I might perchance change, and was a man that might be tempted. But as my Conscience was then, me thought Gods Law and the Kings letted me, and upon knowledge of their pleasures, that I must to the Fleet, I told My Lords I thought it hard, unless there were a greater matter than to send me to Prison; for declaring before hand what I minded to do before any thing had been by me actually done to resist the visitation, who had all the mean time to think on the matter, and repent me. Whereunto the answer was such as displeased me not inwardly so much, but I have well digested it, and (so all may be well) care not what becometh of my body; I departed as quietly from them, as ever man did, and have endured with as little grudge here, and

have learned this lesson in the world, never to look backward, as S. Paul saith, nor remember that is past, I will never grudge or complain of nothing for my self.

As for the matter to have such Books recommended to the Realm in the Kings name by your Graces direction, me seemeth very weighty, and your Grace not to have been well handled in it. All the world knoweth the Kings Highness himself knew not these Books, and therefore nothing can be ascribed unto him; your Grace hath been to your increase of honour so occupied, as all men know, your Grace had no leisure your self to peruse these Books, and yet be the Books as I have written. I leave the rest to your Grace. If I that tell the Council my mind of them that have done so far amiss, because when I know so much, I will not yet allow them, I shall from henceforth the more regard the lesson of an old Embassador, that bade me, let evil tydings go home to my Master a Foot, and send only good tydings by Post. A shift with the word, which agreeth not with my nature, as Master *Wallop* saith. Upon Friday last past, My Lord of *Canterbury* sent for me to the Dean of *Pauls* house, whether I went with some gazing of the World. There I found My Lord of *Canterbury* accompanied with the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, Master Doctor *Cox*, and Master *Aire*, and I was brought thither by the Bishop of *Lincoln*; what report My Lord of *Canterbury* hath made thereof I cannot tell, my Lord of *Canterbury* was in hand with his Homily of Salvation, but nothing heard, or saw I to save my Conscience in agreeing to him, but heard that I should justly confirm me in mine own Conscience; I made offer to yield to them in that Homily, if they could shew me any old Writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification, it is against Scriptures plain words, and to swerve from Scripture without any one Doctor to lean to it, were fore: Where Scriptures and Doctors want, My Lord of *Canterbury* would fall to arguing, and overcome me that am called the Sophister, by philosophy. When I heard My Lords argument I denied it, and would enter none other declaration, for I kept that answer till some other than were there, be present, my solution whereunto, when I declare it, shall make all the rest of the matter very weak, and My Lord not to like his argument at all. One argument I could not assent to come again to the Fleet: My Lord of *Canterbury* charged me, that I like nothing unless I do it my self, wherof I am not guilty, I was never Author of any one thing either Spiritual or Temporal, I thank God for it. I am also charged that all the Realm hath received these Homilies without contradiction save I: Whereunto I answer, I think they have not read that I have read in these Books; what hath been done I cannot tell, now I am kept as I cannot know, though I would when I was abroad, I never sought to know more than was brought by common fame; for this shall be found true, I never adviced any man to object any thing against these Books, no one man, not my Chaplains: A kinsman of mine beneficed in my Diocess, and not unlearned, came to me, and told me how he heard a lewd Fellow say that I would not receive the Injunctions. And Sir (quoth I) I rebuked him, and reviled him, and said you would as readily receive as any man: I told him that in so saying he did very well; upon my coming up a Chaplain of mine a Doctor of Divinity told me, he would receive the Injunctions quietly, and say nothing. I told him it should be well done, if I had tarried in my Diocess; if any man had spoken but my self I would have lost my life for it, nor I think there hath not now. This matter was to try a Bishop, whether he careth more for the truth, or his own rest. What examples have I seen in this Realm, how freely men have laid their Conscience against our late Sovereign Lords determination, and against the Act of Parliament? D. *Crow* a mean man preached against our late Sovereign Lords determinations, and how daintily he was handled to relieve his Conscience: If your Grace would have this for a precedent, that whatsoever the Kings Council for the time of a Princes minority shall send to be preached must needs be received without allegation; of what strength is the Act of Parliament against the Bishop of *Rome*? The Kings Majesty, when he cometh to his age will look to be bold to do as much with his Subjects as his Council did in his minority, wherof the Counsellors may be then weary, Princes be dangerous. For I have seen it almost for a rule, That whatsoever hath been once done, may then without question be done

KING
LEAND

{**KING**
Edw. 3} done again, in our late Sovereign Lords time. I have seen the Council much aforesaid, when the King would have done somewhat against an Act of Parliament, it was made then a great matter. The Lord Cromwell had once put in the Kings our late Sovereign Lords head to take upon him to have his will and pleasure regarded for a Law, for that he said was to be a very King, and thereupon was called for at *Hampton Court*. And as the Lord Cromwell was very stout, come on my Lord of *Winchester* (quoth he) for that conceit he had whatsoever he talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latine, and all. Answer the King here (quoth he) but speak plainly and directly, and shrink not man. Is not that (quoth he) that pleaseth the King a Law? Have ye not therein the Civil Laws (quoth he) *quod principi placuit*, and so forth (quoth he) I have somewhat forgotten it now, I stood till and wondered in my mind to what conclusion this should tend: The King saw me musing, and with earnest gentleness said: Answer him whether it be so or no, I would not answer my Lord Cromwell, but delivered my speech to the King, and told him: I had read indeed of Kings that had their will always received for a Law, but I told him the form of his Reign, to make the Laws his will was more free and quiet, and by this form of Government ye be established; quoth I and it is agreeable with the nature of your people: If ye begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no man can tell, and how this frameth ye can tell, and would never advise you Grace to leave a certain for an uncertain: The King turned his back, and left the matter after till the Lord Cromwell turned the Cat in the Pan afore company, when he was angry with me, and charged me as though I had played his part: This tale is true, and not without purpose to be remembered, how I have been toiled to and fro in this kind of matter. Thus I have shewed your Grace the whole matter with many more words than I intended in the entry of my Letter, and make now an end, enforced by weariness of my body, fed with close air, rather then meat, which my stomach deliveth not, yet I must lay somewhat in the matter of only Faith, wherein my Lord of *Canterbury*, so much travelleth.

First it is sure, he shall never prove that he would lay in that matter, but to make an end of it, either I am a very fool in mine own conceit, which may easily be, or I see an occasion given to your Grace to make such a true determination in it, as may be honourable to your Grace, the contentation of all the world, the prelevation of the Kings honour that dead is, without prejudice of the Act of Parliament, without derogation to My Lord of Canterburies honour, without diminution of the reputation of the Council, and without any glory to the Bishop of Winchester. Which is in some respects conceiteth the greatest matter of all that can be yet reafared, and in good faith I would I were not, for all were well. Your Graces doing in Scotland, is not to my judgment more to your Graces honour than this would be, which God grant and your Grace much honour and felicity.

At the Fleet the xiv of October.

Your Graces humble Beadman, S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good Grace, since the writing of my last long Letters to your good Grace, which as they wearied me in writing, they have I think wearied your Grace in reading, I have been in great expectation to hear somewhat from your Grace, of whole gente and favourable mind towards me. I cannot doubt, howsoever the Declaration thereof at this time be hindered by other by-persuasions, wherewith although your Grace may be somewhat moved, I marvel not, and therefore whilst all things may be tried, do well satisfy my self, not minding by any lute, I have or shall make; otherwise to preys your Grace than may be conveniently obtained of you in the state you now present. And yet for I must of congruence, for declaration of my humility, and also importunately lute, I left I should be seen to contemn, and to be entered into a melancholly, proudly to disdain the world, which I assure your Grace I do not, *not* neither

And any fish fantastic: Whereof they can be witnes, that have continually seen my behaviour, since the death of my late Sovereign Lord, and since my coming to this Prison. And yet my *Lord of Canterbury*, when I came for the last time of the *Fleet*, handled me with fair words, saying he had met me in his opinion to be called to the Court, and again, adding how (he said) did daily chafe in, others again, that were not appointed by our late Sovereign Lord. For I was worldly comfortable words, and as far contrarious or false as the *Fleet* is on the other side: But I have not I thank God, been so deceit which my Lord of *Canterbury* thought to be true, or would seem to think for, whereby to induce others to think the same, as though I were not moved to say as I do, for any zeal to the truth, but of perverse forwardness, as one that like not his estate, and therefore cared not what became of him: The truth whereof to be otherwise God knoweth: And I am able to make to the world sufficient proof and Testimony of the contrary if it be required: Firstas touching the Book of Paraphrases, whereof I wrote to your Grace special Faults, and other I have to shew as great as they I trust: And doubt not, the matter itself shall sufficiently declare, that I have done well to speake against that Book, assuring your Grace, that since my coming to Prison, many days together when I looked on it, I have every day, fore new thing in it, both of fault, as ought worthily to condemn the writer, I have found

ought wurtully to condemn the work. I have raivoured
* *Erasmus* name as much as any other, but I never studied
over this Book till now, and now I agree with them that
said, *Erasmus* laid the Eggs, and *Luther* hatched them : adding
further, that of all the monstrous opinions that have
arisen, evil men had a wondrous' occasion mislnted to
them of that Book ; and therefore I trult the matter of that
Book will purge the evil opinion as might be gathered of
me, wherein I offer to prove that I laid with any learned
man, pain of shame and rebuke, and to be taken for a
licolick Bead. As for the Book of *Homilies*, in that power
wherey my Lord of *Canterbury* would have taught how
faith excluded charity in the office of justifying, besides that
my Confidence is otherwise perwaded, and truly perwaded,
it doth so touch me outwardly in the world, as if I
would for any intercession or request upon offer to be a
Counsellor, or have as much more Land as all the Bishops
my spend. I was worthy for so agreeing for me on
the one side, or dread on the other side ; first, to be whip-
ped in every Market Town in the Realm, and then hang-
ed for example, as the verieit Vagab that ever was Bilhop
in any Realm chnitted, unless my Lord of *Canterbury*
could shew me either Scripture that so said, or some ancient
* *Writer*, wherein I desire only to fee but one where com-
monly two be required in every matter. But because it
is in the matter of only Faith, I require but one ancient
* *Writer*, whereby I cared not for my Confidence as some
would have it, perwaded if I might excuse my self at
to the world that I were not worthy to be whipped, and
hangd in all good mens judgements, and mine own also.
And this matter I write unto your Grace, to declare unto
you in what frairs I am *tyed inwardly in my Confidence
by very truth, so I am tyed outwardly in the world with
shame, whereby appeareth that I refut not this matter of
a wilful purpose, or that I like it not because I was not
a Counsellor, which words my Lord of *Canterbury* used to
me, for I am even driven to do as I do of necessity or
both kinds in my Confidence before * God and the world
abroad, whereof if I shew not your Grace such a proof
cannot be denyed, let me be out of all credit in every
thing, and be accounted a byer, which I abhor above all
faults. Whereupon ne seemeth my case is miserable to be
encumbered as I am, and yet to be used as I were with-
out cause oblitrate, notwithstanding all such considerations
as I have used to humble my self to learn and abide ; yf
myself to be oppoed at *Oxford*, that I might say, if I
yielded, learning had overcome me : When that was re-
fused, I offered myself to go to School at home, which
offer to yield to the truth. And although I have to main-
tain me, both the plain Scriptures, the Doctors plain
and the plain A^ct of Parliament : Yet for conformity of
feared to my Lord of *Canterbury*, to yield if he could
shew me one Scripture affirming faith to exclude chari-
ty in justification, or Scripture failing as it doth indeed
to shew me but one ancient *Writer* that writeth so, with
offer to yield and give place, which offer excludeth

Erasmus if he had been alive, he could as well have answered for this matter, as he answered to Albertus Pius objecting against him the same.

† Because you
require an
ancient au-
thor, what
say you to
Cbrystom
in *epist. ad
lit. rom. 3.*
*Si fidei cre-
dit, cur alie
inferi? quod
fides non
sufficit solo.*
* The same
Cbrystom
also

4 In Mai. &
 Tom. 27.
 Tom. 3. ne
 jam nemi-
 nem super-
 possit, his
 verbis decla-
 rari non ex
 operibus sed
 ex fide salu-
 tem homini-
 bus eternam
 præstari.
 If I might

with this
noble Cler
I would op
pose him in
his Gram
mar, what
part of
speech we
Absque in
Pani, when
he saith.
Eide justifi
cannar absq
que absc

justified by
Faith with-
out works
If he say he
is a propo-
sition exclu-
sive, as he
must needs
do, then
how can he
deny here
charity to
be exclude

with all
the works
of the Law
in the action
of justifica-
tion, if the
sword ex-
cluding de-
disease
you, there
take away
in S. Paul
these words
Gratis, n-
ex meritis

obsequie pre
cibus Doti
est, &c.
That is fre
ly not ob
works,
with. ut
works it f
Gods glr
&c. Work
of charity
are not en
cluded sic
to follow

rit any part
of justice
tion;

stubbornness, and all evil opinion that might be conceived of wilfulness in me; it is now twenty days ago since I spake with my Lord of *Canterbury*, when the strongest arguments he made me, were to agree, with hope to be a Counsellor again, or go to the *Fleet* from whence I came, for when I made request to the contrary, he said he had no such Commiſſion from the Council, and so here I remain without Bail or Mainprize, without comfort of any of my Friends or Servants, as one divided from the world, no Chaplain to accompany me in prayer, no Barber nor Taylor for bodily necessities, nor liberty to use Physician for relief of Disease, whereof I have need: And your Grace who I think would shew me relief: for I will never think want of good will in you, is perswaded, by means that I resist the truth wilfully, and that your Grace may not in any wise shew me the least comfort in the world, for then no man shall rule me. And then your Grace that shewed so much favour to the Earl of *Southampton* late Chancellor, wherein all the world commended your gentleness, if your Grace should now any ways comfort me in Prison with the least token of gentleness, ye might be noted to favour *Wincheſters* factions, as some term it, whereas I take God to record I never joyed my self with any man, nor have secretly encouraged any man to be of my opinion. And yet as I have none other opinion, but such as the Parliament hath established. The Earl of *Southampton* did many things whilst he was Chancellor, touching Religion, which misliked me not, but did never advise him so to do: nor made on him the more for it when he had done, he was one of whom by reason I might have been bold, but I left him to his Conscience, therein I never said so much secretly to any Noble man of the Realm, as I have to your Grace, at which time I advised your Grace to be noted neither on the one side, nor on the other. And your Grace hath for your self as good a name as can be. And I shall say this without flattery, that like as chance very notably hath advanced your Estate many degrees, since the time of my first acquaintance with you, so have you had occasion to shew your virtue, whereby to be thought worthy your Estate, by means whereof you cannot with a more felicity than you have to be the beginning of such an Estate as ye shall leave by Gods grace to your Posterity. This is not altogether out of my matter, for whatsoever become of me, I would your Grace did well, men be mortal, and deeds revive, and me think My Lord of *Canterbury* doth well to entangle this your Grace with this matter of Religion, and to borrow of your authority the *Fleet*, the *Marshalsea*, and the *Kings-Bench*, with imprisonment in his house, wherewith to cause men to agree to that it please him to call truth in Religion, leaving that he setteth forth not established, by any Law in the Realm, but contrary to a Law in the Realm: At the least a Law it is not yet, and before a Law made, I have not seen such a kind of imprisonment, as I sustain, humbly offering my self ready to learn: Our late Sovereign Lord, whose soul God pardon, suffered every man to say his mind without imprisonment, till the matter were established by Law. If My Lord of *Canterbury* hath the strength of Gods spirit, with such a learning in his Laws, as be able to overthrow with that breath all untruths, and establish truths; I would not desire the let of it by your Grace, nor the work of Gods truth any way hindered: In which case if all the Realm be perswaded besides my self in this matter, it shall be ease for to reprove me in the face of all the World, and drive me to the ground with the Sword of Gods Scripture, which he should rather desire to do, than to borrow the Sword your Grace hath the rule of, wherewith to fear men, which is a mean to slander all that is done or shall be done, if men be prisoned before a Law made. And I cannot believe but there be more than I, or else I should not be kept so secret. For all my folks referred to me, and told me there was no reason to stand alone against all men, to undo them and my self also in this world. It were a greater temptation than My Lord of *Canterbury* made to put me in hope to be a Counsellor again. Be your Grace assured, the foundation of my ground is a zeal to the truth, although I have many worldly considerations to alledge for me, which serve to purge me of wilfulness, which I assure your Grace is not my fault, I will not

trouble your Grace with all I could say of my knowledge: (KING
Edw. 6.) whatsoever my words be of My Lord of *Canterbury*, which the matter enforce me to speak. I am in none enmity with his person, and that I am able to prove, but My Lord hath in the Homily of salvation taken such matter in hand, and so handled it, as if I were his extreme enemy, I would have wished him to have taken that piece in hand, and so handled it as he hath done. For that asseveration how Faith excluded Charity, can neither be proved by Scripture, nor confirmed by any ancient Writer, or perswaded by any effectual argument. And one argument My Lord hath devised, which he frameth thus: We be justified by Faith without all works of the Law: Charity is a work of the Law. Ergo we are justified without Charity. The answering of which argument, which I can do plainly by authority, shall declare that either My Lord is deceived himself if he take it for a strong argument, when the opinion of his learning shall be hindered, or if he use it wilfully knowing the fault in it, the lack is greater another way. But the answer to that argument doth touch all the matter, whereunto I have an answer made 1200 years by-past, which I will of my peril shew, if My Lord will avow it for his argument. And if my Lord will send me the argument of his hand, I will send him the answer of my hand, whereby shall shortly appear, whether I trifle or no. In the later end of my last Letter to your Grace I spake of a determination, whereof I wished your Grace were Author. For weariness of writing I did not open what I meant in speciality, intending now to begin in the middle of this sorrow, with a merry tale: But a very true tale, and not unmeet to be rehearsed: Thus it happened, certain Doctors of Divinity at *Paris*, minding with utterance of some learning, whereof they had store to requite a Gentleman that had bidden them to Dinner, using a Preface, that as he had fed them with bodily meat, they would feed him with spiritual food, proponed this question to be disputed amongst them: Whether the Ads that carried our Lady and Christ, when *Joseph* fled with them into *Egypt*, when it carried our Lady only with Christ, in her lap, carried then as perfect a burthen, as when it carried our Lady with Christ on her lap, and a Flea sitting on her head? Herein the Doctors were in great earnest, and many hot arguments were between them in the matter, with much spence of language. Whether our Lady alone, with Christ in her lap, were as perfect a burthen, as our Lady and Christ with a Flea upon our Ladies head? The audience which was learned, was well cheered with laughing, but other edification the matter had not. And it may be laughed at, whensoever it is told to be in what trifles many men spend their time: And now I shall say that which is strange at the first reading, but it is true.

The matter of Justification with only Faith justified, and whether Faith excluded Charity in justification, pertaineth no more to the use and practise of our Church of *England*, although in knowledge it be a grave matter, than the trifling question I rehearsed pertained to the heavens edification in good living: I beseech your Grace to know how I put a difference between use and knowledge. The knowledge of justification as I have said is in learning of more weight, and such as for the entreating of it, many have wept even here at home, besides those that have wept in Germany, but the use and practice of it is no more necessary in the state of the Church of *England*, than is the handling of the other question, and for any use in the Church, the one may be forborn as well as the other, considering the Baptism of Infants, is so duly observed. In which Sacrament of Baptism all we be justified before we can talk of the Justification we strive for. And unless the Church leave the use to Christian Infants, which shall not be, there cannot be a time, in which the knowledge of the Justification we strive for, can be practised: But all men shall as we already have, receive their Justification in Baptism in their Infancy. So as the Doctrine of only Faith justified, if it were true as the Homily declareth, it is no more necessary for the present state of the Church, than to know whether the burthen of our Lady and Christ only were as perfect as the burthen of our Lady and Christ with a Flea sitting upon our Ladies head, which the solemn Doctors of *Paris* so earnestly entreated.

KING Some will say I am waxed mad in Prison to compare these two together: But as I compare them for use and practise, the one is as necessary as the other. And as I was bold to use the merry example to imprint the matter the better in your Graces memory. For it is as I say, when we have all talked, for we all are justified in Baptism, younglings and falling after Baptism, we must arise by the Sacrament of Penance, which must be confessed of all Men, unless they be such as deny all Sacraments as some have done indeed, wading so far in the fitting of only Faith, that they have left nothing but Faith alone, and yet spent a great deal of their Faith in the handling of it, or rather all. And that is a general fault I find, that such as write in that matter do not handle it Faithfully in alledging the Doctors and Scriptures right as they be. Now if this be true that I have written, which is true indeed, were it not an horrible part of you to say, Why trouble ye the World for a thing not necessary, and so put it from the Country, and make it as it were a Checker Chamber-case, and so to beset to the Universities, for whom it is meet soberly to talk, and not for Homilies, wherein the People shall hear that they shall never practise, because they learn it too late, being justified before in their infancy in Baptism. My Lord of *Canterbury* told me his intent is only to set out the freedom of Gods mercy, which may be done much more plainly, with putting the People in remembrance of the constant received Faith of the Church in the Baptism of Infants, whereby such as be justified and saved in the virtue of Christs Passion, as after Baptism by malice fall not to sin, and those must return to Christ by Penance; but such as die (before that actual sin, hath defiled their Soul again) if they die in the innocency received in Baptism, be saved.

And yet those Children, when they were Christened did nothing, but cry for cold, or when they were over-hard gripped for fear of falling. And when this is believed, is not Gods mercy believed to be ministered after a most free liberal sort? If my Lord of *Canterbury* mind only that the matter shall appear without Argument, as we practise Justification in receiving the Sacrament of Baptism. And if for Justification by only Faith, is all out of use, howsoever we expound it, as the state of the Church is now.

And it is a terrible matter to think on, to see such a contention to rise upon a matter not necessary to be spoken of, wherein if my Lord of *Canterbury* will needs travel, my judgment is, That he shall never persuade that Faith excludeth Charity in Justification, unless he borrow of your Graces Authority Prisons, and then he shall perceive have some agree unto it, as poor Men kneel at *Rome*, when the Bishop there goeth by; that is to say, knocketh on the head with a Halberd, if he kneel not, for that is one piece of the office of the Bishop of *Romes* Guard. Finally there hath been nothing done, but your Grace may use it to the augmentation of your honour. I have things more to say, but this matter is over-long already, and me thinks I have been over-long here, and shewing my self so humble a Scholar, as I have done, it is much to be beaten, because I do not learn where no Man teacheth me, and so willing to learn as I ask but one Scripture, or Scripture failing, as it doth for my Lord of *Canterbury* purpose, I ask but one ancient Doctor: This is my case, for as touching any act of disobedience, my Lords of the Council did foresee, that I should not fall in that danger, and therefore would not trust my frailty to be in the Country, when the Visitors should be there: But made me sure here, lest I might have offended, if I had been there, though I had but a few words to speak; that is to say, saving Gods Laws and the Kings, yet they might have been misinterpreted, and so engendered me more trouble; and this good I have of my being here, which I suffer patiently, and make it to serve for my purpose in my conceit, as I thank God I have no displeasure of mind, and only feel such as the Body engendereth for want of some necessities, whereof if I may have relief at your Graces hand, I will accept it as thankfully, as any Man hath any benefit at your hand, and as instantly require it of you. And yet if I have no other comfort from your Grace than I have hitherto had, I will think nevertheless as well of your Grace as ever I did, and be only sorry,

that in the state you be in the liberty of doing that your heart would persuade you, should be firailly enclosed with respects, as my Body is with wakes. Thus desiring your Grace to take in good part my bold writing to you, I shall make and pray Almighty God for the preservation of your Person. With increase of honour and felicity. At the *Fleet*, or rather in the *Fleet*.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

S. W. To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good Grace, upon trust that your Grace would take my Letters in good part, and not otherwise than I wrote them. I wrote to your Grace out of this Prison, as I was wont to write to our late Sovereign Lord, whose Soul God pardon; when I was Ambassador, refreshing my self sometime with a merry tale in a sad matter, which his Highness ever passed over without displeasure, as I trust your Grace will do the semblable. For though some account me a Papist, yet I cannot play the Pope holy, as the old term was, I dare not use that severity in writing, which my cause requireth to speak of God, and his Truth in very second sentence, and become suddenly a Prophet to your Grace, with a new Phrase of speech, with whom I have been heretofore so familiarly conversant, as I think honour hath not altered your Graces nature, even so adversity hath not changed mine. Of your high Place in the Common-wealth, no Man is more glad than I, nor no Man shall do his duty further than I, to acknowledge you as your Grace is now, Protector and Governor of the Realm. But I have been so traded to speak boldly, that I cannot change my manner now, when perchance it doth me no good. And although there be an *Italian* in Prison with me, in whom I see a like folly, who living with a little miserably, will not for his honour take Alms, saying, to be still in the state he was sometime, which manner I condemn in him, yet I follow him thus far, rather to write after my old manner, which cometh plainly to mind, than to take Alms and aid of Eloquence, whereof I have this state need. For your Graces Letters return every word of my Letters in my Neck, and take my Fly as it were a Bee, which I thought should have stung no Man, which matter in mirth, declareth the necessity of the other matter, as aptly as may be, neither to be necessary. And when I wrote I forgot as my fellow Prisoner, the *Italian* doth the state I am in now. And wrote as I had written from *Antwerp* in the state of Ambassador. The *Italian* my companion hath his folly of nature, I have it of custom in bringing up, which hath the effect of nature: And is called of learned Men, Another nature. And then the Proverb of gentleness hath place, when Men say to him that is offended, You must bear with the Mans nature, and so I trust you will do with me. Two things there be in your Graces Letter, which I trust I may touch without contention. One is, That if your Grace will in a plain similitude see the issue of Faith only, and whether Faith may exclude Charity in the office of Justifying, or not, it may be well resembled in the making of Laws in this Parliament, where the AGs be passed by three Estates, which be all three present, and do somewhat together, and concur to the perfecting of the Law, wherein we may not say, That any one Estate only made the Law, or that any one Estate excludeth the other in the office of making the Law. This may be said, That these three Estates only in respect of the rest of the Realm, make the Law, and there need no more of the Realm be present but they. But if we speak of these three Estates within themselves, there is none Estate only, that maketh the Law.

But where the Law hath as it were a Body and a Soul. The high House and the low House of the Parliament make as it were the Body of the Law, which lieth as it were a dead matter, such as is not apt to take life till the Kings Majesty hath by the breath of his mouth, saying, *Le Roy le veut*, breathed a full life into it; in the conclusion

buildes

besides the life the Assembly of the other Estates had by his Authority to Assemble, which had else been a dead Assembly, even as Faith and Hope be dead without Charity: And as the Kings Majesty in this similitude of making Laws excludeth not in office of the whole the other two Estates, no more do the Estates, because they devise and frame Laws, exclude the Kings Majesty in the Office of making Laws, for without his Authority they be nothing, as Faith and Hope be without Charity not effectual. And look what absurdity and untruth this saying hath in this Realm to say, The higher House, and the lower House, exclude the King in the Office of making of Laws, the same absurdity is yet in Religion to say, That Faith excludeth Charity in the Office of Justification. And therefore it was never written of ancient writers. And therefore I desired my Lord of *Canterbury* to shew me but one, and yet cannot. In our time this Dream hath been dreamed without Scripture, without Authority, against Scripture, and against Authority, as I can shew. And further can shew how this imagination extendeth so far by them, that open their mind in it throughly, as your Grace would not at the first believe if I did express it. But I can shew that I am not evidently as clearly for my discharge as I could wish. An other matter of your Graces Letter is, Where your Grace reasoneth with me that I am over precise in finding of faults in the Paraphrasis, seeing every Book hath some faults. And then your Grace taketh not *Erasmus* for a Gospel, but as one in whom somewhat may be reprehended or amended. After which manner of sort, if your Grace take the Homilies: as for like reason in my judgment they must, for they be Mens compositions, as the Paraphrasis is, and not the very Gospel it self, why should I be kept in Prison, who offered to receive the Homilies and *Erasmus* both, so far as they were not without fault, either of Gods Law or of the Kings? Because I saw the Errors before, and spake of them, I have made more speed to Prison than other have done, who persevere for troubling of their Conscience have received the Books close with such reverence, as becometh Men to receive that is sent from their Prince, wherein I would have done as they did, if I had not seen the Books before. But I did as I have seen divers Noble Men do. And among them as I remember your Grace, when they have being sent in service to have used such diligence, as to see their Commission and Instructions made, or they went and finding something doubtful or amiss, after the Commission was Sealed, and Injunctions Signed worthy to be mended, have upon declaration of their mind therein obtained amendment with commendation. Now I have a charge in the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to see the People fed with wholesome Doctrine, wherein if I be so diligent as to look upon the Commission, and considering what I shall be charged with to do, take this or that for a fault in my judgment, and labour to have it amended, wherein differ I from other Mens diligence? And how can it be taken for a fault to say reverently to the Council? My Lords, me seemeth, this and this cannot stand together, either instruct me in them, or amend them; In what nature of crime should this Humility be? Am I worthy for so saying to be condemned to a perpetual Prison? And to be a close Prisoner, to speak with no Man, to hear from no Man, to talk with no Man, for my Household which is a great number, wandering and lamenting for me? My Case should be in the nature of praise, in the nature of commendation, in the nature of thanks, if none other have said that I can say: if one only Man in a Realm faith, He knoweth Treason to subvert the whole Realm, and can shew evident proof of his so saying, shall he be Prisoned because of good will he offereth to say and prove that no Man else uttereth but he? And therewith offereth to prove that he faith to be true: it is incredible, that a King should set forth a Book tending to the subversion of his own Estate, and therefore that I shall say cannot touch his Majesty, who knoweth not what is done, as reason judgeth in his tender age: it is also incredible, That your Grace being Uncle to him, should be content, that any Book should be set forth that might tend to the subversion of his Estate. And I dare say for your Grace, you would not if the Book be like the Horse that the *Trojans* received into their City, wherein the *Trojans* knew not what was in it, let me be heard that know what is in it,

Winchester
resembleth
the Homi-
lies to the
Horse of
Troy.

and so know it, as I can shew it as evidently, as I can the Sun and the Moon in bright Days, and bright Nights, when both shine: I do not trifle with my wit to undo my self, but travel with my honesty to preserve my Country, to preserve my Prince, to preserve Religion: And this your Grace shall find to be true, which knowing my Letters to be contrived to the extremity, I would not write unless I were furnished with matter to discharge my writing. Your Grace I doubt not remembreth *Singleton's* Conspiracy. And *Erasmus* hath framed his Doctrine, as though *Singleton* had required him thereunto. I have such matter to shew, as though I had my self devised it for my justification. And yet I am reasoned with, as though one given to let good Doctrine, to find a knot in a Ruhl, to trouble good enterprises; after which fort your Grace is moved to write unto me, and thereupon I remain here still without hearing, having such matter to utter as shall confound them all; which I would not write if I were not assured: For it were a small pleasure to me writing thus extremely, to be confounded when I had been heard, and then worthily sent hither again for lying so manifestly, which I would think a worthy punishment, as this is unworthy to be handled as I am for virtue, that I dare say the truth, can declare the abomination of this Paraphrasis, and of the Homilies also, in both which matters I have shewed all I can shew, I shall declare I am not worthy to be kept here, and yet here I have remained these seven weeks, without speaking with any Man saving my Physician, who I thank your Grace hath done me good: And yet when Men see I am thus banished from the World, so as no Man may speak with me, it is not pleasant for any Man to resort unto me, and that I perceive if my Lord of *Canterbury* think I will wax mad he is deceived, for I wax every day better learned than other, and find every day somewhat to impugn the Paraphrasis and Homilies, not by wit or device, or other subtilty, but plain sensible matter if I may be heard: And if I be not heard my Conscience telleth me I have done my duty, and therewith from travel shall apply my self to prayer, wherein I shall remember the prosperous estate of your Grace whom God preserve.

Concerning
his abomi-
nating cal-
ling against
the Para-
phrasis and
Homilies,
desires the
judgment,
good Recor-
der, till we
come to his
Objections
and our An-
swers to the
same.

In the Fleet.

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good Grace, whatsoever your Graces considerations be not to hear me yet, nor answer me, and howsoever I determine and do bear patiently the state I am now in, Reason nevertheless bindeth me to continue my fate, That if your Grace seeth at any time occasion to change your determination, there shall nothing want on my behalf to provoke your Grace so to do: He that is refused at one time may be heard at another, and importunity speedeth when none other mean can prevail. Being also a fault in the Inferior to despair of the Superior in so reasonable a request as mine is; which I cannot do of your Grace for other respects: I have remained here long unheard of your Grace, inclosed up more closely, now close Religions be begun, than ever were any whilst they were here, no stranger may speak with me, I cannot have the company of my Chaplain, which is necessary for me after so long time. And if your Grace hath no leisure to hear me shortly, I trust you will without delay suffer my Chaplain to resort unto me, as well as of your gentleness ye have suffered the Physician for my Body to come to me, for the which I most humbly thank your Grace: herein I desire your Grace to answer me by this bearer, that I may have some comfort from you, for whose preservation I shall pay to Almighty God.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

To

{KING
Edm. 6}

S. W. To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good Grace, I am very loath, knowing your Graces busyness to trouble you with many Letters, and yet not bearing from your Grace any thing for answer to mine own Letters before written, I am so bold to write these, wherewith to put your Grace in remembrance of mine estate in Prison, as one differred from the use of his Servants and Friends, and as it were buried quick without knowledge of any just cause wherefore, and with knowledge, by course of time that now the Parliament is begun, whereof I am a member, unless my fault had cut me off, and whereunto I was called by Writ, which I received before my coming hither, where I would also gladly do my duty, as I am bounden if I were not detained and bounden in Prison from my liberty, that I might so do, which allegation I make the rather to your Grace, to the intent with the opening of a necessary suite worthy to be regarded, I might minister comfort to your Grace, whereupon to these such gentleness to me, as of your own gentle heart, I am persuaded your Grace gladly would, for whose preservation with increase of honour I shall pray to Almighty God, who have your Grace in his tuition.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good Grace, I cannot discuss by conjecture, why evidence is thus put off in my case, that hath been wont commonly to be granted to all Men: if it should be of any Man through policy, to keep me from the Parliament, it were good to be remembered, whether mine absence from the upper House, with the absence of those I have used to name in the neither House, will not engender more cause of objection, if opportunity serve hereafter, then any presence with such as I should appoint were these, the signification whereof is the chief cause of these Letters, for as I am now encumbered with being here, so might some be encumbered therewith hereafter, which should do me pleasure: My matter that I have to say toucheth the highest, and is worthy to be heard, whereunto my Lord of Canterbury can only answer that he would never have thought it, or that he hath been otherwise informed of them he put in trust, for it would touch him over-much to grant he had so much knowledge in the Paraphrasis, as I now have, and knowing the same to have advised your Grace to set it forth to the People, I can say much, which is expedient for your Grace to hear and consider, desiring only this credit of your Grace to think me worthy to be heard, and thereupon give me audience, I cannot enchant Men, ne look not to be believed in the matter, unless it be so plain, as no Man can gain-say it, and therein the Book to be Judge. The nature of my cause should move your Grace, the present Assembly of learned Men should move your Grace to celebrate mine audience: And if your Grace knew what I could say of the Long Letters your Grace sent, good faith, your Grace would make so much the more speed. For whereas the purpose of your Grace in these Letters is, to alter my Judgment, the handling of the matters is such, as I am able to shew good cause why they should as they do, work a contrary effect, as I am able to declare, if ever I come to your presence. My Lord of Canterbury will needs maintain that our late Sovereign Lord was seduced, and then it is possible that your Grace may be seduced also, and therefore it is good for your Grace to hear and to hear in time: whatsoever I have written to your Grace is true, and I have not written all the specialties I know in the greatest matters, which your Grace shall perceive to be true, I see evidently, that unless my matter be very notable, and also plain, it shall not boot me to allege it thus

much, I am learned by your Graces Letters, and therefore if I had any cause to mistrust it, I would use another mean whereof in your Graces Letters I see some comfort; but my matter is so plain and so expedient to be understood, that I must needs desire your Grace to be heard in it, wherein it may like you to send me knowledge of your pleasure, and that my suite to your Grace may stand in some stead, for whose preservation in honour I shall daily pray to Almighty God, who preserve your Grace.

In the Fleet.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: In my third Letter I signified unto your Grace my need of the counsel of Physician, as the state of my Body then required: whereunto because I had no answer, I have used all other means of relief, that I could to avoid that need, as one loth to trouble your Grace with requests not necessary. Master Warden of the Fleet, and my servants know that I faint not, and I have cause to fear, the effect will shew I faint not indeed. In this case I may not desperately forbear to write to your Grace, and think that because I have had no answer to all mine other Letters, among which I made mention of this necessity, that I should likewise have none answer to this: As I have determined my self to a truth in the chief matters, so I chuse to use simulation in by-matters: My mind I thank God was never so quiet, as hath been since my coming hither, which hath relieved my Body much, but the Body hath need of other relief, which cannot be had as I am kept by commandment. These seven weeks saving one day I have been here under such strait keeping, as I have spoken with no Man. And thus me seemeth I see my matter perplexed, your Grace will meddle with nothing done before your come home. And those of the Council that sent me hither, can by themselves do nothing, now your Grace is coming home: upon which consideration I sue to none of them, and perceive that your Grace to whom I sue, for some respect forbearth to make me answer, for such a Paraphrasis I make of your Graces silence, wherein I go near as think the truth, then Erasmus in his Paraphrasis some time, wherein he taketh upon him to get the causes of Chrills doings. I thank God my mind can take no hurt, how vehement soever their temptations be. But when a certain Sect of Philosophers called Stoicks, contemned in their learning stoutly the grief and disease of the Body, they were fain a little to shrink, when the Gout or any Disease nipped them, and now my stomach nippeth me, which I have favoured as much as any Man in England, and have laden it as light either with Meat or Drink of many years, and specially since my coming as any other. And after I saw I could get no answer from your Grace for a Physician, I have left off such study as I used, and given my self to continual walking for exercise, and with hope of relief, have delayed any further suite in that matter till now. And now I sue enforced, which I do most humbly with request, that Imprisonment, being to me, that was never in Prison before, of it self tedious, be not with special commandment made more grievous, unless I were charged with other offence than I am yet charged with, or in my Conscience can be: For me seemeth I have deserved thanks of your Grace, and the Realm, for the disclosing of the faults of the Paraphrasis, wherein I have written some specialties, but not all; and have such to shew as I may term that Book at one word, Abomination, both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Erasmus Pen, and also the arrogant ignorance of the Translator into English, considering the Book should be Authorized by a King, and by the Injunctions charge the Realm for buying rather above twenty Thousand pound than under, whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of Buyers, and the Price of the whole Books: This Translator sheweth himself ignorant

Your first
keeping is
to be
doubted,
considering
the Warden
of the
Fleet was
your guest
at friends

norant, both in *Latin* and *English*, a Man far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part, whereby your Grace may take an Argument, what moved them that counselled your Grace to Authorise such a Book in the Realm. As for my Lord of *Canterburie* Homily of Salvation, hath as many faults, as I have been weeks in Prison, which be seven, besides the general that the matter maketh a trouble without necessity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the Parliament.

Finally, In the two Books the matter I have to shew is some part so dangerous, as after I knew it as I know it, the concealment thereof were a great fault, if I did not utter it. As for the manner of mine enterprise to utter it, I know not how to have fashioned it better, than to write to the Council in your absence, and on my Knees to declare some part of it, when I came to them receiving their determination of Imprisonment, I humbly departed from them hither without grudge, and remain here without grudge to any one of them, for they shewed no fashion of any evil mind towards me. And I have learned in the Civil Law that the deed of a number, is no one Mans act, with this also, the Authority is to be honoured; which rule I observe in thought, Word, and Deed. After which sort I remain with such suits as I have made to your Grace hitherto, and with this also that I add, enforced for the relief of my Body, how little soever I do, and have cause to set by it, which I most humbly desire your Grace to consider, and to send me some answer by this bearer: And I shall pray Almighty God for the preservation of your Graces felicity.

Your Graces humble Bead-man.

Certain additions after these Letters above-specified, with Notes and Solutions answering to the same.

THUS have we set out to thee (gentle and studious Reader) an extract of certain Letters of Bishop Gardiner; not of all that he wrote, but of such as could come to our hands. Neither of these also that we have, for any good stuff, or any great profit therein contained, or that they did clear him or his cause any thing, for the which he was most worthily condemned. For if there did or might appear any such thing in all his writings, that might clear the ill-favoured doings of that Man, be thou sure such were then secret about him, and yet his well-willers (their names I leave untouched) having his writings, and being able to shew them, as I am privy they are, would not so conceal them in covert as they do, being thereto both provoked and occasioned by us, if they had seen any thing in them meet to relieve the person, or to remedy this matter. Wherefore think not for any such effect these his vain-glorious Letters to be brought in here of us; but only that thou might hereby collect and understand by those his forefald Epistles, and Articles following, not only the whole course and story almost of all his proceedings from time to time, but also might see the nature and inward condition of the Man, how vain-glorious, full stuff and puffed up with arrogancy, and drowned in his own conceit he was, much like to the person, or rather he himself, described in the *Latin* Comedy, *Miles Thraso gloriosus*, having nothing in his mouth, but Emperors, Kings, Counsellors, Protectors, Adviseiments, Direction; as though all direction of Realm and Princes did flow out of his Brain, like as it is in the Poets Fables, that *Minerva* did spring out of the head of *Jupiter*. And yet if this vain-glorious conceit had been alone in him, less matter had been against him. Now his subtil practises, and pretended purposes; and dissimulating conveyance did not only augment, but also exceed all his other evils; as in the Letters above-specified is notorious and evident to be seen; wherein though he durst not apertly gainfay that which he inwardly misliked, yet how covertly doth he insinuate himself to the Lord Protector, under pretence of giving counsel, to bring that to pass which was for his purpose; that is, That no innovation or alteration might be made of Religion, during all the Kings minority, but that all

things might stand as King *Henry* left them, and that is the chiefest butt in all Letters, whereto he driveth; using commonly this argument, which as it is easie to recite, so neither is it hard to answer to; although in the Notes before we have answered already sufficiently.

The sum and conclusion of all Winchester's drift in his Epistles before.

That is chiefly to be feared and avoided of the Lord Protector, and now specially in the Kings minority, that may both bring danger to him, and trouble to the Realm.

Innovation of Religion from that state, in which King *Henry* left it, may be and is like to be dangerous to himself, and cause trouble to the Realm.

Ergo, Innovation of Religion, from the state that the King left it in, is in no wise to be attempted.

The Answer.

TO answer first to the vocable Innovation, which he stumbleth so greatly upon, this I say, that Innovation is properly used, where a thing is brought in anew which was not before. Forasmuch therefore as in this alteration there is no new Religion brought in, but only the old Religion of the Primitive Church revived; therefore here is to be thought not so much an Innovation, as a Renovation or Reformation rather of Religion, which Reformation is oft times so necessary in Common-wealths, that without the same all runneth to confusion.

Secondly, I answer to the argument, which I do deny as a *Fallax*, for there is *Fallacia accidentis*. Where it is said, That Reformation of Religion gendeth danger to the Protector, and trouble to the Realm; first, what will come that is uncertain: and God be hallowed, yet no danger hath come to *England* for the reformation of Religion. And though there did, yet the cause thereof is not to be imputed to Religion Reformed: For sincere and true Doctrine of his own nature worketh quiet, peace, and tranquillity, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other causes, as by the malice of Satan, and wicked adversaries, not by reason of the Doctrine of True Religion. So, after the preaching of Christ and his Apostles, dissension followed in Common-wealths betwixt Father and Son, Brother and Brother, &c. but that is not to be ascribed to them, but to other.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphrase of *The Paraphrase of Erasmus*, this I answer and say, That this Bishop belike had over-watched himself in this matter. For if it be true which he himself affirmeth, That he never read that Book before, and now he never slept till he himself read it; it happened peradventure, that in the overmuch watching of himself, and swift reading of the Book, his Judgment was asleep, whilst his Eyes were open in reading the same.

Likewise touching the Book of Homilies, especially the Homilie of Salvation, wherewith he findeth himself so much grieved with the Archbishop, seeing he bringeth forth no proofs, I have nothing to answer. In the mean season, this I have to think, That if he had been so cunning in the knowledge of his own Salvation, as he was in the destruction and vexation of Christs members, he would never so rage against that Homily.

Touching the examination of *Ann Askew*, if it be misreported by Mr. *Bale*, why doth not he note the places which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able so to do; yet seeing the examination was of her own Penning, which Mr. *Bale* did follow, let every Christian Reader judge, whether is more to be credited of these two, the that was persecuted, or he that was the persecuter.

And where he speaketh so much of quiet and tranquillity; this I answer, That quiet and tranquillity in Weals publick, so long as they are joynd with right reformed Religion, be much to be embraced. But when it is otherwise; that is, where True Religion lacketh his right, there let the second Table give place to the first.

He

KINGS
Edw. 6

The Para-
phrase of
Erasmus.

The Book
of Homilies

The exami-
nation of
Ann Askew
set forth by
Mr. Bale

Quiet and
tranquillity
in Realm
ought not
to keep Re-
formation
of Religion

KING He thwarteth also and wrangleth much against Players, Printers, Preachers. And no marvel why. For he seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple Bulwark against the triple Crown of the Pope, to bring him down, as God be praised they have done meety well already.

The Art. of Just. cation. As touching the Article of free justification by Faith, which he cannot abide, so far as we have sufficiently declared it in the Notes before, we shall refer the Reader now also unto the same.

And moreover, because in one of his Letters mention is made of a certain Letter sent unto Master Ridley, because we will defraud thee (gentle Reader) of nothing that cometh to our hands, here hath thou the Copy thereof, in effect as followeth:

Here followeth the Copy of the Letter of Stephen Gardiner sent to Mr. Ridley, in the Letters above-mentioned, containing matter and objections against a certain Sermon of the said Mr. Ridley, made at the Court.

The Letter of Winch. sent to Mr. Ridley. After Ridley, after right hearty commendations, it chanced me upon Wednesday last past to be present at your Sermon in the Court, wherein I heard you confirm the Doctrine in Religion, set forth by our late Sovereign Lord and Master, whose Soul God pardon, admonishing your audience that ye would specially labour in the confutation of the Bishop of Rome's pretended Authority in Government and usurped Power, and in Pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in Heaven and Earth.

Which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controversy. In the other two ye spoke of, touching Images and Ceremonies, and as ye touched it, specially for Holy Water to drive away Devils, for that you declared your self always desirous to set forth the meet truth, with great desire of unity as ye professed, not extending any your asseveration, beyond your knowledge, but always adding such like words (as far as ye had read) and if any Man could shew you further, ye would hear him (wherein you were much to be commended.) Upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought my self bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of Images and Holy Water, to the intent you may by your self consider it, and so weigh, before that I will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained, wherein I have seen other forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith (which I am sure ye have read) That (a) Eusebius writeth of Images, whereby appeareth that Images have been of (b) great Antiquity in Christs Church: and to say we may have Images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his Saints, be over gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle. For you know the Text of the Old Law, (c) Non facies tibi sculptile, forbiddeth no more Images now, than another Text forbiddeth to us Pundings. And if omnia be munda mundi to the Belly, there can be no cause why they should be of themselves impura to the Eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then when we have Images, to call them Idols, is a like fault in sona folly, as if a Man would call (Regem) a Tyrant, and then bring in old Writers to prove that Tyrannus signified once a King, like as (Idolum) signified once an Image: but like as Tyrannus was by consent of Men appropriate to signifye an Usurper of that dignity, and an untrue King; so hath Idolum been likewise appropriate to signifye a false representation, and a false Image: inasmuch as there was a solemn Anathematization of all those that would call an Image an Idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the King our Master (God save him) our true just King, a Tyrant; and yet in talk he might shew, that a Tyrant signified sometimes a King; but speech is regarded in his present signification; which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

I verily think, that for the having of Images ye will say enough, and that also, when we have them, we should not despite them in speech, to call them (d) Idols, ne despite them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them, but at the least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein Luther (that pulled away all other regard to them) strove stoutly and obtained (as I have seen in divers of the Churches in Germany of his reformation) that they should (as they do) stand still.

All the matter to be feared is excess in worshipping, wherein the Church of Rome hath been very precise: and specially Gregory, writing Episcopo Massilien. Which is contained, De consecratio. Distinct. 3, as followeth:

Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconf. Das hic videtur sunt, primum; devoto zelo succensus sanctorum imaginum cultu, sub hac quasi excusatione ne adorari eas, sed tantum ad gloriam debuisse, confregisse; & quidem eas ad adorandum vetuisse omnino laudamus, fregisse vero pictura illa Christi & maris; ambrosius tangens, cuius meminit Eusebius in hist. Petrus & ceteri beati Gregorius; est, quod scilicet? Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturam huiusmodi adorandum, addiscere. Nemo pictura excolit illa & ad ipsam picturam quam affert, praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa praeterquam quod ipsa ratione ignorantes vident quid cogi debeant, in eam, pugnat etiam manifestum cum Synodo E. lib. Artic. 36, ubi prohibetur in templis picturas, et in cultu si verum. Fugnat etiam cum exemplo E. in Sexta Synodo was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden, that is to say, godly adoration to it being a creature, as is contained in the Chapter Venerabiles imagines, in the same distinction, in this wise.

Venerabiles imagines Christiani non Deos appellant, neque servitium eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum iudicium sed ad memoriam & recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas & adorant, sed non servitium eis cultu divino, nec alicui creature.

By which Doctrine all Idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words. So as we cannot say that the worshipping of Images had his beginning by Popery; for Gregory forbid it, unless we shall call that Synod Popery, because there were so many Bishops. And yet there is forbidden cultus Divinus, and agreeeth with our aforesaid Doctrine, by which we may creep before the Cross on Good Friday, wherein we have the Image of the Crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place and to earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel (e) and creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which Cross nevertheless the Sexton when he goeth for a Cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his Gown whilst he drinketh a Pot of Ale, a point of homeliness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no Divinity in the Image. But ever since I was born, a poor Parishioner, a Lay-man, durst be so bold, at a shift (if we have also Church-warden) to set the use of the Church at length, and his own in the mean time, the Silver-Cross on Easter-day,

(d) Betwixt Images and Idols there is but little difference, but betwixt Images set up in Churches and Idols, there is none at all. Or, It is, do you know, that Idols are gods, Idols are men.

(e) Euseb. Caes. faith, That he saw the Pictures of Paul and Peter kept with a certain Christian-man, but yet he said not that those Pictures were set up in any Church.

(b) What antiquity Images had in the Church, is declared by the doing and writing of Eusebius, in his Epistle ad Epist. Hierosol. translated by Hieron. In the Council, called Nicaenorum, Artic. 36, it is to be seen how Pictures were forbid in Church-walls. Item, in concilio Constantino, sub Leone Imp. Images were condemned. Item, Carol. Magnus, with the whole Council of Frankfort decreed against Images, abrogating the vain and frivolous acts of Rome in his Council a little before. Briefly, concerning the antiquity of Images, when Bishops began to cease from preaching in Churches, then Images began to be set up. (c) It is not like, for Non facies sculptile, that is, Moral; De immundis; is but Ceremonial.

(e) What work winchilles maketh to creep to dead Crosses, and to worship blockish Images. But the lively Images of Christ, then he brought to the Crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place and to earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel (e) and creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which Cross nevertheless the Sexton when he goeth for a Cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his Gown whilst he drinketh a Pot of Ale, a point of homeliness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no Divinity in the Image. But ever since I was born, a poor Parishioner, a Lay-man, durst be so bold, at a shift (if we have also Church-warden) to set the use of the Church at length, and his own in the mean time, the Silver-Cross on Easter-day,

But winchilles was so bigoted in his Lay mens Books, that he had no leisure to understand learned Books.

KING? And as our young Sovereign Lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised, *ne negligat gratiam Dei in domo carationum*, but follow his Father therein; also not doubting but God will hear him as he hath heard his Father, and other his Progenitors Kings of this Realm, to whose Dignity God addeth this Prerogative, as he doth also to inferior Ministers of his Church, in the effect of their Prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might find some youngling pecaſe that would ſay, How worldly, wily, witty Bilhops, have inveigled ſimple Kings heretofore, and, to confirm their Bleſſings, have alſo deviſed how Kings ſhould Bleſs alſo, and ſo Authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have had it objected to me, that I uſed to prove one piece of mine Argument ever by a King, as when I reaſoned thus: If ye allow nothing but Scripture, What ſay you to the Kings Rings? but they be allowed, *Ergo*, ſomewhat is to be allowed beſides Scripture. And another, if Images be forbidden,

(b) Why doth the King wear S. Georges on his brett? he wearth S. Georges on his brett: *Ergo*, Images be not forbidden. If Saints be not to be worſhipped; why keep (c) we Saint Georges Feaſt? But we keep S. Georges Feaſt, *Ergo*, &c. And in this matter of Holy Water, if the ſtrength of the Invocation of the name of God,

to drive away the Devils, cannot be diſtributed by Water: why can it be diſtributed in Silver to drive away Diſeales, and the dangerous Diſeaſe of the Falling Evil? But the Rings hallowed by the Holy Church may do ſo. *Ergo*, the Water hallowed by the Church may do like ſervice. Theſe were Arguments in his time, and I truſt be alſo yet, and may be conveniently uſed, to ſuch as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull ſight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye ſpake effectually, when ye ſaid, Men muſt receive the determination of the particular Church, and obey where Gods Law reſpugneth not expreſly. And in this effect to drive away Devils, that Prayer and Invocation of the Church may do it, Scripture maintaineth evidently, and the ſame Scripture doth authorize uſe to pray, and encourage uſe to it. So as if, in diſcuſſion of Holy Water, we attribute all the effect of the Holineſs which proceedeth from God by Invocation of the Church, and take Water only for a Servant to carry abroad Holineſs; there can be no Superſtition, where men regard only Prayer, which Scripture authorizeſ: and if we ſhall ſay that the Water cannot do ſuch ſervice, we ſhall be convinced, in that it doth a greater ſervice in our Baptiſm by Gods ſpecial (d) Ordinance. So as we cannot ſay, that Water cannot, or is not apt to do this Service; only the ſtay is, to have a preſide place in the New Teſtament, to ſay, Uſe Water thus in this ſervice, as we do in Holy water, which me thinketh needeth not, where all is ordered to be well uſed by us: and when the whole Church agreed upon ſuch an uſe, or any particular Church, or the common Miniſter of it, and by the Exorcism ordered for it, the thing to be uſed, purged,

(c) S. Georges Feaſt is kept, *Ergo*, Saints are to be worſhipped.

Adp. A like Argument: *Lambes Feaſt is kept, Ergo*, Lambes are to be worſhipped.

(d) The Water of Baptiſm hath an exorcism ordinance, whence Holy water hath none.

(e) Chriſt ſaith not move in ſil Church dumb Creatures of Gold and Silver, &c. but Miniſters by the ſtrength of his Word to carry abroad his Grace.

(f) Cramp-rings and Holy-water both together in like caſe as *ſeipſis*, in *quo ejusdem* be uſed and ſhould be enforced to ſay, that our (f) Cramp-rings be

ſuperſtitious (where Truth inſbreath us not ſo to do) it were a marvellous puniſhment. *Si ceci eſſemus* (as Chriſt ſaith) *peccatum non haberemus, ſed videmus*, and this Realm hath Learning in it, and you a good portion thereof, according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, *non ad popularem ruinam, ſed artiſicis ſtueram*. I mean, that Artiſter which teacheth the Church our Mother (as ye fully declared it) and ordered our Mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point ſpeaking of the Church, although ye touched an unknown Church to us, and known to God only, yet you declared the union of that Church in the permiſt Church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again, wherein the abſurdity is taken away of them that would have no Church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himſelf, whereupon followeth the old Proverb, *zad idu mura dnuſur* *ſei quid dicit nſe*. Which is far from the unity ye ſo carneſtly wiſhed for, whereof (as me thought) ye ſaid Pride is the let, as it is undoubtedly, which fault God amend, and give you Grace to ſalſion your words, as ye may agree with them in ſpeech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion. For that is the way to relieve the World. And alſo there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but contrariwiſe a little diſagreement (which I did not hide from you) yet conſidering the fervent zeal ye profeſſed to teach (g) Peters true Doctrine, that is to ſay, Chriſts true Doctrine, whereunto ye thought the Doctrine of Images and Holy-water, to put away Devils, agreed not, I have willingly ſpent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) (b) plainly as it is, whereupon ye may have occaſion the more ſubſtantially, fully and plainly to open theſe matters for the relief of ſuch as be ſlain from the Truth, and confirmation of thoſe that receive and follow it, wherein it hath been ever much commended to have ſuch regard to Hiſtories of credit, and the continual uſe of the Church (i) rather to ſhow how a thing continued from the beginning, as Holy-water and Images have done, may be well uſed, than to follow the light raſh Eloquence, which is ever *ad manum*, to mock and improve that is eſtabliſhed. And yet again, I come to Marcellus that made a Croſs in the water, and bad his Deacon caſt it abroad (k) *cum ſide & zelo*; after which fort if our Holy-water were uſed, I doubt not but there be many Marcellus, and many Elizeus, and many at whole prayer God forgiveſt ſin, if ſuch as will enjoy that Prayer have Faith and Zeal, as *Equitius*, and were as deſirous to drive the Devil out of the Temple of their Body and Soul, as *Equitius* out of the Temple of *Jupiter*. So as if holy uſe were coupled with holy water, there ſhould be more plenty of Holineſs than there is; but as men be prophane in their living, ſo they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, nor ſo much as Bread and Water, fearing leſt they ſhould take away ſin from us, which we love ſo dearly well. *Solus Chriſtus peccata diluit*, who ſprinkleth his Blood by his Miniſters, as he hath taught his Spouſe the Church, in which thoſe Miniſters be ordered, wherein many ways maketh not many Saviours, as Ignorants do jeſt, whereof I need not ſpeak further unto you; no more I need not in the reſt in reſpect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all Men in your Sermon to ſay what they thought to you, *Id quod hanc mihi expreſſit epiſtola, quam boni conſuler, Et vale*.

Your loving Friend,

Stephen Wincheſter.

AS I have ſet forth here (gentle Reader) the cavilling Letter of Wincheſter againſt M. Ridley Sermon; ſo am I right ſorry, that I have not likewiſe the Answer of the ſaid Ridley again to joyn withal. For I underſtand, that not only Maſter Ridley, but alſo Maſter Barlow, Biſhop of Saint Davids (for Wincheſter wrote againſt them both) had written and ſent immediately their Answers to the ſame, refuting the frivolous and unſavoury Reaſons of this Popiſh Prelate, as may well appear by a par-

(g) Alſo Peters Doctrine, that is to ſay, Chriſts true Doctrine, whereunto ye thought the Doctrine of Images and Holy-water, to put away Devils, agreed not, I have willingly ſpent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) (b) plainly as it is, whereupon ye may have occaſion the more ſubſtantially, fully and plainly to open theſe matters for the relief of ſuch as be ſlain from the Truth, and confirmation of thoſe that receive and follow it, wherein it hath been ever much commended to have ſuch regard to Hiſtories of credit, and the continual uſe of the Church (i) rather to ſhow how a thing continued from the beginning, as Holy-water and Images have done, may be well uſed, than to follow the light raſh Eloquence, which is ever *ad manum*, to mock and improve that is eſtabliſhed. And yet again, I come to Marcellus that made a Croſs in the water, and bad his Deacon caſt it abroad (k) *cum ſide & zelo*; after which fort if our Holy-water were uſed, I doubt not but there be many Marcellus, and many Elizeus, and many at whole prayer God forgiveſt ſin, if ſuch as will enjoy that Prayer have Faith and Zeal, as *Equitius*, and were as deſirous to drive the Devil out of the Temple of their Body and Soul, as *Equitius* out of the Temple of *Jupiter*. So as if holy uſe were coupled with holy water, there ſhould be more plenty of Holineſs than there is; but as men be prophane in their living, ſo they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, nor ſo much as Bread and Water, fearing leſt they ſhould take away ſin from us, which we love ſo dearly well. *Solus Chriſtus peccata diluit*, who ſprinkleth his Blood by his Miniſters, as he hath taught his Spouſe the Church, in which thoſe Miniſters be ordered, wherein many ways maketh not many Saviours, as Ignorants do jeſt, whereof I need not ſpeak further unto you; no more I need not in the reſt in reſpect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all Men in your Sermon to ſay what they thought to you, *Id quod hanc mihi expreſſit epiſtola, quam boni conſuler, Et vale*.

(h) Plalaly in ſe, his Pen ſhall not let him lie.

(i) The beginning of Holy-Water came firſt from the Gentiles, who uſed to ſprinkle ſome ſacred ſubſtance ſtanding at the doot upon ſuch as went into the Temple.

(k) *Cum ſide & zelo* Sotterus and Conſuſers, with ſuch a wrong faith joyntly ſaid to diſturb creatures, may and do with like reaſon call up Devils, as Holy-Water may drive them away.

cel additional of a Letter sent by the Lord Protector to the said Bishop in these words :

And because we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certain Letter or Book which you wrote unto us against the Bishop of Saint David's Sermon, and Doctor Ridley's, to the which answer bring immediately made. It was by negligence of us forgotten to be sent. Now we both send you that, and also the Answer which the Bishop of Saint David's wrote to the same Book of yours.

Articles and Positions ministred and objected each of them joyntly and severally to the Bishop of Winchester; as followeth.

The 1. Article.

IN primis, That the Kings Majesty justly and rightfully is, and by the Laws of God ought to be Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, and so is by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, and by Act of Parliament justly, and according to the Laws of God recognised.

Winchester.

This first Article the Bishop granteth.

The 2. Article.

Item, That his Majesty, as Supreme Head of the said Churches, hath full Power and Authority to make and set forth Laws, Injunctions, and Ordinances for and concerning Religion, and orders of the said Churches, for the increase of Virtue, and repressing of all Errors, Heresies, and other enormities and abuses.

Winchester.

To this second Article he answereth affirmatively.

The 3. Article.

Winchester granteth to the full authority of the King in setting forth his Laws.

Item, That all and every his Graces Subjects are bound by the Law of God to obey all his Majesties said Laws, Injunctions and Proceedings concerning Religion, and orders in the said Church.

Winchester.

To the third Article the said Bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The 4. Article.

Item, That you Stephen Bishop of Winchester have sworn obedience unto his Majesty as Supreme Head of this Church of England, and also of Ireland.

Winchester.

To the fourth Article, the said Bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The 5. Article.

Item, That all and every his Graces Subjects, that disobey any his Majesties said Laws, Injunctions, Ordinances and Proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished, according to his Ecclesiastical Law used within this his Realm.

Winchester.

To this fifth Article the said Bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The 6. Article.

Item, That you the said Bishop, as well in the Kings Majesty's late Visitation within your Diocese, as at sundry times have been complained upon, and sundry Informations made against you for your doings, sayings and preachings against sundry Injunctions, Orders, and other Proceedings of his Majesty's set forth for reformation of Errors, Superstitions, and other abuses of Religion.

Winchester.

This Article toucheth other mens Acts, who or how they have complained and informed, I cannot thoroughly tell. For at the time of the Kings Majesties Visitation I was in the Fleet, and the morrow after Twelfth day I was delivered at Hampton Court, my Lord of Somerset, and my Lord of Canterbury then being in Council, with many other Councillors, and was delivered by these words: The Kings Majesty hath granted a General Pardon, and by the benefit thereof I was discharged: whereunto I answered, That I was learned never to refuse the Kings Majesties Pardon, and in strength as that was: And I would and did humbly thank his Majesty therefore, and then they began with me in an Article of Learning, touching Justification, whereunto they willed me to say my mind; adding therewith, that because other Learned had agreed to a Form delivered unto me, I should not think I could alter it: which I received of them, and promised the Thursday after to repair to my Lord of Somerset's House at Sheene, with my mind written; which I did, and at that day seven night following, appearing before him and other of the Council, was committed to my House for Prisoner, because I refused to subscribe to the form of Words and Sentences that other had agreed unto, as they said. In which time of Imprisonment in my House, the Bishop of Rochester then being sent to me, and after Mr. Smith, and then Mr. Cecil, to which Mr. Cecil, when I had by Learning resolved my mind in the matter, I delivered it; and he delivering it to my Lords Grace, wrote me, in his name, thanks for it; and then it was within the time of Lent, ere I was discharged of that trouble, and so went to Winchester, as a man clearly out of all travel of business.

And within fourteen days after that, or thereabouts, began other travel with me, upon a request made by my Lord of Somerset to surrender a College in Cambridge, and divers Letters were written between his Grace and me in it. Wherein I might perceive the Secretary with his Pen took occasion to prick me more, than I trusted my Lords Grace himself would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then shortly after I received Letters to come to the Council, and by reason I alledged my discafe, I was respited by other Letters, and three days before Whitsonide received yet other Letters to come, by which it might seem unto me, that it was not of all believed that I was discafed. And therefore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in an Horse-litter, and according to my duty presented myself to my Lords of the Council, who all then entertained me secretly among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had been in the same place with them that I was in our late Sovereign Lords days. Afterwards my Lord of Somerset's Grace charged me with these Matters following, and in this form, having the Articles written in a Paper.

First, with disobedience, that I came not at his sending for. Whereunto I answered, That I had his Letters of License to stay till I might come conveniently. And upon these last Letters I came inconveniently in a Horse-litter.

Then it was objected, That I bare Palms, and crept to the Cross. Whereunto I answered, That they were misinformed, and I trusted they would not think I durst deny it, if I had done it, because Ceremonies had such circumstances, as I might easily be reproved if it were otherwise.

Then it was objected, That at Easter I had a solemn Sepulchre in the Church, and such other Ceremonies. I answered, That I had even as many as the Kings Majesties

KING
Ed. 6.

Winchester
complained
at

The Article
of Justification
sent to
Winchester.

Winchester
Prisoner in
his own
House.

Winchester
sheweth to
subscribe to
the Articles
of Justification.
Mr. Cecil
sent to
Winchester.
Winchester
again test
free.

Winchester
sent for to
the Council.
Winchester
sick.

Winchester
cometh at
last in a
Horse-litter.

Winchester
charged
with dis-
obedience.

justices

THE KING Jeſſies Proclamations commanded me: declaring plainly, That I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the Kings Majesties Proclamation; adding, how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

Wincheſter charged to deſace certain of the Kings Chaplains. It was then objected unto me, That I went about to deſace two of the Kings Majesties Chaplains, ſent down to be Canons of the Church of *Wincheſter*. Whereunto I answered, declaring the Fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to juſtifie. After this matter thus off objected and answered, I was commanded to go apart, and being called in again, my Lord of *Somerſet* Grace looking upon a Bill of Articles, ſaid, I had preached how the Articles went from the preſence of the Council, of the Council, of the Council; which matter I denied, adding, That it was not my fault of Preaching, ſo to play in iteration of words.

Real Pro- fess. After that, it was objected unto me for Preaching of the Sacrament, to ſay, The Body of Chriſt was really preſent, being a fault to uſe the word Really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I answered, That I did not uſe the word Really, which needeth not. For as I once heard my Lord of *Canterbury* reaſon againſt one *Lambert*, in the preſence of the Kings Majesties that dead is; the words of the Scripture, *This is my Body that ſhall be betrayed for you*, do plainly and lively expreſs the very Preſence, and ſo did I ſet it forth to the People in my Diocels.

Wincheſter commanded to tarry at London. And this is the effect of all that was ſaid againſt me at my being at the Council, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I eſteemed obedience, and told them, I had taught in my Diocels how the whole life of a Chriſtian man conſiſteth in ſuffering properly; and therefore we may not do our own will, but the will of God; and among men, we muſt either ſuffer the Rulers will, or their powers: theſe will to order us, and their power to puniſh us. After declaration whereof, my Lord of *Somerſet* ſaid, Ye muſt tarry in the Town. Whereunto I answered, I would be contented at their commandment or pleaſure to tarry; but ſeeing I was no Offender, I deſired them I might not tarry as an Offender: and for declaration thereof, that I might have ſome Houſe in the Country about London, to remove unto for a ſhiſt. In deſiring whereof, I ſhew me to borrow *Aſſhar*. My Lord of *Somerſet* ſaid, if he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end, my Lord of *Somerſet* deſired me to write what my mind was in Ceremonies, and to ſend it unto him, and with that departed.

Mr. Philpot complained upon of *Wincheſter*. Thus I have truly opened after what fort I have been complained on, that hath certainly come to my knowledge: Truth it is, that one *Philpot* in *Weſtmiſter*, whom I accounted altered in his wits (as I have heard) deviſed tales of me, the ſpecialties whereof I never was called to answer unto. Players and Miſtreſs alſo railed on me, and other made Ballads and Rhymes of me, but never Man had juſt cauſe to complain of any my ſayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did, otherwiſe than afore. And if any man ſhall put me in remembrance of any other complaint that might in my abſence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant ſo. But well affured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make answer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life by any man of any degree. Once the Lord *Cromwel*, God pardon his Soul and forgive him, cauſed one day and a half to be ſpent in a matter between Sir *Francis Brian* and me, which was ended, and I declared an honeſt man, which the Kings Majesty that is dead, God pardon his Soul, ſet forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I have had in my life, ſaving the ſending to the Fleet, being occaſioned by my own Letter to the Council, upon a zeal that I had, which they allowed not. And finally, this ſending of me to the Tower, which was without calling me before the Council, to hear what I could ſay. I am loth to be forthwith, and therefore I account all the complaints in my whole life made againſt me whereunto I have been made privy.

Wincheſter when and how often hath been called to answer.

The ſeventh Article.

Item, That after and upon occaſion of ſiſe and many other Complaints and Informations, you have been ſundry times admoniſhed, commanded and enjoyed to conform your ſelf, as to your duty appertained.

Wincheſter admoniſhed to conform himſelf.

Wincheſter.

To this ſeventh Article I answer, I was never called afore the Council by way of outward Complaint and Information, but only once in all my whole life, which was at my laſt coming to London. Whereunto I answered as afore, and have told the form and proceſs of Speech to ſerve for furniture of answer to this and that Article: for other than I have before written. I remember not to have done or ſuffered by the higher Powers in all my whole life, till my coming into the Tower, without that I have had any by Admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not, for the obſervation of any thing already made or ſet forth by the Kings Majesty that now is, but have kept, and cauſed to be kept to my power, the Kings Majesties Acts, Statutes, Injunctions and Proclamations inviolably, having for that purpose ſuch a Chancellor, as in Orders and Ordinances hath been always himſelf diligent and precise, for that time I might have knowledge of his doings.

The eighth Article.

Item, That after the premiſſes, and for that theſe former Admonitions and Commandments notwithstanding, you did yet ſtill ſhew your ſelf not conformable, and for that alſo others by your example were much animated, and thereby occaſion of much uneaſineſſe miſtrud among the people, you were called before the Kings Majesties Council in the month of June, in the ſecond year of his Majesties Reign, and by them on his Majesties behalf commanded to Preach a Sermon before his Majesty, and therein to declare the juſtneſſe and godlineſſe of his Majesties Faith, in his proceedings upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain Articles to you delivered in Writing, and partly otherwiſe declared unto you.

Wincheſter enjoyed by the Kings Council to Preach the ſecond year of the Kings Reign.

The effect whereof, was, touching the ſupreſed Power and Authority of the Biſhop of Rome, that the ſame was juſtly and godly taken away in this Realm, and other the Kings Majesties Dominions, touching the juſt ſuppreſſing and taking away of Monasteries and Religious Houſes, of Pilgrimages, Relicks, Shrines, Images.

Certain points enjoyed by *Wincheſter* to Preach upon.

The Superſtitious going about of Saint Nicholas Biſhop, Saint Edmund, Saint Katharine, Saint Clement, and ſuch like; and juſt taking away of Chaurtries, Abbies and Colledges, halloving of Candles, Water, Almes, Palm, Holy Bread, Bread, creeping to the Croſſe, and ſuch like.

Alſo touching the ſetting forth of the Kings Majesties Authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Elighths were of many more years.

That Articulate Confeſſion is indifferent, and of no neceſſity by the Law of God; and touching the Proceſſion and Common Prayer in Engliſh.

Wincheſter.

This Article being of ſo many parts as it is, ſome true, ſome otherwiſe, muſt be answered by diviſion of it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, denying that which is otherwiſe, and opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is capitiouſ; ſo as, according to my Oath, I may open directly and plainly the truth, with ſincerity of Conſcience. The motion of Preaching was made unto me in mine own houſe by Mr. Cecil, upon the Duke of *Somerſet* behalf after I had been before the Council, as I have before ſaid; from which Council I departed (as before is rehearſed) as no offender; and therefore when Mr. Cecil ſpoke to me of Preaching before the Kings Majesty, with request to write my Sermon before, I denied that manner of Preaching, becauſe I ſaid it was to Preach like an Offender, and I was none, but departed from the Council otherwiſe, as I have before ſhewed. And the ſaid Mr. Cecil did not ſay to me that I was moved to Preach, becauſe

Mr. Cecil

because I was not Conformable; for I had at that time no manner of variance with the Council, but was in all Conformity with them, for any thing that I know, as I will answer afore God.

As for evil Example to any man, I could none give, for I never offended Law, Statute, or Proclamation in this Realm, nor did ever any act to the empaing of due obedience to the Kings Majesty in all my whole life; but by observation of them, and letting Innovations, have done as much as in me lay to maintain obedience.

After Master Cecil had spoken to me of Preaching, and delivered two Papers containing the Matters whereupon I should entreat, because I refused to give my Sermon in Writing (which was to me like an Offender) or to read those Papers of another mans device, as the conception and sincere manner of uttering of mine own Conscience (which me thought then and since, and yet, a marvellous unreasonable matter) touching both my conscience and honesty. I was then fet to the Duke of Somersets Graces chamber, and came in at a back door to himself alone, saving he took to him as Witness he said, the Lord now of *Wiltshire*, then great Master; and after many Words, he shewed me certain Articles subscribed by Lawyers, what a Bishop might command, and what the King might command, and what pain to the Disobeyer.

To whom I said plainly and truly, how those Lawyers subscription could not serve in this case to command me to utter to the People, for mine own device in words, that which is not indeed so; and if I might speak with these Lawyers (I said) his Grace should soon perceive them to agree with me. My Lord said, I should speak with no man, and I should do as I was bidden, or do worse, and bad me advise me till Dinner was done. And then was I conveyed by the Lord great Master to his Chamber, and there left alone to Dine, as was indeed honorably prepared. But I took my self to be in the nature of a Prisoner, and a restrained man.

And about two of the Clock at Afternoon, came unto me Master Thomas Smith, then Secretary, unto whom I complained of the unreasonableness of the matter, and shewed him certain particularities; who said it was not meant so precisely, but to speak of the matters. To whom I said, I was content to speak of the matters, and then if I speak not according to the truth of them, there should be enough to bear witness to my condemnation; and if I speak the truth, then they had their desire. And I said further, I thought I might with my conscience say so as men ought and should be content and satisfied. And further, if I thought that in my manner of the uttering of those matters, I should offend the Council, I had rather deny to speak of the thing, and begin the contention secretly with them, than to begin with Pulpit, and so bring my self in further trouble than needed; and therefore if they would have me Preach, I would Preach as of my self, and of these matters, so as I thought they should be content.

Whereupon I was brought up to my Lord of Somersets Chamber, and there the matter ended thus, That my Lord of Somersets said, he would require no writing of me, but remit it to me, so I spake of the matters in the Papers delivered me by Master Cecil. I told him I would speak of them, saving for Childrens toys, of going about of Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. If that be now gon (quoth I) and forgotten, if I be too buile in rehearsal of them, they will say I lumber their heads with Ceremonies, and thus they will defame me. When Ceremonies were plenty, they will say, I did nothing but preach on them, and now they be gon, I babble of them still. I said I would teach the chief Points, adding, that I would speak of other matters also, and with that, being put to my liberty to choofe the day, departed; and otherwise I was not spoken with concerning Preaching, saving after Mr. Cecil came unto me, whereof I shall speak anon.

And concerning the matters to be spoken of, all such things as be here rehearsed, be named in the Papers delivered unto me, although not altogether after this sort; saving the setting forth of the Kings Majesties Authority in his Minority, whereof there is no word in those Pa-

pers, nor was there ever any promise made of me to speak of it. Truth it is, that after I had signified the day when I would Preach, Master Cecil came unto me, making the chief Message to know the day when I would Preach: to whom I had sent word before, that it should be Saint Peters day, because me thought the Gospel served well for that purpose, and in procees of Communication, he told me, That he liked gaily well a word that I had said in another Communication, How a King was as much a King at one year of age, as at an hundred years of age, and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him again, every man knew that, and then opened of my self the Matter further. And at his next repair unto me, which was the Monday before I Preached, the said Master Cecil brought me Papers of the Kings Majesties hand, shewing me how the Kings Highnes used to note every notable Sentence, and specially if it touched a King; and therefore (quoth he) if ye speak of a King, ye must joyn Counsel withal. Whereunto I made no Answer, but stifted to other matter, without making him any promise or denial, because I would neither bind my self, nor trouble my self to dispute that matter. For albeit it is godly and wisely done of every Prince to use Counsel; yet speaking of a Kings Power by Scripture, I cannot by expresse Scripture limit the Kings Power by Counsel. And bearing blindly by report some secret matter, that I will not speak of here, I thought not to meddle with it at all in the Pulpit; and yet to the effect to have our Sovereign Lord now obeyed, of which mind I was ever, I pointed to our Sovereign Lord there in presence, and said, He was only to be obeyed, and I would have but one King, and other words to that purpose. But for any promise to be made by me, I utterly deny it, and tell plainly the cause why I spake not otherwise of it. There was also in the Papers delivered unto me, occasion given me to speak of the Mass, because of Masses satisfactory, as some understand them. And also there was occasion to speak of the Sacrament of the Altar, because of the Proclamation passed of the same, which to be true, I shall justify by the said Papers.

The ninth Article.

Item, That you receiving the same, and promising to declare the same in a Sermon by you made before His Majesty for that purpose, on the Feast of S. Peter, in the said second Year of his Reign, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters; and of divers other of the said Articles you spake and uttered your mind in such doubtful sort, as the Justness and Godliness of His Majesties Fathers, and his Proceedings, was not set forth according to the Commandments given unto you, and your own promise, to the great offence of the Hearers, and manifest contempt of his Majesty, and dangerous example of others.

Winchester.

Touching that Promise, I answer as afore; and as touching omission of that I should have spoken of, by contempt or disobedience, I answer by mine Oath, I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contempt or disobedience; for I ever minded to fatishe the promise, to speak of all matters in those Papers according to my former Declaration. And if I did perforce omit any thing (whereof I can make now no assurance, it being two years and a half past since I Preached) but if I did omit any thing, he who knew my travel in the matter, would not marvel, being troubled with a Letter sent from the Duke of Somersets, whereof I shall speak after. So as from four of the clock on Thursday, till I had done my Sermon on the Friday, I did neither drink, eat, nor sleep, so careful was I to pass over the travel of Preaching without all slander of the Truth, and with satisfaction of my Promise, and discharge of my Duty to God and the Kings most excellent Majesty. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could have answered more precisely than I can now, if according to my most instant sute, and the sute of my servants, the matter had been heard while it was in fresh memory. But because omission may

RING
Edw. 6

Winchester
opinion of
the Kings
minority.

Mr. Cecil
repulse a
gain to Win-
chester.

Winchester
makes
dangerous
speaking of
the Kings
joy coun-
sel withal.

Answer to
the above Ar-
ticle. Omission
by contempt.

KING be by infirmity of Nature, in which oblivion is a pain of our Original Sin, in which case it is no mortal offence, if a man being put in remembrance will purge it; I therefore, according to the true Testimony of mine own confidence, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and disobedience, having for my Declaration a general Sentence spoken in my Sermon, that I agreed with the upper part in their Laws, Orders and Commandments, or such like words, and found fault only in the lower part. By which Sentence it appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was past hitherto, and only differed from the doings of them that attempt Innovations of their own presumption. And furthermore I say, That that Saying (*Omission*) here objected unto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two ways, one way by infirmity of Nature, another way of purpose. Charity of a Christian man permitteth not to determine the worst of that which is doubtful and ambiguous to both Parties: as touching doubtfulness Objected, I take God to record, I minded to speak simply, and to be on the Kings Majesties side only, and not to go invincible in the World with ambiguities, esteeming him, &c. The worst man of all, is he that will make himself a lock of words and speech, which is known not to be my fashion, nor do I think this Life worth that dissimulation; and how can that be a doubtful Speech in him, that professeth to agree with the Kings Laws, Injunctions and Statutes, which I did expressly? There be that call in doubt whatsoever serveth not their appetite. It is not in the speaker to satisfy the hearer, that will doubt where doubt is not. The sum of my Teaching was, that all visible Things be ordered to serve us, which we may in convenient service use. And when we serve them, that is an abuse, and may then, at the Rulers pleasure, unless Scripture appointeth a special use of them, be corrected in that use, or taken away for Reformation. And this is a plain Teaching that hath no doubt in it, but a yea and a nay on both sides, without a mean to make a Doubt. And if any that doubteth cometh unto me, I will resolve him the Doubt as I can. And if I promised to speak plainly, or am commanded to speak plainly, and cannot, then is my fault to Promise only in the nature of Folly and Ignorance, whereunto I resort not for a shift, whereof indeed I profess the knowledge, but to shew how sometime to my hindrance I am forced. Learned, that can speak plainly, and yet speak doubtfully: otherwhiles am rejected as one that understandeth not the matter at all. As touching contempt, there can be none manifest that proceedeth of a privy Promise; if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it as appears by my general Sentence, to agree with the Superiors, and only find fault in the inferior Subjects, who daily transgress the Kings Majesties Proclamations, and other, whereof I spake then.

The tenth Article.

In Article Item, That you being also commanded on his Majesties behalf, for avoiding of Tumult, and for other great Considerations inhibited to treat of any Matter in controversy concerning the Mass, and of the Communion, Then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, did, contrary to the said Commandment and Inhibition, Declare divers your Judgments and Opinions in the same, in the manifest contents of his Highness said Inhibition, to the great offence of the Hearers, and disturbance of Common Quiet and Unity of the Realm.

Winchester.

Answer to the 10. Article. To the tenth Article the said Bishop answered, That the Wednesday after After-noon, next before the Friday when I Preached, Mr. Cecil came to me, and having in all his other Accesses spoken no word thereof, did then utter and advise me from the Duke of Somerset, that I should not speak of the Sacrament, or of the Mass, whereby he said I should avoid trouble. And when he saw me not to take it well, I mean, quoth he, doubtful matters. I asked him what? he said Transubstantiation. I told him, He writ not what Transubstantiation meant. I will Preach, quoth I, the very Presence of Christs most Precious Body and Blood in the Sacrament, which is the Catholick Faith, and no doubtful matter, ne yet in Controversie, saving

that certain unlearned speak of it they wot not what. And among the matters, quoth I, whereof I have promised to speak, I must by special words speak of the Sacrament, and of the Mass also. And when I shall so speak of them, I will not forbear to utter my Faith and true belief therein, which I think necessary for the Kings Majesty to know; and therefore, if I will to be hanged when I come down, I would speak it. Which plain zeal of my Confidence, grounded upon Gods Commandment to do his Message truly, I would not hide but utter so, as my Lord should, if he would not have it spoken of, not let me to come there as he might have done: whereas else, if I had had a deceitful purpose, I might have accepted the advice, and without any colour of trouble, have refused to follow it as a thing grounded upon Wealth only, as it was then uttered. With this my Answer, Master Cecil departed, and upon the Thursday, which was the next Day following, and the Evening before I Preached, between three and four at Afternoon, I received a Letter signed with the hand of the Duke of Somerset, the Copy whereof I am ready to exhibit, and took it then, and esteemed it so now to contain no effectual inhibition, whereunto I might by Gods Law, or the Kings Majesties Laws, with discharge of my Confidence and Duty obey, although the said Letters had been (as they were not) in such terms framed, but only to speak of matters in Controversie of the Sacrament, which indeed I did not, but only uttered a Truth to my Confidence most certainly perswaded of the most Holy Sacrament, necessary to be known to the Kings Majesty, and to be uttered by me admitted to that place of Preaching from whence God commandeth his Truth to be uttered, which in this nature of Truth (the undue estimation and use whereof, Saint Paul threatneth with temporal death) may in no wise be omitted. So as I was and am perswaded, the right estimation of the Sacrament to be to acknowledge the very Presence of the same most precious Body and Blood present in the Sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeem us. If I shewed not my Sovereign Lord the truth thereof, I for my part suffer him willingly to fall into that extreme danger of Body, which Saint Paul threatneth, whose Person I am bound by nature, by special Oaths, and by Gods Laws, to preserve to my power, as I will do, and must do by all ways and means. And if the Kings Majesty doth vouchsafe to reach his People not to obey his Commandment, where God Commandeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of Somerset's Letter for an Inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to speak, as he doth when the Wolf cometh, and not to hide my self in silence, which is the most shameful running away of all. I have much matter to alledge against the Letter why I should not credit it, written in his name alone, against a common Letter (as I took it) written by him and the Council, and published in Print the first day of the said Month, which maintaineth my Preaching of the Sacrament and Mass, according to the Proclamation and Injunctions, the violation of which publick Letters, had been a disorder and contempt, whereas I neither offended in the one nor the other.

And as for tumult, none could reasonably be feared of any thing spoken agreeable to the Kings Majesties Laws, as there did follow none, nor the People, nor any Man did offer my person any wrongs, or make tumult against me, notwithstanding, Players, Jesters, Ryimers, Ballad-makers, did signifie me to be of the true Catholick Faith, which I, according to my duty, declared to the Kings Majesty, from whom I may hide no truth that I think expedient for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be used of any Creature against God, no more can the Kings name be used of any Subject against his Highness. Wherefore seeing the abuse of this Holy Sacrament hath in it a danger assured by Scripture, of Body and Soul; whosoever is perswaded in the Catholick Faith, as I am, findeth himself so burdened to utter that unto his Majesty, 'as no worldly loss can let him to do his duty in that behalf, and much less my Lords private Letters written without other of the Councils hands.

Winchester would not take of his Sacrament and of the Mass.

St. Paul threatneth death to the offenders of the Sacrament: Kings the real presence of Christ is in the Sacrament. Kings argument. And why would not Winchester allow this reason in others, in Q. Marcellinus speaking the word of truth since their conscience, contrary to his inhibition?

Winchester against Players and Ballad-makers.

THE KING'S
LETTER
TO
THE
EDWARD
cise form of words, but to the substance of the matter and fashion of the entreating. So near as I can remember, I have truly discharged mine Oath. But I heard no more of my matter in one whole year after almost, within fourteen days, notwithstanding two Letters written by me to the Council, of most humble request to be heard according to Justice. And then at the end of two years almost, came unto me the Duke of Somerset, with other of the Council; which matter, because it is left out here, I shall not touch, but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaration of my behaviour at all times.

The twelfth Article.

Item, That after that, &c. the ninth day of July, in the fourth year of his Majesties Reign, his Highness sent unto you his Graces Letters, with a certain Submission and Articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commanded you to subscribe. To which submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe.

Winchester.

THE
KINGS
LETTER
TO
THE
EDWARD
TO
THE
TOWER

To the twelfth Article, for answer therunto, he granted, that about the time mentioned in this Article, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Warwick, Lord great Master, Sir William Herbert, and Mr. Secretary Peter came to the Tower, and called me before them, and delivered unto me the Kings Majesties Letters, which I have to shew, and received them at the hands of the Lord Treasurer upon my knees, kissed them as my duty was, and still upon my knees read them, whereas they gently required me to take more ease, and go apart with them, and consider them: which after that I had thoroughly read, I much lamented that I should be commanded to say of my self as was there written, and to say otherwise of my self than my Conscience will suffer me, and where I trust my Deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn my self with my tongue. I should sooner, (quoth I to them) by commandment, I think if ye would bid me tumble my self desperately into the Thames.

OTHER
ARTICLES
PUT
TO
WINCHESTER
IN
THE
TOWER

My Lord of Warwick seeing me in that Agony, said, What say ye, my Lord, quoth he, to the other Articles? I answered, That I was loth to disobey where I might obey, and not wrest my Conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of my self. Well, quoth my Lord of Warwick, Will ye subscribe to the other Articles? I told him I would. But then, quoth I, the Article that toucheth me must be put out. I was answered, that needeth not, for I might write on the out-side what I would say unto it. And then my Lord of Warwick, entertained me very gently, and would needs, whilst I should write, have me sit down by him; and when he saw me make somewhat strange so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said, we had ere this sit together, and trusted we should do so again.

WINCHESTER
SUBSCRIBED
TO
THE
KINGS
ARTICLES

And then having Pen and Ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the Article that touched me, these words, I cannot with my Conscience say this of my self; or such like words. And there followed an Article of the Kings Majesties Primacy, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an I, onward, as may appear by the Articles, and they would not have me do so, but write only my name after their Articles; which I did. Whereat, because they shewed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, That by this means I had placed my subscription above them all; and thereupon it pleased them to entertain me much to my comfort.

WINCHESTER
SAID
TO
THE
TOWER

And I was bold to recount unto them merry Tales of my misery in Prison, which they seemed content to hear; and then I told them also (desiring them not to be miscontent with that I should say) when I remember each of them alone, I could not think otherwise but they were my good Lords, and yet when they meet together, I feel no remedy at their hands. I looked (quoth I) when my Lord of Somerset was here, to go out within two days, and made my farewell Feast in the Tower and all, since which time there is a month past, or thereabout; and I agree with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten. My Lord Treasurer said nay, I should hear from them the next day: and so by their special Commandment I came out of the Chamber after them, that they might be seen to depart as my good

Lords; and so was done. By which Process appeareth, how there was in me no contempt, as is said in this Article, but such a Subscription made as they were content to suffer me to make, which I took in my Conscience for a whole satisfaction of the Kings Majesties Letters, which I desire may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was said unto me further, That other would have put in many mo Articles, but they would have no more but those.

The thirteenth Article.

Item, That you having espoused certain of the Kings Majesties Honorable Council sent unto you the twelfth of July, in the said fourth year, with the said submission, and being on his Majesties behalf required and commanded to consider again, and better the said Commission, and to subscribe the same, stood in justification of your self, and would in no way, subscribe therunto.

Winchester.

To the thirteenth Article he said: The next day after the being in the Tower of the said Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Warwick, and other, came unto me Sir William Herbert and Mr. Secretary Peter, to devise with me how to make some acknowledging of my Fault (as they said) because the other Form liked me not. Whereunto I said, I knew my self innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a device to impair my innocency in any the least point either by Words or Writings, it can have no policy in it. For although I did more esteem Liberty of Body, than the defamation of my self, yet, quoth I, when I had to do with you, I were not so assured by you to come out. For when I were by own (a) Pen once made a naughty Man, then were I not the more sure to come out, but had locked my self the more sure in; and a small pleasure were it to me to have my Body at Liberty by your procurement, and to have my Conscience in perpetual Prison by mine own act. Many more Words there were, and persuasions on their parts; which caused me to require of them, for the Passion of God, that my matter might take an end by Justice; and so they departed, there being no Contempt or Faction of Disobedience shewed on my behalf, but only Allegation for my defence of mine own Innocency in the best manner I could devise, as I trust they will testify.

WINCHESTER
SUBSCRIBED
UPON
REPUTATION
OF
HIS
INNOCENCY
(a) YOUR
PUTTING
TO
YOUR
PEN
IN
THIS
MATTER
WOULD
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HAVE
MADE
YOU
NAUGHTY
BUT
YOUR
NAUGHTINESS
WOULD
NOT
PUT
TO
YOUR
PEN

The fourteenth Article.

Item, That after all this, viz. the fourteenth day of July in the said fourth year, the Kings Majesty sent yet again unto you certain of his Majesties Honorable Council, with another Submission, and divers other Articles, willing and commanding you to Subscribe your name therunto. Which to do you utterly refused.

Winchester.

To the fourteenth Article he said, That on the Monday in the Morning following came the Bishop of London, Sir William Herbert, Mr. Secretary Peter, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a Paper, with certain Articles written in it, which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required, that my matter might be tried by Justice, which although it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And I could never yet come to my assured stay, and therefore refused to meddle with any more Articles, or to trouble my self with the reading of them; and yet they desired me instantly to read them, that I was content, and did read, and to shew my perfect obedient mind, offered incontinently upon my delivery out of Prison to make answer to them all, such as I would abide by, and suffer pain for, if I had deferred it. I would indeed gladly have been in hand with my Lord of London; but he said he came not to dispute, and said, It was the hand of God that I was thus in Prison, because I had so troubled other men in my time.

OTHER
ARTICLES
OFFERED
TO
WINCHESTER
IN
THE
TOWER

THE
BISHOP
OF
LONDON
SAID
WORDS
TO
WINCHESTER

Finally,

Finally, my request was, That they should in this Form make my answer to my Lords of the Council, as followeth: That I most humbly thank them of their good will to deliver me by the way of Mercy; but because in respect of mine own innocent Conscience I had rather have justice, I desired them, seeing both was in the Kings Majesties hands, that I might have it; which if it happen to me more grievous, I will impute it to my self, and evermore thank them for their good will; and so departed I with them, as I trust they will testify, and no misbehavior or misdemeanour to have been used on my behalf.

Winchester
reluctant
to be deliv-
ered by way
of mercy.

The fifteenth Article.

Item, That after all this, viz. the nineteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, you being personally called before the Kings Majesties Privy Council, and having the said Submission and Articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused for unjust considerations by you alleged to subscribe the same.

Winchester.

Anno
1550.

To the fifteenth Article I grant, That upon a Saturday at Afternoon, even at such time of the day as they were at Even-song in the Chappel of the Court, I was brought thither, and at my coming the Lords of the Council said, They were all my Judges by special Commission, and intended to proceed thus with me: That I should subscribe certain Articles which were then read, and I must directly make answer, whether I would subscribe them or no. I answered on my knees in this wise: For the Passion of God, my Lords, be my good Lords, and let me be tried by Justice, whether I be faulty or no: and as for these Articles, as soon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I would make answer to them, whether I would subscribe them or no. Then they having further to say, I answered, These Articles were of divers sorts: some be Laws, which may not qualify, some be no Laws, but learning and fact, which may have divers understandings, and a subscription to them without telling what I mean, were over dangerous. And therefore I offered, for the more declaration of mine obedience to all their Requests, That if they would deliver me the Articles into the Prison with me, I would shortly make them particular answer, and suffer the pains of the Law, that by my Answer I might incur into. Whereupon I was commanded to go apart, and they sent unto me the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary Peter, who communed with me of a mean way, and that liked not the Lords. And then I was called forth again, and my absolute subscription required again: and I again made offer to answer particularly, for I could not with my Conscience subscribe them as they were absolutely. And these my considerations I trust to be just, seeing no man for any Commandments ought to offend his Conscience, as I must have done in that case.

Winchester
required to
subscribe to
the said
Articles, re-
fused to do
so, and first
thence.

The sixteenth Article.

Item, That for your sundry and manifold Contempts and Disobediences in this behalf used, the Fruits of your Bishoprick were then by special Commission of his Majesty justly and lawfully sequestered.

Winchester.

To the sixteenth Article, I deny Contempts and Disobedience of parts, and say, That my doings cannot so be termed, because it is taught in this Realm for a Doctrine of Obedience, That if a King command that which is contrary to the Commandment of God, the Subject may not do as he is commanded, but humbly stand to his Conscience, which is my case, who could not with my Conscience do as I was required. And as touching the Fact of Decree, there was indeed a Decree read, having words placed and framed, as though I were such an Offender, which matter I deny. And in that Decree was mention made of Administration of Fruits; but whether the former words were of the present Tense, or else to be sequestered, I cannot precisely tell, but do refer that to the tenor of the Decree.

But this
I am
not
bound
to
stand
in
Queen
Anne's
days.

The seventeenth Article.

Item, That after this you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communication, that you should within three months next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit your self, under pain of deprivation.

Winchester.

To the seventeenth Article I answer, that in the same Decree of sequestration at the same time read, I kneeling from the beginning of the Decree to the latter end, I remember there was an Intimation and three months spoken of, and expressed also, how at every months end I should have Pen and Ink offered to write, if I would yet subscribe; and as I understand, it was upon the pain of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word Deprivation, but therein I refer me to the Acts of the Sentence; which when it was read, I desired it might be testified what mine offer was, to answer all those Articles particularly, even remaining in Prison. And this done, I made sute for some of my Servants abroad to resort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my necessary business, which could not be obtained. And yet to provoke it, I said to my Lord of Warwick, how for agreeing with my Lord of Somerset, I had some commodity, and for agreeing with him had nothing, and therefore would needs by Intercession press him, that I might by this means have some of my Servants resorting unto me. He answered very gently. And then one said, I should within two or three days have some body come to me. And then I was dismissed, with commandment to the Lieutenant, to let me have the same liberty I had, but no more.

The eighteenth Article.

Item, That the said three months are now thoroughly expired, and run.

Winchester.

To the eighteenth Article he said, There is almost six months passed in time and number of days, but not one month past to the effect of the Law, nor ten days neither, because I have been so kept in Prison, that I could not seek for remedy in form above said, nor was there at every month, after the form of the Sentence, offered me Pen, Ink, and liberty given me to consult and deliberate with other learned Men and Friends, what were best to do, or to send unto them. And furthermore, the very eighth day after the Decree given, I protested before my Servants, whom I had only commodity to use as witnesses of the nullity of the Decree, for the evident and apparent matter in it; but if it were in Law, I appealed to the Kings Majesty, because my request was not admitted, to have the copy of the Articles to answer them particularly, and because it is excessive correction, to sequester my Fruits and keep me in Prison. With other cases to be deduced where I might have opportunity. Which appellation I protested to intimate as soon as I could come to any presence meet therefore, as I did in this Assembly at my last repair, desiring therewith the benefit *restitutionis in integrum*, because of mine Imprisonment; and therefore do answer this matter with protestation of that Appeal, and utterly deny all manner of contempt.

Winchester
appeal to
the King.

The nineteenth Article.

Item, That you hitherto, according to the said Intimation and monition, have not submitted, reconciled, nor reformed your self, but contemptuously yet still remain in your first disobedience.

Winchester.

To the nineteenth Article I say, That I have been all this while in Prison so kept, as no man could have access to counsel with me, nor any means to write or send to any man, having made continual sute to Master Lieutenant

and

KING and Master Marshal, under whose Custody I am here, and to make lute in my name to the Lords of the Council, that I might come to Hearing, or else be Bailed upon Surety; which I could not obtain, and so have remained under the benefit of my said Appeal to the Kings Majesty, made, as I might for the time, which I desirous desire I may have liberty to prosecute.

And whereas answering to these Articles for declaration of the integrity of my Conscience, I use in the same places general words: I protest I mean not by those words to set forth my self otherwise more arrogantly than as my direct intent (which excludeth malice) and purpose moveth me to say, and as my Conscience beareth witness unto me at this time, and therefore will say therein with *St. Paul*, *Nihil mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc iustificatus sum*. Wherefore if any especially be objected unto me, wherein by ignorance or oversight and negligence, any offence of mine may appear against the Kings Majesties Laws, Statutes and Injunctions, I shall desire and protest that it be not prejudicial to mine Answer (for this protest, *Credo*, as Lawyers in Civil matters use that term) to be true, that is to say, such as without any alteration in my Conscience presently I may of my self say in affirmation or denial, as afore is answered. And whereas I spake of commandment to be made to me against Gods Law, I protest not to touch my Sovereign Lords Honor therein, which my duty is by all means to preserve, but that the commandment given resolveth to be against Gods Law on my part in the obedience to be given, because I may not answer or say otherwise but *ob, est; non, non*. So as my words and heart may agree together, or else I should offend Gods Law, which my Sovereign, if he knew my Conscience, would not command me.

After these things thus passed, certain of the Council, by the Kings appointment had sundry days and times accels to him in the Tower to persuade with him; which were these, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord great Chamberlain, and Master Secretary *Peter*. Who repairing to him the tenth day of *June*, Anno 1550. he desired of them to see the Kings Book of proceedings; upon the sight whereof he would make a full Answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself therunto, and promising, that in case any thing offended his Conscience, he would open it to none but to the Council. Whereupon it was agreed, the Book should be sent him to see his Answer, that his Case might be resolved upon, and that for the mean time he should have the liberty of the Gallery and Garden in the Tower, when the Duke of *Norfolk* were absent.

The King then was lying at *Greenwich*, at which time the Lieutenant of the Tower was appointed to deliver the Kings Book to the Bishop of *Winchester*. Who within three days after (which was the thirteenth of *June*) made Declaration again unto the Council, that the Bishop having perused it, said unto him, He could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty, and so being, he would say his Conscience. Whereupon the Lords, and other that had been with him the other day, were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct Answer, that the Council thereupon might determine further order for him.

The Answer of the Bishop being received, through the report of the Lords which had been with him, declaration was made again the eighth day of *July*, 1550, that his Answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in Prison to make any direct Answer. Wherefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the Kings Majesties proceedings, or not. For which purpose it was agreed, that particular Articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not, and a Letter also directed unto him from the Kings Highness, with the which the Lord Treasurer, the Lord great Master, the Master of the Horse, and Master Secretary *Peter*, should repair unto him; the Tenor of which Letter hereafter inculth.

A Letter sent to the Bishop of Winchester, signed by the King, and subscribed by the Council.

IT is not (we think) unknown unto you, with what Clemency and Favour *We*, by the advice of our Council, caused you to be heard and used, upon the sundry Complaints and Informations that were made to Us and Our said Council of your disordered Doings and Words, both at the time of our late Visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the Favour, both then and many other times ministered unto you, wrought rather an Insolent wilfulness in your self, than any obedient Conformity, such as would have been deemed a man of your Vocation, we would not but use some demonstration of Justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent Contempt, and other Inobediences, as after and contrary to our Commandment were openly known in you, as also for some example and terror of such others as by your example seemed to take courage, to matter and grudge against our most Godly Proceedings, whereof great discord and inconvenience at that time might have ensued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said Council committed to Ward. Where albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the mean time at sundry times divers of the Noble Men, and others of our Privy Council, and travelling by them with Clemency and Favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your Duty; yet in all this time have you neither acknowledged your faults, nor made any submission as might have benefited you, nor yet showed any appearance either of Repentance, or of any good Conformity to our Godly Proceedings. Whereunto albeit we both have good cause to be offended, and might also justly, by the order of our Laws, cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others: yet for that *We* would both the World and your self also should know that we delight more in Clemency, than in the straight administration of Justice, *We* have vouchsafed, not only to address unto you these our Letters, but also to send essays unto you, four of our Privy Council with certain Articles, which being by Us, with the advice of our said Council considered, *We* think requisite, for sundry Considerations, to be subscribed by you, and therefore Will and Command you to subscribe the said Articles, upon pain of incurring such Punishment and Penalties as by our Laws may be put upon you for not doing the same.

Given at our Palace of *Westminster*, the eighth day of *July*, the fourth Year of our Reigne.

With this Letter addressed from the King and his Council, these Articles also were delivered to the Bishop of *Winchester*, here following.

The Copy of the Articles.

WHereas I, Stephen Bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one too much favoring the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishops Romes Authority, Decrees and Ordinances, and as one that did not approve or allow the Kings Majesties proceedings in alteration of certain Rites in Religion, was convened before the Kings Highnesss Council, and admonished thereof; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my Declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the Kings Majesties indignation, but also divers of his Highnesss Subjects, have by my example taken encouragement (as his Grace Council is certainly informed) to repine at his Majesties most Godly Proceedings; I am right sorry therefore, and acknowledge my self condignly to have been punished, and do most heartily thank his Majesty, that of his great Clemency it hath pleased his Highness to deal with me, not according to rigor, but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the World how little I do repine at his Highnesss doings, which be in Religion most Godly, and to the Commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm and say freely of mine own Will, without any Compulsions, as ensue.

I. That

The Kings
SupremacyThe Kings
authority in
dispensing
with Holy
days and
Fasting
days, or in
appointing
the same.The Kings
Book of
proceedingsThe Kings
fall at
the
tender ageAlienation
of the
ArticlesThe Kings
Justifications
to alter and
cancel as
for the
ArticlesSelf-justi-
fication of
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Articles

I. That by the Law of God, and the Authority of Scriptures, the Kings Majesty and his Successors are the Supreme Heads of the Churches of England, and also of Ireland.

II. Item, That the appointing of Holy-days and Fasting-days, as Lent, Ember-days, or any such like, or to dispench therewith, is in the Kings Majesties Authority and Power: and his Highness as Supreme Head of the said Churches of England and Ireland, and Governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the Holy-days and Fasting-days, or dispench therewith, as to his Wisdom shall seem most convenient for the Honor of God and the Wealth of this Realm.

III. Item, That the Kings Majesty hath most Christianly and Godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole Parliament, a devout and Christian Book of Service of the Church, to be frequented by the Church, which Book is to be accepted and allowed of all Bishops, Pastors, Curates, and all Ministers Ecclesiastical of the Realm of England, and so of him to be declared and commended in all places where he shall fortune to preach or speak to the People of it, that it is a Godly and Christian Book and Order, and to be all-way accepted, and observed of all the Kings Majesties true Subjects.

IV. I do acknowledge the Kings Majesty that now is (whose Life God long preserve) to be my Sovereign Lord, and Supreme Head under Christ to me as a Bishop of this Realm, and natural Subject to his Majesty, and now in this his young and tender Age to be my full and entire King; and that I, and all other his Highnesses Subjects, are bound to obey all his Majesties Proclamations, Statutes, Lawes and Commandments, made, promulgated, and set forth in his Highnesses young Age, as well as though his Highness were at this present thirty or forty years old.

V. Item, I confess and acknowledge, That the Statute, commonly called the Statute of the Six Articles, for just causes and grounds, is by Authority of Parliament repealed and disannulled.

VI. Item, That his Majesty and his Successors have Authority in the said Churches of England, and also of Ireland, to alter, reform, correct, and amend all Errors and Abuses, and all Rites and Ceremonies Ecclesiastical, as shall seem from time to time to his Highness and his Successors most convenient for the edification of his People, so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and Law of God.

Subscribed by Stephen Winchester, with the Testimonial Hands of the Council to the same.

To these Articles afore specified, although Winchester with his own hand did subscribe, granting and consenting to the Supremacy of the King as well then being, as of his Successors to come; yet because he stuck so much in the first Point touching his Submission, and would in no case subscribe to the same, but only made his Answer in the Margent (as is above noted) it was therefore thought good to the King, that the Master of the Horse, and Master Secretary Peter should repair unto him again with the same request of Submission, exhorting him to look better upon it; and in case the words seemed too sore, then to refer it unto himself, in what sort and with what words he should devise to submit him, that upon the acknowledgement of his fault, the Kings Highness might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined. Which was the eleventh day of June, the year above said.

When the Master of the Horse and Secretary Peter had been with him in the Tower according to their Commission, returning from him again, they declared unto the King and his Council how precisely the said Bishop stood in justification of himself, that he had never offended the Kings Majesty; wherefore he utterly refused to make any Submission at all. For the more surety of which denial, it was agreed, That a new Book of Articles should be devised, wherewith the said Master of the Horse, and Master Secretary Peter, should repair unto him again; and for the more authentick Proceeding with him, they should have with them a Divine and a Temporal Lawyer, which were the Bishop of London, and Master Cordrey.

The Copy of the last Articles sent to the Bishop of Winchester.

Whereas I Stephen Bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one that did not approve or allow the Kings Majesties Proceedings in alteration of certain Rites in Religion, and was convened before the Kings Highnesses Council, and admonished thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my Declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deserved his Majesties displeasure; I am right sorry therefore. And to the intent it may appear to the World how little I do repine at his Highnesses doing, which be in Religion most godly, and to the Commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm as followeth.

I. That the late King, of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, our late Sovereign Lord, justly and of good reason and ground hath taken away, and caused to be suppressed and defaced, all Monasteries and Religious Houses, and all Conventicles and Convents of Monks, Friars, Nuns, Canons, Bonhomies, and other Persons called Religious, and that the same being so dissolved, the Persons therein bound and professed to Obedience to a Person, Place, Habit, and other superstitious Rites and Ceremonies, upon that dissolution and order appointed by the Kings Majesties Authority at Supreme Head of the Church, are clearly released and acquitted of those Vows and Professions, and at their full liberty, as though those unworthy and superstitious Vows had never been made.

II. Item, That any person may lawfully marry, without any dispensation from the Bishop of Rome, or any other man, with any person whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony with, by the Law Levitical.

III. Item, That the Vowing and going on Pilgrimage to Images, or the Bones or Reliques of any Saints, hath been superstitiously used, and cause of much Wickedness and Idolatry, and therefore justly abolished by the late said King of famous memory, and the Images and Reliques so abused have been for great and godly Considerations defaced and destroyed.

IV. Item, That the counterfeiting of St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Katharine, and St. Edmund, by Children hereof brought into the Church, was a meer mockery and foolishness, and therefore justly abolished and taken away.

V. Item, It is convenient and godly, that the Scripture of the Old Testament and New, that is, the whole Bible, be had in English and published, to be read of every man, and that whosoever doth rebel and desert men from reading thereof, doth evil and damnably.

VI. Item, That the said late King of just ground and reason, did receive into his hands the authority and disposition of Chaurtries, and such Livings as were given for the maintenance of private Masters, and did well change drivers of them to other uses.

VII. Also the Kings Majesty that now is, by the advice and consent of the Parliament, did upon just ground and reason, suppress, abolish, and take away the said Chaurtries, and such other Livings as were used and occupied for maintenance of private Masters, and Masters satisfactory for the Souls of them that are dead, or finding of Obies, Lights, or other like things: The Mafers that was wont to be said of Priests was full of abuses, and had very few things of Christs Institution, besides the Epistle, Gospel, the Lords Prayer, and the words of the Lords Supper; the rest, for the more part, were invented and devised by Bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therefore justly taken away by the Statutes and Lawes of this Realm; and the Communion which is placed instead thereof, is very Godly, and agreeable to the Scriptures.

VIII. Item, That it is most convenient and fit, and according to the first Institution, that all Christian men should receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ in both the kinds, that is, in Bread and Wine.

IX. And the Mafers, wherein only the Priest receiveth, and the other do but look on, is but the invention of Man, and the Ordinance of the Bishop of Romes Church, not agreeable to Scripture.

X. Item, That upon good and godly considerations it is ordered in the said Book and Order, that the Sacrament should not be lifted up, and showed to the People to be adored, but

KING
Edw. 6Winchester
again request
to submit himselfGood reason
and ground in
suppressing
Houses of
Religion.Marriage
permitted by
Gods
Law, stands
good without
the
Popes dis-
pensation.
Vows and
going on
PilgrimagesGadding about
with
St. Nicholas
&c.Scripture to
be in the
vulgar
tongue.Chantry
Mafers well
paid down.The Mass
full of abuses
and well
changed to
the Communion.Sacrament
in both
kinds.The Mass
the Popes Ordinance.The Sacrament
not to be
adored.

RING to be with godly Devotion received, as it was first instituted.

XI. Item, That it is well, politickly and godly done, that the Kings Majesty by Act of Parliament, hath commanded all Images which have stood in Churches and Chappels, to be clearly abolished and defaced, lest hereafter at any time they should give occasion of Idolatry, or be abused, as many of them heretofore have been, with Pilgrimages, and such Idolatrous Worshipping.

XII. And also for that like godly and good considerations, by the same Authority of Parliament, all Mass-Books, Copebooks, Grails, and other Books of the Service in Latine, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certain Superstitions in them contained, as also to avoid confusion: And that the said Service in the Church should be through the whole Realm in one uniform Conformity, and no occasion through those old Books to the contrary.

XIII. That Bishops, Priests and Deacons, have no commandment of the Law of God, either to wear Chastity, or to abstain continually from Marriage.

XIV. Item, That all Canons, Constitutions, Laws positive, and Ordinances of Men, which do prohibit or forbid Marriage to any Bishop, Priest or Deacon, be justly, and upon godly grounds and considerations taken away and abolished by Authority of Parliament.

XV. The Homilies lately commanded and set forth by the Kings Majesty, to be read in the Congregation of England, are godly and wholesome, and do teach such Doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

XVI. The Book set forth by the Kings Majesty, by Authority of Parliament, containing the form and manner of making and consecrating of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholesome Doctrine of the Gospel, and therefore ought to be received and approved of all the faithful Members of the Church of England, and namely the Ministers of Gods Word, and by them recommended to the People.

XVII. That the Orders of Sub-deacons, Benet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called, Minors Ordines, be not necessary by the Word of God to be reckoned in the Church, and be justly left out in the said Book of Orders.

XVIII. That the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all Doctrine required of necessity for Eternal Salvation through Faith in Jesus Christ, and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to Eternal Salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the Holy Scriptures.

XIX. That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the Kings Majesties Injunctions, That the Paraphrases of Erasmus in English, should be set up in some convenient place in every Parish Church of this Realm, whereto the Parishioners may most commodiously resort to read the same.

XX. And because these Articles aforesaid, do contain only such Matters as be already published and openly set forth by the Kings Majesties Authority, by the Advice of his Highness Council, for many great and godly Considerations; and amongst others for the common Tranquillity and Unity of the Realm; His Majesties pleasure, by the Advice aforesaid, is, That you the Bishop of Winchester, shall not only affirm these Articles with subscription of your Hand, but also declare and profess your Self well contented, willing and ready to Publish and Preach the same at such Times and Places, and before such Audience, as to his Majesty from time to time shall seem convenient and requisite, upon pain of incurring such Penalties and Punishments as for not doing the same, may by his Majesties Laws be inflicted upon you.

These Articles were sent the
fifteenth of July.

The Bishop of Winchester receiving and perusing these Articles, made this Answer again: That first, Touching the Article of Submission, he would in no wise consent, affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the Kings Majesty in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself; praying earnestly to be brought unto his Trial, wherein he refused the Kings mercy, and desired nothing but "Justice". And for the rest of the Articles, he answered, That after he were past

his Trial in the first point, and were at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them; if not being (as he said) reasonable, that he should subscribe them in Prison.

Of this Answer, when the King and his Council had intelligence by the foresaid Master of the Horse, Secretary Peter, the Bishop of London, and Mr. Goodrick, who had been with him, it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole Council, and peremptorily examined once again, whether he would stand at this Point or no; which if he did, then to denounce unto him the Sequestration of his Benefice, and consequently the Intimation, in case he were not reformed within three Months, as in the day of his appearance shall appear. The tenor and words of which Sequestration, with the Intimation, followeth.

The words of the Sequestration, with
the Intimation to the Bishop of Winchester.

FOrasmuch as the Kings Majesty, our most Gracious Sovereign Lord, understandeth and it is also manifestly known and notorious unto us, That the clemency and long-sufferance of His Majesty, worketh not in you that good effect, and humbleness, and conformity, that is requisite in a good Subject; and for that your Disobediencies, Contempts, and other Misbehaviours, for the which you were by His Majesties Authority justly committed to Ward, have since your said committing daily more and more increased in you, in such sort as a great Slander and Offence is thereof risen in many parts of the Realm, whereby also much Slander, Diffusion, Trouble and Unquietness, is very like more to ensue, if your said Offences, being as they be, openly known, should pass unpunished: We let you wit, That having special and express Commission and Commandment from His Majesty, as well

for your Contumacies and Contempts so long continued, and yet daily more increasing, as also for the exchange of the Slander and Offence of the People, which by your said ill Demourers are risen, and for that also the Church of Winchester may be in the mean time provided of a good Minister, that may and will see all things done and quietly executed according to the Laws and common Orders of this Realm, and for sundry other great and urgent Causes, We do by these Presence sequester all the Fruits, Revenues, Lands, and Possessions of your Bishoprick of Winchester, and discontinue, deem and judge the same to be committed to the several Receivers, Collection and Custody of such person or persons as His Majesty shall appoint for that purpose. And because your former Disobediencies and Contempts so long continued, so many times doubled, renewed and aggravated, do manifestly Declare you to be a Person, without all hope of recovery, and plainly incorrigible; We oftentimes admonish and require you to obey His Majesties said Commandment, and that you do declare your Self, by Subscription of your Hand, both willing and well contented to accept, allow, preach and teach to others the said Articles, and all such other matters as be or shall be set forth by His Majesties Authority of Supreme Head of this Church of England, on this side and within the term of three Months, whereof we appoint one Month for the first monition, one Month for the second monition and warning, and one Month for the third and peremptory monition.

Within which time as you may yet declare your Conformity, and shall have Paper, Pen and Ink, when you shall call for them for that purpose; so if you wilfully forbear and refuse to declare your self obedient and conformable as is aforesaid, we intimate unto you, That His Majesty, who like a good Governor, desireth to keep both his Commonwealth quiet, and to purge the same of evil men (especially Ministers) intendeth to proceed against you as an incorrigible person, and unworthy Minister of this Church, unto the deprivation of your said Bishoprick.

Nevertheless, upon divers good Considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed, That the said Bishop, House and Servants should be maintained in their present Estate, until the time that this Intimation should expire, and the matter for the meantime to be kept secret.

Ann.
1550

The tenor
of the Se-
questration
sent to
Winchester

The cause
why this Se-
questration
was laid on,
against the
Bishop.

Winchester
sequestered
from his
Bishoprick

Intimation
given to
Winchester

Ann. After this Sequestration, the said Bishop was convent-
1550 ed unto Lambeth before the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury,
The names of the Com- and other the Kings Commissioners, by virtue of the
missioners Kings special Letters sent unto the said Commissioners,
Delegat to wit, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Bishop of
in the court London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Henry Bishop of Lincoln,
of Stephen Secretary Peter Sir James Hales Knight, Dr. Leyson,
Gardiner. Dr. Oliver, Lawycers, and John Gsford Esquire, &c. be-
fore them, and by them to be examined, by whom were
objected against him nineteen special Articles, in order
and form here following.

Articles and Positions ministred joyntly, and
severally objected to the Bishop of
Winchester.

Articles
ministred
against him
by the Com-
missioners.

In primis, That the Kings Majesty, justly and rightly fully
is, and by the Lawes of God ought to be, the Stream Head
in Earthe of the Church of England and Ireland, and so is
by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, and by the
Ait of Parliament justly, and according to the Lawes of God
recognized.

II. Item, That His Majesty as Supreme Head of the said
Churches, hath full power and authority to make and set such
Laws, Statutes and Ordinances for and concerning Religion,
and Orders in the said Churches, for the increase of Vir-
tue, and suppressing of all Errors, Heresies, and other Enormities
and Abuses.

III. Item, That all and every his Graces Subjett are bound
by the Lawes of God to obey all his Highnesses said Laws, In-
junctions and Proceedings, concerning Religion, and Orders in
the said Churches.

Winchester
sworn to the Kings
Supremacy.

IV. Item, That you Stephen Bishop of Winchester have
sworn obedience unto his Majesty, as Supreme Head of this
Church of England, and also of Ireland.

V. Item, That all and every his Graces Subjett that dis-
obey any of his Majesties Laws, Injunctions, Ordinances and
Proceedings already set forth and published, and hereafter to be
set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished according
to his Graces Ecclesiastical Lawes used within this his Realm.

Winchester
after his
Oath found
disobedient
to the King,
and his pro-
ceedings.

VI. Item, That you the said Bishop, as well as the Kings
Majesties late Visitation within your Diocess, as at January o-
ther times, have been complained upon, and sundry Informa-
tions made against you for your doings, sayings and preachings
against sundry Injunctions, Orders and other Proceedings of his
Majesty set forth for the Reformation of Errors, Superstitions,
and other Abuses in Religion.

VII. Item, That after and upon the occasion of those and
other many Complaints and Informations you have been sun-
dry times admonished, commanded and enjoined to conform your
self, as to your duty appertaineth.

The man-
fold trans-
gressions of
Winchester
worthy of
punishment.

VIII. Item, That after the Premises, and that for those
former Admonitions and Commandments notwithstanding, you
did yet still shew your self not Conformer, and for that also
your example, the people were much animated, and thereby oc-
casion of much inquietude ministred, you were called before the
Kings Majesties Council in the Month of June, the second
Year of his Majesties Reign, and by them on his Highnesses be-
half commanded to preach a Sermon before his Majesty, and
therein to declare, the justness and godliness of his Majesties
Faith and his proceedings, upon certain matters partly men-
tioned in certain Articles to you delivered in Writing, and
partly otherwise declared unto you. The effect whereof was,
touching the usurped Authority of the Bishop of Rome, and
that his pretended authority was justly and godly taken away in
this Realm, and other the Kings Majesties Dominions, touch-
ing the first suppression and taking away of Monasteries, Religi-
ous Houses, Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines and Images, the
superstition going about of S. Nicholas Bishop of S. Edmund,
S. Katherine, S. Clement, and such like, for taking away of
Chalices, Obliter and Colloges, touching ballowing of Candles,
Water, Ashes, Palm, holy Bread, Beads, creeping to the Cross,
&c. touching the setting forth of the Kings Majesties Authori-
ty in his young years, to be as great as if his Highness were
of many more years, touching Articles of Confession, touching
the Procession and Common Prayer in English, and that things
done in General Councils against the Word of God, may be
justly revoked in particular Councils.

IX. Item, That you receiving the same, and promising to
declare them in a Sermon by you made before his Majesty for

that purpose, on the Feast of St. Peter, in the said second
year of his Highnesses Reign, did then and there contemptu-
ously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the
said matters, to the great contempt of his Majesty, and dan-
gerous example of others.

KING
Ed. 6.
Winchester
contemtu-
ously disobe-
dience to the King.

X. Item, That you being also commanded, and on his
Majesties behalf, for the avoiding of tumult, and for other
great Considerations, inhibited to treat of any matter in Con-
troversie concerning the Mass of the Communion (then com-
monly called the Sacrament of the Altar) did contrary to the
said Commandment and Inhibition, declare divers your Judgments
and Opinions in the same, in manifest contempt of his
Majesties said Inhibition, to the great offence of the Hearers, and
disturbance of the common Quiet and Unity of the Realm.

XI. Item, That after the Premises, viz. in the Months of
May or June, or one of them, in the third year of his High-
nesses Reign, his Majesty sent questions unto you, to know your
Conformity towards his said Reformation, and especially touch-
ing the Book of Common Prayer then lately set forth by his
Majesty, whereunto you at the same time refused to shew your
self Conformer.

Winchester
stubbornly
refused to
conform
himself to
the Book of
the Kings
proceedings

XII. Item, That after that, viz. the ninth day of July,
in the fourth year of his Majesties Reign, his Highness sent
unto you his Graces Letters, with a certain Submission and
Articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commanded you to
subscribe; to the which Submission, you contemptuously re-
fused to subscribe.

XIII. Item, That you having espoused certain of the Kings
most Honorable Council sent unto you the twelfth of July, in
the said fourth year, with the same Submission, and being in
his Majesties behalf Required and Commanded to consider
again better the said Submission, and to subscribe the same,
stood in justification of your self, and would in no wise sub-
scribe thereto.

Winchester
standeth in
justification
of himself.

XIV. Item, That after all this, the fourteenth day of
July, in the said fourth year, the said Kings Majesty sent yet
again unto you certain of his Majesties most Honorable Coun-
cil with another Submission, and divers other Articles, wil-
ling and commanding you to subscribe your Name thereto, to
which to do you utterly refused.

XV. Item, That after all this, videlicet, the nineteenth
of July, in the said fourth year, you being personally
called before the whole Council, and having the said Sub-
mission and Articles openly and distinctly read unto you,
and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust
and falstical Considerations by you alleged, to subscribe
the same.

Falstical
considera-
tions of
Winchester
the same.

XVI. Item, That for your sundry and manifold Con-
tempt, and Disobediences in this behalf used, the Fruits of
your Benefice were then by special Commission of his Majesty
justly and lawfully Sequestered.

XVII. Item, That after this you had Intimation and Per-
emptory Monition, with Commination, that you should, within
three months next following the said Intimation, reconcile and
submit your self upon pain of Deprivation.

XVIII. Item, That the said three Months are now fully
expired and run.

XIX. Item, That you have not hitherto, according to
the said Intimation and Monition, submitted, reconciled,
or reformed your self, but contemptuously yet still remain in
your disobedience. Whereupon they required the Bishop of Win-
chester, then and there personally present, to be sworn faith-
fully and truly to make answer.

Winchester
swore to an-
swer true-
ly.

After these Articles were exhibited unto him, and
he having leave to say for himself, wherein he used
all the Cautels, Shifts and Remedies of the Law to his
moit advantage, by way of Protecting, Reculing, and
Excepting against the Commission, and requiring also
the Copies as well of the Articles, as of his Protection.
on, of the Actuaries, (which were W. Say, and Tho.
Argal) time and reprieve was assigned unto him to
answer to the said Articles in Writing. But he so
cavelled and dallied from day to day to answer di-
rectly, although he was sufficiently labored and per-
suaded to the same by sundry Callings and Acts, and
also abundantly Convicted by Depositions and Witnesses,
especially by matter induced by the Lord Pager, and An-
drew Beynton, and Master Chaloner, pag. 816. (all
which I refer to my first Book) that at last he appealed
from

Time given
to Winches-
ter to an-
swer by writ-
ting. The De-
positions of
these and
other wit-
nesses a-
gainst Win-
chester read
in the first
Edition of
Acts and
Monuments
pag. 816.

KING {Edw. 6.} from them (reputing them to not to be competent and indifferent Judges to hear and determine his cause) unto the Kings Royal Person; notwithstanding by protestation always referring to himself the benefit of his Appellation; and so proceeded he to the answering of the foreaid Articles, but in such crafty and obdurate manner, as before he had been accustomed, and as at large, to them that be desirous to understand the process thereof, in the first Book of the *Acts* and *Monuments* of the Church aforesaid may appear.

But briefly to conclude, such exceptions he used against the witnesses produced against him, and he himself produced such a number of witnesses in his defence, and used so many delays and cavillations, that in the end the Commissioners, seeing his stubbornness, proceeded to the sentence definitive against him, as hereunder followeth.

Sentence definitive against Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester.

The final
sentence for
deprivation
of the
Bishop of
Winchester.

IN the Name of God Amen. By authority of a Commission by the high and mighty Prince our most gracious Sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the Supreme Head, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth; Edward the Sixth, &c. We Thomas by the Sufferance of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, with the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Nicholas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, and Henry Bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter Knight, one of our said Sovereign Lords two principal Secretaries, Sir James Hales Knight, one of our said Sovereign Lords Justices of his Common Pleas, Griffith Leiton, and John Oliver Doctors in the Civil Law, Richard Goodrich, and John Gofnold Esquires, Delegates and Judges assigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceeding according to the form and tenour of the said Commission, for the bearing, examination, debating, and final determination of the causes and matters in the said Commission mentioned and contained, and upon the contents of the same, and certain Articles objected of office against you Stephen Bishop of Winchester, as more plainly and fully is mentioned and declared in the said Commission and Articles, all which we repute and take here to be expressed; and after sundry judicial assemblies, examinations and debates of the said cause and matters, with all incidents, emergents and circumstances to the same or any of them belonging, and the same also being by us, oft heard, seen, and well understood, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, considered, and fully weighed and pondered, observing all such order and other things, as by the laws, equity, and the said Commission ought, or needed herein to be observed, in the presence of you Stephen Bishop of Winchester, do proceed to the giving of our final judgment and sentence definitive in this manner following.

{Ann. 1551}

Winchester
found to be
a Trans-
gressor.

Forasmuch as by the *Articles*, Exhibits and Allegations proposed, deduced and alledged, and by sufficient proofs with your own confession in the causes aforesaid, had and made, we do evidently find and perceive that you Stephen Bishop of Winchester, have not only transgressed the commandments mentioned in the same, but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandments given unto you to the contrary, remained a person much grudging, speaking and repugning against the godly Reformation of abuses in Religion, set forth by the Kings Highness authority within this his Realm; and forasmuch as we do also find you a notable, open and contemptuous disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandments given unto you by our said Sovereign Lord and by his authority, in divers great and weighty causes touching and concerning his Princely Office, and the state and common quietness of this Realm; and forasmuch as you have and yet do contemptuously refuse to recognize your notorious negligences, and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediences, remaining still, after a great number of several admonitions, always more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment; contrary both to your Oath sworn, obedi-

ence, promise, and also your bounden duty of Allegiance; and for that great slander and offence of the people arise in many parts of the Realm, through your wilful doings, sayings and preachings, contrary to the common order of the Realm, and for sundry other great causes by the *Acts*, Exhibits, your own confession, and proofs of this process more fully appearing; considering that nothing effectually hath been on your behalf alleged, proposed and proved, ne by any other means appeared, which doth or may empair or take away the proofs made against you, upon the said matters and other the premises.

Therefore we Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, Judge Delegate aforesaid, having God before our eyes, with express consent and assent of Nicholas Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Henry Bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter Knight, Sir James Hales Knight, Griffith Leiton and John Oliver Doctors of the Civil Law, Richard Goodrich and John Gofnold, Esquires, Judges, and Councillors with us in the matters aforesaid, and with the counsel of divers learned men in the Laws, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premises, do judge and determine you Stephen Bishop of Winchester, to be deprived and removed from the Bishoprick of Winchester, and from all the rates, authority, emoluments, commodities, his Bishops and other appurtenances to the said Bishoprick in any wife belonging, whatsoever they be, and by these presents we do deprive and remove you from your said Bishoprick, and all rates and other commodities of refusal; and further pronounce and declare the said Bishoprick of Winchester, to all effects and purposes, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce and declare in these writings.

Step Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, deprived of his Bishoprick.

This sentence definitive being given, the said Bishop of Winchester, under his former Protestations, dissented from the giving and reading thereof, and from the same, as unjust, and of no efficacy or effect in law; and in that the same containeth excessive punishment, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesaid, he did then and there *apud acta*, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth appeal to the Kings Royal Majesty first, secondly and thirdly, initially, more initially, most initially, and asked Apostles, or Letters dismissionals to be given and granted unto him; and then, under Protestation not to recede from the same, at relation, asked a Copy of the said sentence, the Judge declaring that they would first know the Kings pleasure and his Council therein. Upon the reading and giving of which sentence, the promoters willed William Say and Thomas Argal to make a publick Instrument, and the witnesses then and there present to bear testimony thereunto, &c.

Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, appealed the sentence to the King.

And thus have you the whole Discourse and Process of Stephen Gardiner late Bishop of Winchester, unto whom the Papistical Clergy doth so much lean, as to a mighty Atlas, and upholder of their ruinous Religion. And although I have not herewithal so fully expressed all his Letters, Answers, Preachings, Examinations, Defensions, Exhibits and Attestations, with the Depositions of all such witnesses as he could and did produce for the most advantage of his own cause, with such notes also and collections gathered upon the same, as here I might, and as before I have done, I must intreat the Reader to consider first the greatness of this Volume, which would not well bear the tedious tractation thereof; and secondly, to content himself in referring to our first History, where not only he may peruse the whole discourse of this Bishops doings set forth at large, but also may briefly read in a few summary notes collected the whole discourse of his doctrine and judgment, touching what points of Religion he did content and agree, or not agree unto, Page 862.

The notes and collections hereof read in the first History.

And thus an end of Winchester for a while, till we come to talk of his death hereafter. Whom as we number amongst good Lawyers, so is he to be reckoned amongst ignorant and gross Divines, proud Prelates, and bloody persecutors as both by his cruel life and Phanatical Doctrines may appear, especially in the Article of the Sacrament, and of our justification, and Images, and also in crying out

out of the Paraphrase, not considering in whose person the things be spoken, but what the Paraphrast uttereth in the person of Christ, or of the Evangelist, and not in his own, that he wretchedly unto the Author, and maketh thereof Heresie and abomination.

Watch-
man
as
unskillful
as
wilful.

Dr. Redman
set to match
S. Gardiner.

The like impudency and quarrelling also he used against *Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cramer*, and almost against all other true Interpreters of the Gospel; so blind was his judgment, or else so wilful was his mind in the truth of Christs Doctrine, that it is hard to say, whether in him unskillfulness or wilfulness had greater predominance. But against this Doctor *Gardiner* we will now set and match on the contrary side Doctor *Redman*, forasmuch as he departing this transitory life the same present year 1551. cometh now by course of History here to be mentioned; who for his singular life and profound knowledge, being inferior in no respect to the said *Gardiner*, shall stand as great a friend in promoting the Gospels cause, as the other seemeth an enemy by all manner of ways to impair and deface the same. For the more assured declaration whereof we will hereto adjoyn (the Lord willing) the learned communication between the said *Dr. Redman* lying on his Death-bed, and Master *Wilkes*, Master *Alexander Nowel*, Doctor *Young*, and other Witnesses more. Whereof the said *Mr. Wilkes* thus recordeth, speaking in his own person, and his own words, as followeth.

A note of the communication that I Richard Wilkes had with Master Doctor Redman, being sick at Westminster, but of good memory, the 2d day of November, 1551. in the presence of Mr. Young and another whom I did not know, and two of Master Doctor Redman's servants, the one called Ellis, and the other unknown.

The communication and confession of Dr. Redman in his Death-bed.

I The foresaid *Richard Wilkes* coming to Doctor *Redman* lying sick at Westminster, and first saluting him after my ordinary duty, wished him health both in soul and body; not doubting moreover but he did practice the goodly counsel in himself, which he was wont to give to other being in his case; and thanks be to God (said I) who had given him stuff of knowledge to comfort himself withal. To whom he answering again, said in this wise, *God of all comfort give me grace to have comfort in him, and to have my mind wholly fixed in him.* Master *Young* and I said *Amen*. Then I communed with him of his sickness, and of the weakness of his body, and said, that though he were brought never so low, yet he if it were his pleasure, that raised up *Lazarus*, could restore him to health again. No, faith he, *that is past, and I desire it not, but the will of God be fulfilled.*

After this or a little other like communication, I asked if I might be so bold, not troubling him, to know his mind for my learning in some matters and points of Religion. He said, yea, and that he was as glad to commune with me in such matters, as with any man. And then I said to his servants, I trusted I should not trouble him. No, said *Ellis* his servant, my Lord of London, Master *Nowel* and other have communed with him, and he was glad of it: Then said *Mr. Redman*, No, you shall not trouble me. I pray God ever give me grace to speak the truth, and his truth, and that which shall redound to his Glory, and send us unity in his Church, and we said *Amen*.

Common-
cation touch-
ing the Sacrament
of the Lords body
and blood.

I said, He should do much good in declaring his Faith, and I would be glad to know his mind as touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

He said, As man is made of two parts, of the body and the soul, so Christ would feed the whole man; but what (saith he) be the words of the Text? Let us take the words of the Scripture; and he rehearsed the Text himself thus, *Accipite Jhesu panem, Christ took Bread.* Wherein his will was to institute a Sacrament. *Accipite, comedite. Take, eat.* Here he told the use of it. What did he give to them? *Hoc est corpus meum,* he calleth it his body.

Then I asked him of the presence of Christ.

He said, Christ was present with his Sacrament, and in those that received it as they ought. And there was *Mira unio*, a wonderful union (for that word was named betwixt Christ and us) as *St. Paul* faith, *Vos estis ex ossibus ejus, & caro ex carne ejus, Te be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh.* The which union was ineffable.

Then I asked him what he thought of the opinion, that Christ was there corporally, naturally, and really.

He answered, If you mean by corporally, naturally and really, that he is there present *vere*, I grant.

Then I asked how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be spoken, that Christ was there flesh, blood and bone, as I have heard the Stewards in the Leets give charge when the six Articles stood in effect, and charge the Inquest to inquire, that if there were any that would deny that Christ was present in the Sacrament of the Altar, in flesh, blood and bone; they should apprehend them.

He said that it was too gross, and could not well be excused from the opinion of the *Capernaimites*.

Then I asked him, Inasmuch as Christ was there *vere*, how do we receive him? in our minds and spiritual parts, or with our mouths, and into our bodies, or both?

He said, We receive him in our minds and souls by faith.

Then in as much as he was much in this point, that there was *Mira unio*, a marvellous union betwixt us and Christ, in that we were *Caro ex carne ejus, & os ex ossibus ejus, Bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh*; I desired to know his opinion whether we received the very body of Christ with our mouths, and into our bodies, or no?

Here he paused and held his peace a little space, and shortly after he spake, saying, *I will not say so, I cannot tell, it is a hard question; but surely, faith he, we receive Christ in our soul by faith. When you do speak of it otherways, it soundeth grossly, and savoureth of the Capernaimites.*

Then I asked him what he thought of that which the Priest was wont to lift up and shew the people betwixt his hands?

He said, *It is the Sacrament.* Then said I, they were wont to worship that which was lifted up, *Tea, faith he, but we must worship Christ in Heaven: Christ is neither lifted up nor down.* I am glad, said I, Master Doctor, to hear you say so much, would not speak of the holy Sacrament otherwise than reverently, but I fear lest that Sacrament, and the little white piece of Bread so lifted up, hath robbed Christ of a great part of his honour.

Then said he, looking up and praying, *God grant us grace that we may have the true understanding of his Word, whereby we may come to the true use of his Sacraments*; and said, he would never allow the carrying about of the Sacrament, and other fond abuses about the same.

Then after a little while pausing, said I, Master Doctor, if I should not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in Transubstantiation. *Jesum, Master Wilkes*, quoth he, *will you ask me that?* Sir, (said I) not if I should trouble you. No, no, I will tell you, said he. *Because I found the opinion of Transubstantiation received in the Church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the ancient Doctors diligently, and went about to establish it by them, because it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be satisfied.*

Then I went to the School Doctors, and namely to *Gabriel*, and weighed his reasons. The which when I had done, and perceived they were no pythier, *Langucabat opinio mea de Transubstantiatione, My opinion of Transubstantiation waxed feeble: and then, faith he, I returned again to Tertullian and Irenaeus, and when I had observed their sayings, mine opinion that there should be Transubstantiation profus erat abolita, was quite dashed.*

Then, said I, You know that the School Doctors did hold, *That panis non remaneat post consecrationem, That bread remained not after the consecration*, as they called it.

The School Doctors (saith he) did not know what *Consecratio* meant; and here he paused awhile. I pray you (said I) say you what *Consecratio* means? Saith he, It is *Tota actio*, in ministering the Sacrament as Christ did institute it. All the whole thing done in the ministry,

KING
Edw 6
Question.
Whether
Christ be
present in
the Sacrament.
Unius.

Question.
Whether
Christ be
present cor-
porally, na-
turally, and
really in the
Sacrament.
Corporally,
that is tru-
ly: so Christ
is there; o-
therwise not

Q. Whether
Christ be
there flesh,
blood and
bone.

Q. Whether
Christ be re-
ceived in
mind and
spirit, or
with mouth
and body, or
with both?

Q. Whether
Christ be re-
ceived into
our very bo-
dies or no?

Q. Whether
the carrying
about of the
Sacrament
is to be
allowed.

Transub-
stantiation

Transub-
stantiation
not to be
found in the
Doctors.

The School
Doctors de-
clared in
the word
Consecra-
tion. What is
Consecra-
tion?

KING ministry, as Christ ordained it, that is *Consecratio*, and what (said he) need we to doubt that bread remaineth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certain good Authors that be of the latter time, be of that opinion.

After that I had communed with Mr. Redman, and taken my leave of him, Master Young came forth into the next Chamber with me, to whom I said that I was glad to see Master Doctor Redman so well minded. Then said Master Young to me, I am sure he will not deny it; I ensure you, faith he, Master Doctor hath so moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before in certain things, that I would have burned and lost my life for them; now (faith Master Young) I doubt of them. But I see, faith he, a man shall know more and more by process of time, and reading and bearing of other, and Master Doctor Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for them.

Anno 1550 Talk about Dr. Redman. Dr. Young stayed by Dr. Redman from his P. p. opinion. them.

Also Ellis, Master Dr. Redman's Servant shewed me, that he did know that his Master had declared to K. Henry the 8th his Majesty, That Faith only justifieth; but that Doctrine, as he thought, was not to be taught the people, lest they should be negligent to do good works.

The said Mr. Young hath reported (the which also I heard) that Master Dr. Redman should say, that *consensus Ecclesie*, the consent of the Church was but a weak Staff to lean to, but did exhort him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which should comfort him when he should be in such case as he was then.

Another communication between Doctor Redman lying in his Death-bed, and Master Nowel then Schoolmaster in Westminster, and certain other, with notes of his censure and judgment touching certain points of Christs Religion.

I Mprimis, The said Doctor Redman sent for Mr. Nowel of his own mind, and said he was willing to commune with him of such matters as he had moved the said Dr. Redman of a day or two before; and he being desired of the said Master Nowel to declare his mind concerning certain points of our Religion, first said, Ask me what ye will, and I will answer you, before God, truly as I think, without any affection to the World or any worldly person.

Witnesses, Alexander Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

2. Item, The said Dr. Redman said, That the See of Rome in these latter days, is *Sentina malorum*, that is, a sink of all evil.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Richard Elsborne, Ellis Lomas.

3. Item, That Purgatory, as the Schoolmen taught it, and used it, was ungodly, and that there was no such kind of Purgatory as they fancied.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elsborne, John Wright.

4. Item, That the offering up of the Sacrament in Masses and Trentals for the sins of the dead, is ungodly.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

5. Item, That the wicked are not partakers of the Body of Christ, but receive the outward Sacrament only.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elsborne, John Wright.

6. Item, That the Sacrament ought not to be carried about in Procession; for it is taught what is the use of it in these words, *Accipite, manducate, & bibite, & hoc facite in mei memoriam*. Take, eat, and drink, and do this in remembrance of me.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

7. Item, That nothing which is seen in the Sacrament, or perceived with any outward senses is to be worshipped.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

Adoration of the Sacrament disapproved.

Witnesses, John Young, Alexander Nowel, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton.

8. Item, That we receive not Christs Body Corporeally, id est, crasse, corporally, that is to say, grossly, like other meats, and like as the *Capernaïtes* did understand it.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

9. Item, That we receive Christs Body *sic spiritually*, ut *samen vere*, so *spiritually*, that nevertheless truly.

Witnesses, John Young, Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

10. Item, As touching Transubstantiation, That there is not in any of the old Doctors any good ground or firm proof hereof, or any mention of it, as far as ever he could perceive, neither that he felt what can be answered to the objections made against it.

Witnesses, John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

11. Item, Being asked of Master Wilkes, what that was which was lifted up between the Priests hands, he answered, He thought that Christ could neither be lifted up nor down.

Witnesses, John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

12. Item, That Priests may by the Law of God marry Wives.

Witnesses, Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas.

13. Item, That this Proposition, *Sola fides justificat*, so that *fides* signifie *Veram, circum, & acquisitam* in Christo *fidem*, id est, *implexam* Christum, that is to say, that only Faith doth justify, so that Faith doth signifie a true, a lively, and a Faith resting in Christ, and embracing Christ, is a true, godly, sweet and comfortable Doctrine, so that it be so taught that the People take none occasion of carnal liberty thereof.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elsborne, Ellis Lomas.

14. Item, That our works cannot deserve the Kingdom of God, and life everlasting.

Witnesses, John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elsborne, John Wright.

15. Item, That the said Dr. Redman, at such times as we the aforesaid persons, who have subscribed, heard his communication concerning the fore said points of Religion, was of quiet mind, and of perfect remembrance, as far as we were able to judge.

Witnesses, J. Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elsborne, John Wright.

¶ Also Mr. Young of himself doth declare further touching the former Articles in this wise.

¶ To the fifth Article.

I Mprimis, That Dr. Redman said more, whereas St. Augustine said, *Quod Judas idem accepit quod Petrus*, that Judas received the same that Peter did, he said, that he understood that of the Sacrament; and that after the same phrase a man might say, *Quod Simon Magus idem Baptisma recepit quod Apostoli*, that Simon Magus received the same Baptism that the Apostles did, when he did receive only the outward Sacrament to his condemnation, for he said that he thought Christ would not vouchsafe to give his holy Flesh to an ungodly man: And this he said was always his mind, though he knew well that other men did otherwise think.

¶ To the sixth Article.
Item, He said he never liked the carriage about of the Sacrament, and preached against it about 16 years since in Cambridge.

¶ To the tenth Article.
Item, When he was demanded of Transubstantiation, he said, That he had travelled about it, and thinking that the doubts which he perceived did rise thereon, should

A gross opinion to think that Christ is corporally eaten in the Sacrament.

Christ spiritually and truly eaten in the Sacrament.

Transubstantiation hath no proof in the old Doctors.

Christ cannot be lifted up nor down.

Priests Marriage lawful by Gods Word.

Faith only justificative, a true Doctrine. The true faith justified.

Works do not merit salvation.

Dr. Young testimony of Dr. Redman's Doctrine. Judas received the same that Peter did, as Simon Magus received the same Baptism that the Apostles did.

Carriage about of the Sacrament.

Transubstantiation should

should be made plain by the Schoolmen, did read their Books, and after that he had read them, the opinion of Transubstantiation was every day *Magis & magis languida*, that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no such Transubstantiation as they made; adding thereto, that the whole School did not know what was meant by Consecration, which he said was the whole action of the holy Communion.

¶ To the thirteenth Article.

Justification
by faith on-
ly.

Item, He said, That he did repent him that he had so much strived against Justification by Faith only.

¶ To the fourteenth Article.

Works mer-
it not eter-
nal life.

Item, That Works had their crown and reward, but that they did not deserve eternal life, and the Kingdom of God, no not the works of Grace; *Nam donum Dei vista eterna; For everlasting life is the gift of God.*

Although these testimonies above alledged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, sound Doctrine, and sincere judgment of Dr. Redman: yet (*velut ex abundanti*) I thought not to cut off in this place the testimonial Letter or Epistle of Dr. Young, written to Master Cheke, specially concerning the premises. Which Epistle of Doctor Young, as I received it written by his own hand in the Latin Tongue, the Copy which he himself neither hath nor can deny to be his own, and is extant to be read in the former Book of *Acts and Monuments*, so I have here exhibited the same faithfully translated into the English Tongue, the tenor whereof followeth.

The Letter of Master Young to Master Cheke concerning Doctor Redman, translated out of Latine into English.

Mr. Youngs
letter to Ma-
ster Cheke con-
cerning Dr.
Redman.

ALTHOUGH, right Worshipful, I am stricken into no little damp and dolour of mind for the unripe (but that it otherwise pleased Almighty God) and lamentable death of that most blessed and learned man Doctor Redman, inasmuch that, all sntoned with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to do or think, yet nevertheless, perceiving it to be your Worships will and pleasure, that so I should do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpose, by Gods grace, here in these my Letters sincerely, and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man speak and confess at the hour of his death, as touching the controversies of Religion, wherewith the Spouse of Christ is in these our days most miserably troubled and tormented.

Commenda-
tion of Dr.
Redman.

This Doctor Redman, being continually by the space of twenty years, or somewhat more, exercised in the reading of the holy Scripture, with such industry, labour, modesty, magnanimity and prayers to Almighty God, tried and weighed the controversies of Religion, that in all his doings, as he would not seem to approve that which was either false or superstitious; so he would never improve that which he thought to stand with the true worship of God. And albeit in certain Points and Articles of his Faith, he seemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that his singular Gravity, either for sntuels, fear, or lack of stomach to change his mind and belief, yet they, to whom his former life and conversation, by familiar acquaintance with him was thoroughly known (with them also which were present at his departure) may easily perceive and understand, how in grave and weighty matters, not rashly and unadvisedly, but with constant judgment and unfeigned confidence, he defended into that manner of belief, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly professed.

I give your wisdom to understand, that when death drew near, he casting away all hope of recovery, attended and talked of no other thing (as we which were present heard) but of Heaven and heavenly matters, of the later day, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom most fervently he desired to be; whose incredible love towards us miserable sinners most worthily, and not without tears, he oftentimes used to extol and speak of: and us which were

there present he earnestly moved and exhorted to prepare our selves to Christ, to love one another, and to beware of this most wretched and corrupt world. And besides that he promised (calling God to witness thereunto, to whom he trusted shortly to come) if any would demand any question, that he would answer him what he thought in his judgment to be the truth. At what time there were present Mr. Alexander Nowel, a man earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God, and one that had alway singularly well loved the said Mr. Redman, to whom he spake on this of Pauls wife.

KING
Edm. 6
Exhortation
of Dr. Red-
man to
them that
were about
him.

Mr. Alexan-
der Nowel,
since Deane
well loved the
said Mr. Redman,
to whom he spake
on this of Pauls
wife.

Your excellent learning, and purity of life, I have ever both highly favoured, and had in admiration; and for no other cause (God be my judge) I do ask these things of you which I shall propound, but that I might learn and know of you what is your opinion and belief touching those troublesome controversies which are in these our days; and I shall receive and approve your words as Oracles sent from Heaven.

To whom when Doctor Redman had given leave to demand what he would, and had promised that he would faithfully and sincerely answer (all affection set aside) what he thought to be the truth, Mr. Nowel said, I would (quoth he) right gladly, but that I fear by my talk and communication, I shall be unto you, so feeble and now almost spent, a trouble and grief. Then said Doctor Redman, replying, What shall I spare my Carcas (quoth he) which hath so short a time here to remain? Go to, go to, (said he) propound what you will. Then Master Nowel put forth certain questions, which in order I will here declare; whereunto the said Dr. Redman severally answered, as hereafter followeth.

The See of
Rome a link
of all sin.

The first question that he asked of him was, What he thought of the Bishop of Rome. Unto whom Doctor Redman answered, That the See of Rome in these our later days had much swarved from the true Religion and worshipping of God, and is with horrible voices stained and polluted; which I therefore (quoth he) pronounce to be the sink of all evil, and shortly will come to utter ruins by the scourge of God, except it do fall the sooner to repentance; wherewith he briefly complained of the filthy abuse of our English Church.

Being then asked, what his opinion was concerning Purgatory, and what the Schoolmen judged thereof, he answered, That the subtil reasons of the Schoolmen concerning Purgatory, seemed to him to be no less vain and frivolous, than disagreeing from the truth; adding thereunto, That when we be rapt to the Clouds to meet Christ coming to judgment with a great number of Angels in all glory and majesty, then every one shall be purged with fire, as it is written, *The fire shall go before him, and shall flame round about his enemies, and the fire shall burn in his sight, and round about him shall be a great tempest*, saying, That divers of the old Writers approved this his sentence concerning Purgatory.

Purgatory.

When he was asked whether wicked and ungodly people in the holy Communion did eat the body of Christ and drink his blood; he answered, That such kind of men did not eat Christs most blessed flesh, but only took the Sacrament to their own damnation; saying, That Christ would not give his most pure and holy flesh to be eaten of such naughty and impure persons, but would withdraw himself from them. And that (quoth he) that is objected by St. Augustine, That Judas received the self same thing which Peter received, that I think to be understood of the external Sacrament. And the like kind of phrase of speaking (said he) we may use concerning the Baptism of Magus; That Simon Magus received that which the Apostles did receive. Indeed as concerning the Sacrament of the external Baptism, Simon Magus received that which the Apostles did; but that internal grace wherewith the Apostles were endued, and that holy Spirit wherewith by Baptism they were inspired, he lacked. And so (quoth he) the wicked and forsaken people, which rashly presume to come to the holy Table of the Lord, do receive the Sacrament and the self same which good and godly men receive; but the body of Christ they do not receive, for Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliver it them. And thus, he said, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrary judgment.

The wicked
eat not the
flesh of
Christ.

RING Being then after this demanded, whether he thought
Edw. 6 Christs presence to be in the Sacrament, or no: he answered,
 That Christ did give and offer to faithful and Christian men
 his very real body and blood verily and really, under Sacra-
 ments of Bread and Wine; inasmuch that they which de-
 voutly come to be partakers of that holy food, are by the be-
 nefit thereof united and made one with Christ in his flesh
 and body. And therefore he said that Christ did distribute
 his body spiritually, that he gave it truly, yet not so never-
 theless, that by these and the like words we should conceive
 any gross and carnal intelligence, such as the *Capernaites*
 once dreamed of, but that (quoth he) we might labour
 and endeavour to express by some kind of words the
 ineffable Majesty of this Mystery. For the manner where-
 by Christ is there present, and ministreth to the faithful
 his flesh, is altogether inexplicable; but we must believe
 (quoth he) and think, that by Gods mighty power, and
 the holy operation of his Spirit, this so notable a Mystery
 was made; and that Heaven and Earth was joined together
 at that moment, as the blessed man *S. Gregory* saith, The
 lowest parts are joined with the highest; by which is under-
 stood that holy food whereby they which be regenerate by
 the Holy Ghost in Baptism, are nourished to immortality.
 And further he said, That Christs body was received in the
 said Sacrament by faith; which being received, both body
 and soul were quickened to everlasting life.

The *Capernaites*
 gross error of
 carnal bodily
 presence in the
 Sacrament.

Trans-
 substantiation.

Confession
 on what it
 meaneth.

Nothing to
 be worship-
 ped that
 may be seen.

The Sacra-
 ment not to
 be carried
 about.

Being then required to say his mind about Trans-
 substantiation, he gave answer, That he had much travelled
 in that point, and that he hath much favoured and inclined
 to that part which maintained Transubstantiation; in
 searching the verity whereof most studiously he had been no
 little while occupied, and found to arise thereabout in-
 finite and almost inexplicable absurdities. In confuting
 whereof, when he had but finally contented himself, he said
 he took in hand the Schoolmens works, and perused *Gabri-
 el* and other Writers of that sort, for thereby their help and
 aid he hoped that all inconveniences which did spring and
 arise by maintenance of Transubstantiation might be clean
 convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was
 utterly frustrate (said he) for that he did find in those
 Books many fond and phantastical things, which were
 both too foolish to be recorded in writing, and also to be
 alleged about such a Mystery, and truly (said he)
 ever after the reading of them, my former zeal and opini-
 on touching the maintenance of Transubstantiation,
 did every day more and more decrease, and therefore in
 conclusion he performed himself to think that there was
 no such Transubstantiation as the Schoolmen imagined and
 feigned to be; saying that indeed the ancient Writers were
 plainly against the maintenance thereof; amongst whom
 he recited by name, *Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian*, notori-
 ous adversaries to the same. Furthermore he added hereun-
 to, That the whole School understood not what this word
Consecratio was, which he deemed to be the full entire acti-
 on of the whole Communion.

Being demanded also, whether we ought to worship
 Christ present in his holy Supper; he told us, that we were
 bound so to do, and that it was most agreeing to piety and
 godly Religion. Likewise being asked, whether he would
 have the visible Sacrament to be worshipped, which we see
 with our eyes, and is lifted up between the Priests hands;
 he answered, That nothing which was visible, and to be
 seen with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor would
 Christ be elevated into any higher, nor pulled down into any
 lower place, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor
 pulled down lower.

Again, being asked his opinion about the custom and
 manner in carrying about the Sacrament in solemn Pompes,
 Processions, and otherwise; he said, that he always mil-
 liked and reproved that order; inasmuch that about sixteen
 years ago, openly in the Pulpit at Cambridge, he spake
 against that abuse, and disallowed that Ceremony; shew-
 ing that Christ had expressed by plain and evident words a
 very fruitful and right use of this Sacrament, when he said,
Take ye (by which phrase, quoth he, he doth expect that
 he will give a gift:) *Eat ye* (by which words he doth de-
 clare the proper use and order of that his precious gift:)
This is my body, (whereby he doth evidently and plainly
 shew what by that gift they should receive, and how royal
 and precious a gift he would give them:) and therefore he
 judged such pompous and superstitious ostentations utterly

to be condemned and taken as plain mockeries and con-
 temptuous vices.

His judgment also being asked about the commemora-
 tion of the dead, and the remembrance of them in Ori-
 sons, whether he thought it profitable or no; He answered,
 That it seemed to him to be no less profitable than religious
 and godly; and that might be well proved out of the Books
 of *Maccabees*. The which Books although *S. Hierome* ad-
 judging as not authentick, thought good to be read in the
 Temples only for the edifying of the Church, and not for
 the alteration of opinions; yet with me the opinions of the
 other Writers, to whom those Books are allowed as Canons,
 prevail, which he in that point thinketh good to be read.

Being furthermore required to shew his mind about
 Trental Masses, and Masses of *Scala celi*; he shewed them
 that they were altogether unprofitable, superstitious and ir-
 religious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of
 superstition, not yielding the fruit which they promised to
 bring forth. The sacrifice of the Supper of the Lord (the
 Eucharist I mean) that Sacrifice, he said, could not be
 offered for the sins of the quick and the dead.

Finally, of his own voluntary will, and no man (as far
 as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he
 shewed his opinion concerning justification by Christ. I
 lament (said he) and repent, beleeving God forgiveness of
 the same, that too seriously and earnestly I have withstood
 this proposition, *That only faith doth justify*; but I always
 feared that it should be taken to the liberty of the flesh, and
 so should denie the innocency of life which is in Christ.
 But that proposition, *That only faith doth justify*, is true,
 (quoth he) sweet, and full of spiritual comfort, if it be tru-
 ly taken, and rightly understood. And when he was deman-
 ded what he thought to be the true and very sense thereof,
 I understand (quoth he) that to be the lively faith, which
 resteth in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and embraceth
 him; so that in our only Saviour Jesus Christ all the hope
 and trust of our salvation be surely fixed. And as con-
 cerning good works, faith he, they have their crown and
 merit, and are not destitute of their rewards; yet never-
 theless, they do not merit the Kingdom of Heaven. For
 no works (said he) could purchase and obtain that blessed,
 happy and everlasting immortality; no nor yet those things
 which we do under grace, by the motion of the Holy Ghost.
 For that blessed and immortal glory is given and bestowed
 upon us mortal men of the heavenly Father for his Son our
 Saviour Christs sake, as *S. Paul* testifieth, *The gift of God is
 eternal life*.

And these be the resolutions which I heard him give to
 the questions of Master *Noyes* proposed. From which
 his sentence and judgment I heard by rote, and of him
 uttered (as I remember) he never declined or varied. I be-
 lieve our Lord Jesus Christ to ease these troublesome storms
 wherewith the Church is troubled, and vouchsafe for his holy
 Names sake tenderly to heed and look upon his poor
 wretched flock so miserably scattered and dispersed; beleeve-
 ing him also of his goodness to preserve your Worship.

At London the third of November.

Here followeth the History, no less lamentable than notable,
 of William Gardiner an Englishman, suffering most
 constantly in Portugal, for the testimony of Gods Truth.

Coming now to the next year following, 1552, we
 will somewhat step aside, and borrow a little leave,
 coasting the Seas into Portugal, amongst the *Popish* Mer-
 chants there, whither a certain Country-man of ours doth
 call me, named *William Gardiner*, a man verily in my judg-
 ment not only to be compared with the most principal and
 chief Martyrs of these our days, but also such a one as the
 ancient Churches in the time of the first Persecutions can-
 not shew a more famous, whether we do behold the force
 of his faith, his firm and stedfast constancy, the invincible
 strength of his spirit, or the cruel and horrible torments;
 the report only and hearing whereof were enough to put
 any man in horror or fear. Yet notwithstanding, so far
 off it was that the same did discourage him, that it may
 be doubted, whether the pain of his body, or the courage
 of his mind were the greater; when as indeed both ap-
 peared to be very great.

In this
 joining the
 judgment
 of Dr. Red-
 man is not
 to be fol-
 lowed.

Trental
 Masses dis-
 proved.

Sacrifice of
 the Mass
 disproved.

Faith only
 justifieth.

Works do
 not merit
 salvation.

Rom. 6.

The judg-
 ment of Dr.
 Noyes about
 the controver-
 sies of Religion.

Ann. 1552

The story of
 Mr. Gardiner
 most curiously
 martyred at
 Lisbon in
 Portugal.

Mr. Gardiner
 comparable
 with the
 Martyrs in
 the first Per-
 secutions.

Wherefore if any praise or dignity amongst men, as reason is, be due unto the Martyrs of Christ for their valiant acts, this one man amongst many seemeth worthy to be numbred, and also to be celebrate in the Church with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatus, Crescentius and Gordianus.

And if the Church of Christ do receive so great and manifold benefits by these Martyrs, with whose blood it is watered, by whose ashes it is enlarged, by whose constancy it is confirmed, by whose testimony it is witnessed, and finally, through whose agonies and victories the truth of the Gospel doth gloriously triumph; let not us then think it any great matter to requite them again with our duty, by committing them to memory, as a perpetual token of our good will towards them. Albeit they themselves receive no glory at our hands, and much less challenge the same, but referring it wholly unto the Lord Christ, from whom it came, whatsoever great or notable thing there was in them. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as Christ himself is glorified in his Saints, we cannot shew our selves thankful unto him, except we also shew our selves dutiful unto those by whom his glory doth increase.

Hereupon I think it came to pass that the ancient Christians in the time of the first Persecutions, thought good to celebrate yearly commemorations of the Martyrdom of those holy men, not so much to honour them, as to glorifie God in his soldiers, unto whom all glory and praise doth worthily belong; and moreover, that we being instructed by their example might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of those Wars, to stand more stoutly in battel against our adversaries, and learn the more easily to contemn and despise this world.

For in considering the end and death of these men, who will greatly long or lust after this life, which is so many ways miserable, through so many afflictions dolorous, through so many casualties ruinous, wherein consisteth so little constancy, and less safety, being never free from some hard calamity one or other? What good man would have this world in reputation, wherein he seeth so many good men so cruelly oppressed, and wherein no man can live in quietness except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that in this great slaughter of good men, with so many spectacles and examples of cruel torment, Christians do yet live as it were drowned in the foolish desires of this world, seeing daily before their eyes so many holy and innocent men yield up their Spirits under the hands of such tormentors, to ly in filthy Prisons, in bonds, darkness and tears, and in the end to be consumed with fire.

We see so many Prophets of God, even Christ himself the Son of God, to be so cruelly and many ways afflicted in this world, tormented, scourged and crucified; and yet we laugh, drink, and give our selves unto all looseness of life, and all lasciviousness. For honour and great possessions we contend; we build; we study and labour by all means to make our selves rich. Unto whom it doth not suffice, that we with safety and freedom from their afflictions, Racks, Wheels, Scourges Irons red hot, Gridirons, Flesh-hooks, Mallets, and other kind of torments, may serve our Christ in peace and quiet; but being herewith not content, will give over our selves to all kind of wickedness, to be led away at the will and pleasure of Satan.

But what do we think in so doing? Either we must reckon those men to be most miserable in this life, or else our selves to be most unhappy. But if their blessedness be most certain and sure, then let us direct the course of our life to the same felicity. These men have forsaken this life, which they might have enjoyed. But if we cannot willingly put off this life, yet let us not be slow to correct and amend the same; and though we cannot dy with them in like Martyrdom, yet let us mortifie the worldly and prophan afflictions of the flesh, which thrive against the Spirit, and at the least let us not run thus headlong into the licentious desires of the world, as we do. As the life of Christian men is now, I pray thee, what do these bonds, Prisons, these wounds and scars, these great fires, and other horrible torments of Martyrs, than upbraid unto us our slothful sluggishness, and worthily make us ashamed thereof? Which Martyrs, if in their lives they lived so innocently, and in their death continued so constant, what then is to be deemed of us which suffer nothing for Christ, and will not take upon us the small conflict against vices and our own affections? How would

we suffer the cruel looks of Tyrants, the fearful kinds of Torments, or the violent assaults of the Tormentors in any quarrel of godliness, if in peace and quietness we are, and that with every small breath or wind of temptation, blown away from God, so faint-hearted without any resistance, that we are carried headlong into all kind of wickedness and mischief? one singeth Songs of love, another watcheth all the night at Dice, some spend their life and time day by day in hawking and hunting, some tipple so at Taverns that they come home reeling. Others, whatsoever desire of revenge doth put into their heads, that by and by they seek to put in practice. Some gape after riches; some swell with ambition; some think they are born for no other purpose but for pleasure and pastime. All the world is full of injury and perjury, nay rather it is so rare a thing patiently to suffer injuries done unto us, that except we have the slight to do injury to others, we think our selves scarce men. There is no love almost nor charity among men; neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

But amongst all the rest, unsatiable covetousness and avarice so reigneth, that no man almost is contented with any tolerable estate of life, either that will prescribe himself any measure in having that he possesseth; or in profling for that which he lacketh; never quiet, but always toying; never satisfied, but always unsatiable. Whereby it is cometh to pass, that the minds of men which profess themselves to be good Christians being occupied in such worldly cares and cares, can scarcely find any vacant leisure to think upon heavenly things; and yet notwithstanding, with these minds, we will needs seem Christians. But now setting apart these complaints spent in vain, we will prosecute our purposed story touching good William Gardiner.

And first as concerning his kindred, he was of an honest stock, born at *Bristow*, a Town of Merchandise on the Sea Coast of *England*, honestly brought up, and by nature given unto gravity, of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always from his Childhood preserved without spot of reprehension. Also his handiome and indifferent learning, did not a little commend and beautifie his other ornaments. When he grew unto those years at which young men are accustomed to fetter their minds to some kind of life, it happened that he gave himself to the Trade of Merchandise, under the conduct and guiding of a certain Merchant of *Bristow* called *Master Paget*, by whom he was at the last (being of the age of twenty six years or thereabout) sent into *Spain*, and by chance the Ship arriving at *Lubon* (which is the chief City of *Portugal*) he tarried there about his Merchandise, where at the last he having gotten understanding of the language, and being accustomed to their manners, became a profitable servant both unto his Master and others, in such things as pertained unto the Trade of that Vocation. Whereunto he did so apply himself, that nevertheless, he in that *Popish* Country, reserving still the Religion of his own Country of *England*, ever kept himself found and undefiled from the *Portugals* Superstition. There were also besides him divers other good men in the same City. Neither did he lack good books, or the conference of good and honest men, unto whom he would oftentimes bewail his imbecility and weakness, that he was neither sufficiently touched with the hatred of his sins, neither yet inflamed with the love of godliness.

Whilst he was there abiding, it happened that there should be a solemn Marriage celebrate the first of September in the year above said, betwixt two Princes, that is to say, the Son of the King of *Portugal*, and the Spanish Kings daughter. The Marriage day being come, there was great resort of the Nobility and Estates. There lacked no Bishops with Miter, nor Cardinals with Hats, to let out this royal Wedding. To be short, they went forward to the Wedding with great pomp, where a great recourse of people resorted, some of good will, some for service sake, and some (as the manners is) to gaze and look. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole City, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladness. In this great assembly of the whole Kingdom, *W. Gardiner*, who albeit he did not greatly esteem

What duty
is to be
given of
Christ.
It is to be
glorified
to the
blessed
Martyr
path.

The memory
of Christ
Martyrs
not
to be
forgotten.

How it
came to pass
that the
Martyr
Church
had
yearly
commemora-
tions of
Martyrs.

Superstition
in honour-
ing Martyrs.

What profit
cometh by
memory of
Martyrs
to us.

The World
giveth
quality
to the
world
especially.

Good men
must
suffer
in this
World.

The suffer-
ings of
Martyrs
be
lessons
to us,
to pluck
us
from this
World.

The great
difference
between
Christ's
Martyrs
that
have
been,
and the
life of
Christian
vision
now
is.

KING
1 Sam. 6

The first
beginning
up
and
Trade
of W. Gardiner.

W. Gardiner
followed
the Trade
of Merchandise.

The godly
disposition
mind of W.
Gardiner.

A solemn
Marriage
between the
K. of Portu-
gal's Son,
and the K.
of Spain's
Daughter
in Portugal.

KING {*Edw. 6.*} fifteen such kind of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also, coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the more opportunity and better place to behold and see.

A Popish celebration of a Marriage. The hour being come, they flocked into the Church with great solemnity and pomp: the King first, and then every estate in order; the greater persons, the more Ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their Masses; for that alone serveth for all purposes. The Cardinal did execute, with much singing and Organ-playing. The people stood with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking, their minds being fully bent and set, as it is the manner, upon the external Sacrament. How grievously these things did prick and move this young mans mind, it cannot be expressed, partly to behold the miserable absurdity of those things, and partly to see the folly of the common people, and not only of the common people, but especially to see the King himself and his Council, with so many sage and wise men as they seemed, to be seduced with like Idolatry as the common people were; in-
The godly zeal of W. Gardiner in seeing the Idolatry of the people, and the great difficulty of God.

in-
fomuch that it lacked very little, but that he would even that present day have done some notable thing in the Kings sight and presence, but that the great griefs and thorns that was about him letted that he could not come unto the Altar. What need many words, when the Ceremonies were ended, he cometh home very sad and heavy in his mind, in-
W. Gardiner fomuch that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him. Who albeit upon divers conjectures they conceived the cause of his sadness, notwithstanding they did not fully understand that those matters did so much trouble his godly mind; neither yet did he declare it unto any man, but seeking solitariness and secret places, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might revoke that people from their impiety and superstition.

W. Gardiner In this deliberation and advice his mind being fully set-
clears his tled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any
Books of longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all
Accounts. his accounts so exactly (as well unto that which was due un-
to him, as that which he owed unto others) as no man could justly ask so much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer, calling upon God, and continual meditation of the Scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meat by day, or sleep by night, or at the most above one hour or two of rest in the night, as *Pendragra* his fellow companion both at bed and board, being yet alive can testify.

W. Gardiner The Sunday came again to be celebrate either with like
advised pre- pomp and solemnity, or not much less, whereas the said
paration to *William* was present early in the morning, very cleanly ap-
the accom- parelled even of purpose, that he might stand near the
plishment of Altar without repulce. Within a while after cometh the
King with all his Nobles. Then *Gardiner* setteth himself
as near the Altar as he might, having a Testament in his
hand, the which he diligently read upon, and prayed, un-
til the time was come that he had appointed to work his
feet. The Mass began, which was then solemnized by a
Cardinal. Yet he sat still. He which said Mass, proceeded,
he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, shewed his
god unto the people, all the people gave great reverence,
and as yet he stirred nothing. At the last they came unto
that place of the Mass, whereas they use to take the Cere-
monial Host, and tofs it to and fro round about the Chal-
lice, making certain circles and semicircles. Then the said
William Gardiner, being not able to suffer any longer, ran
speedily unto the Cardinal: and (which is incredible to be
spoken) even in the presence of the King and all his Nob-
les and Citizens, with the one hand he snatched away
the Cake from the Priest, and trode it under his feet, and
with the other hand overthrew the Challice. This matter
at the first made them all abashed, but by and by there
arose a great tumult and the people began to cry out. The
Nobles and the common people ran together, amongst
whom one drawing out his Dagger gave him a great
wound in his shoulder, and as he was about to strike him
again to have slain him, the King twice commanded to
have him saved. So by that means they obtained from
murder.

The Cardinal After the tumult was ceased, he was brought to the
at his King; by whom he was demanded what Countryman he
was, and how he durst be so bold to work such a con-
tumely against his Majesty, and the Sacraments of the
Church? He answered, Most noble King, I am not al-
lamed of my Country, which am an *English* man both by
birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffick of
Merchandise. And when I saw in this famous assembly so
great Idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought,
neither could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do
that which you have seen me presently do. Which thing
(most noble Prince) was not done nor thought of me for
any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for
this purpose (as before God I do clearly confesse) to seek the
salvation of this people.

W. Gardiner When they heard that he was an *English* man, and call-
plucked the ed to remembrance how the Religion was restored by King
Cardinal *Edward*, they were by and by brought in suspicion, that
he had been suborned by *English* men thus to do, to mock
and deride their Religion. Wherefore they were the more
earnest upon him to know who was the author and pro-
curer that he should commit that act. Unto whom he an-
swered, desiring them that they would conceive no such
suspicion of him, forasmuch as he was not moved there-
unto by any man, but only by his own conscience. For
otherwise there was no man under the Heaven, for whose
fake he would put himself into so manifest danger; but
that he ought this service first unto God, and secondarily
unto their salvation: wherefore if he had done any thing
which were displeasing unto them, they ought to impute
it unto no man, but unto themselves, who so unreverently
used the holy Supper of the Lord unto so great Idolatry,
not without great ignominy unto the Church, violation of
the Sacrament, and the peril of their own souls, except
they repented.

W. Gardiner Whilst that he spake these with many other things
plucked the more unto this effect very gravely and stoutly, the blood
Cardinal ran abundantly out of the wound, so that he was ready to
faint. Whereupon Surgeons were sent for, whereby he
might be cured if it were possible, and be relieved for fur-
ther examination, and more grievous torment. For they
were fully perswaded that this deed had divers abettors and
fettors on: which was the cause that all the other *English*
men also in the same City came into suspicion, and were
commanded to be kept custody. Amongst whom *Pendragra*,
because he was his Bedfellow, was grievously tormented
and examined more than the residue, and scarcely was de-
livered after two years imprisonment. The other were
much sooner set at liberty at the intercession of a certain
Duke. Notwithstanding their suspicion could not yet be
thus satisfied, but they came into his Chamber to seek if
there were any Letters, to understand and find out the
author of this enterprise. And when as they could find
nothing there, they came again unto him being grievously
wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of
this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of most grievous he-
resie. Of both which points, with such dexterity as he
could, he cleared himself. Wherein albeit he spake in the
Spanish Tongue well, yet he used the *Latin* Tongue much
more exactly.

W. Gardiner But they not being therewith satisfied, added another
plucked the strange kind of torment, which (as I suppose) passeth
Cardinal the Bull of *Phalaris*. Because there should no kind of extreme
cruelty be left unassayed, they caused a linnen cloth to be
fowed round like a Ball, the which they with violence put
down his throat unto the bottom of his stomach, tyed with
a small string which they held in their hands, and when it
was down, they pulled it up again with violence, so pluck-
ing it to and fro through the meat pipe, in such sort as
that with much less grief they might have rid him out of
his life at once.

W. Gardiner Thus at the last, when all torments and tormentors were
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swered, that it was so far off that he did repent, that if it
were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But
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ry that it was done in the Kings presence, to the disquietne-
of his mind. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him,
which neither interpreted nor thought upon any such matter,
but was rather to be ascribed unto the King, in that he hav-
ing power would not prohibit so great Idolatry used among
his people. This he spake with great fervency. After

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The Creation of W. Gardiner before this ad King.

The suspension of the Privilege upon the fact of W. Gardiner.

The answer of W. Gardiner to the false suspicion of the Privilege.

Pendragra's love to W. Gardiner's importunate upon suspitions.

W. Gardiner's Chamber.

The Bull of Phalaris. A certain Ty east was a kind of torment made of Brass like a Ball with strings under it to torment such as were put into it, to make them to run like a Ball.

W. Gardiner not repenting his deed.

The right hand of Mr. Gardiner cut off in the Vestry. The left hand of Mr. Gardiner cut off in the Market-place.

After that they had used all kind of torments, and saw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his wounds and pains he could not long live, they brought him three days after execution. And first of all, bringing him into the Vestry, they cut off his right hand, which he taking up with his left hand, kissed. Then he was brought into the Market-place, whereas his other hand also was cut off; which he kneeling down upon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done after the manner and fashion of Spain, his arms being bound behind him, and his feet under the horie-belly, he was carried to the place of execution.

There was in that place a certain Engine, from the which a great Rope coming down by a Pulley was fastened about the middle of this Christian Martyr, which first pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood set on fire underneath him, into the which he was by little and little let down, not with the whole body, but so that his feet only felt the fire. Then was he hoisted up, and so let down again into the fire, and thus oftentimes pulled up and down. In which great torment for all that he continued with a constant spirit, and the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

THE KING-
Edw. 6.
The wret-
ched cru-
elty of the
Portugals
in burning
a Christian
Martyr.

The cruell handling of William Gardiner an English Merchant, in Portugall.



Mr. Gardiner at his burning wiled again to repent.

At the last when his feet were consumed, the Tormentors asked him whether he did not yet repent him of his deed, and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the Saints. Whereunto he answered, That as he had done nothing whereof he did repent him, so he had the less need of the help of our Lady or any other Saint; and what external torments soever they used, the Truth (he said) remaineth always one and like unto it self; the which as he had before confessed in his life, so would he not now deny it at his death: desiring them to leave off such vanities and folly. For when as Christ did cease any more to be our Advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Advocate, and said, O eternal God, Father of all mercies, I beseech thee look down upon thy servant, &c. And when as they sought by all means possible to stop or hinder his praying, and praising God in this sort, he cried out with a loud voice, rehearsing the three and fortieth Psalm, *Jesu digne te dicam Deus, & discerno causam meam de gente non sancta. Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against the unmerciful people.*

He was not come unto the later end of the Psalm, when as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt asunder, he fell down into the midst thereof; whereas giving his body for a sacrifice, he changed his temporal pains for perpetual rest and quietness.

A lesson for the Portugals.

The just hand of God upon persecutions.

Thus it seemed good in the sight of God, by this messenger to provoke the Portugals to the sincere knowledge of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the great love and kindness of God offered unto them, and also the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulness towards him. And if it be of great offence to violate the ordinances of mans Law, and to contemn the Ambassadors of Kings and Princes, let the Por-

tugals and all others look well unto it, what it is so cruelly to handle the heavenly messenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevengeed by the mighty hand of God, when as not only the very same night, amongst divers of the Kings ships which were in the next Haven ready to sail, one was burned, being set on fire by a sparkle of Gardiners fire driven thither with the wind, but also the Kings Son which then was married, died within half a year, and in the next year after the King himself also died, and so both within one year after the tormenting of this blessed Martyr.

Thus the body of the said Gardiner being consumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people ceased not, but they were as cruel against him being dead as they were when he was alive, and with their tongues tormented this Martyr, when they could do no more with their hands; yea for very madness they would fauce tarry until he were burned, but every man as they could catch any piece of him half burned, threw it into the Sea.

This sacrifice thus ended, the Clergy to pacifie Gods wrath which they feared for the violating of their Altar, appointed a certain Fast of certain days, for penance to purge that fact, which fact rather should have taught them to purge themselves, and to put away their filthy Idolatry, and much rather they should have fasted and repented for that their extreme cruelty they had shewed unto the lively member of Christ.

Albeit this death of William Gardiner seemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet for all that there are some (as I have heard divers report) out of whose minds the remembrance of this constant Martyr can never be pulled, and is so fresh yet amongst them, as if it were now lately done; and finally, albeit it be a good while since he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as fruitful seed, hath taken such root in some, that even

It is reported that that sparkle lighted among Guine powder.

The blind and miserable cruelty of the Portugals against a righteous man. A false hold fast for paying the worth of their God of the Altar.

King
Edward 6th

even unto this present day he is a lively and diligent Preacher unto them against Superstition and Idolatry used in their Churches. *Ex testimoio N. Fildi, Pendegrace, & aliorum, qui rei gesta interfuerunt.*

The Tragical History of the worthy Lord Edward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, with the whole cause of his troubles and handling.

Anno 2^o
1550
The story
of the Lord
Protector
Duke of
Somerset.

Wol-ly
prosperity
not to be
troubled into

After so many troublous matters in this History aforepassed, coming now to the lamentable and tragical Narration of the Lord Edward Duke of Somerset, the Kings Uncle, and Protector of his person, and of his Realm, I could not well enter into the story of him without some premonition, first to all Noble Personages, of what honour or calling fower within this Realm, by way of History briefly to admonish them, no man to plant any trust or assurance upon the brittle pillars of worldly prosperity how high fover it seemeth, considering that there is no state so high, but it hath his ruin; no wisdom so circumpect, but it may be circumvented; no virtue so perfect, but it may be envied; neither any mans trade so simple, but it may be beguiled. And therefore seeing the condition of mortal things is so, that no man can always stand in this so ruinous a world; the surest way is for every man to chuse his standing so, that his fall may be the easier. But because my purpose is (as I have said in the stories before) to abridge and make short, I will here stay, referring thee to the secret consideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be uttered; and so falling into the story of the Lord Protector Duke of Somerset, we will (the Lord willing) declare in order the original and whole occasion of his trouble and decay, even from the beginning.

Concord
maketh
Brethren
Breng.

King Edward, after that both his Father and Mother were dead, had three Uncles left him by his Mothers side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Semer, of the which two first, one was made Protector of the Realm, and the other High Admiral of the same. These two Brethren, so long as they were knit and joyned together in amity and concord, preserved both themselves, the King their Nephew, and the whole Commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtil old Serpent always envying mans felicity, through slanderous tongues fought to low matter, first of discord between them, then of suspicion, and last of all extreme hatred; insomuch that the Protector suffered his Brother being accused (whether truly or falsely the Lord knoweth) to be condemned, and to lose his head. Whereby it came to pass (whether by the correction of Gods judgment upon him, or whether that he after the death of his Brother, and the King being yet but young and tender of age, was the less able to thrust for himself) that not long after he was overmatched and overthrown of his enemies, and so cast into the Tower, and at last lost his head also, to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the sequel of this History followeth to be declared. For the better Introduction of which History, first to begin with the foresaid Brother of the Lord Protector, namely Sir Thomas Semer High Admiral of England, and the Kings Uncle, here is to be understood that he had married Queen Katharine late wife to King Henry the Eighth, of whom ye heard before. Now it happened (upon what occasion I know not) that there fell a displeasure betwixt the said Queen and the Dutchess of Somerset, and thereupon also in the behalf of their wives, displeasure and grudge began between the Brethren. Which albeit through persuasion of friends it was for a time appeased between them; yet in short space after (perchance not without the privy setting forward of some which were back-friends to the Gospel) it brake out again, both to the trouble of the Realm, and specially to the confusion of them both, as after it proved. First to the Lord Admirals charge it was laid, that he purposed to destroy the young King, and translate the Crown unto himself, and for the same being arraigned and condemned, he did suffer at Tower-hill the twentieth of March 1549. As many there were which reported that the Dutchess of Somerset had wrought his death; so many more there were, who misdoubting the long standing of the Lord Protector in his state and dignity, thought and

Displea-
sure be-
tween the
Queen and
the Dut-
chess of
Somerset.
The Lord
Admiral
was be-
headed at
Tower-hill
the twentieth
of March
1549.

affirmed no less, but that the fall of the one Brother would be the ruin of the other; the experiment whereof as it hath often been proved, so in these also effusions it insured.

It was not long after the beheading of the Lord Admiral, but Insurrections began to kindle the fame year in divers quarters of the Realm, as is above storied. By the occasion whereof the Lord Russell, Lord Privy Seal was sent to the West parts, and the Lord Dudley Earl of Warwick was sent with an Army into Northfolke; where both he himself, and a great number of Gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the Rebels, were in great danger; notwithstanding, in the end the overthrow was given to the Rebels, which was about the beginning of September 1549. After this victory achieved, in the next month following, which was October, how the matter fell out between the Lord Protector and certain other Lords, I know not, but at the return of the Earl of Warwick afore said, great working and consultation there was among the Lords, assembling themselves in the house of Mr. York, and at Bainsards-Castle, and in the Lord Mayors house at London, against the Lord Protector, remaining then with the King at Hampton-Court. Of the which business and trouble thus the Lord Protector writeth in his Letters to the Lord Russell in the West Country as followeth.

John Dudley
Earl of
Warwick
was afterwards
Duke of
Northum-
berland.

Discord be-
tween the
Earl of
Warwick
and the L.
Protector.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Lord Russell, Lord Privy-Seal, concerning troubles working against him.

After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the Kings Majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain but with such vain Letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant nor intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Bullbion to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the Soldiers; and other such Tales and Letters they do spread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live) the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, specially of these men towards the Kings Majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this we require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the Kings Majesty, with such force and power as you may, to shew the part of a true Gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward and the Kings Majesty in time to come, and we shall never be unkindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other Letters from them: but as you tender your duty to the Kings Majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair with such force as ye have to his Highness Castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as ye may make to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell. From Hampton-Court the sixth of October.

Your Lordships assured loving
Friend, Edward Semer.

An Answer to the Lord Protectors Letter.

TO this Letter of the Lord Protector sent the sixth of October, the Lord Russell returning answer again upon the eighth of the said month, first lamenteth the heavy dissension fall between the Nobility and him, which he taketh for such a Plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God upon this Realm, being the next way, faith he, to make of us Conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole Realm an universal calamity and thralldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord do help, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the Dukes request in his Letters, soformach as he heard before of this broil of the Lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the Kings person, he hastened forward with such

The effect
of the Lord
Russells
Letter
answering
to the
Lord Protec-
tor.

such company as he could make for the surety of the King, as to him appertained. Now perceiving by the Lords Letters sent unto him the same sixth day of October these tumults to rise upon private causes between him and them, he therefore thought it expedient that a convenient power should be levied, to be in a readines to withstand the worst (what perils soever might ensue) for the preservation both of the King and state of the Realm from the invasion of foreign enemies, and also for the staying of bloodshed, if any such thing should be intended between the parts in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for discharge of his Allegiance humbly beseecheth his Grace to have the same also in special regard and consideration, first that the Kings Majesty be put in no fear; and that if there be any such thing wherein he hath given just cause to them thus to proceed, he will so conform himself as no such private quarrels do redound to the publick disturbance of the Realm; certifying moreover the Duke, that if it were true which he understandeth by the Letters of the Lords, that he should feed about Proclamations and Letters for raising up of the Commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding he trusted well that his wisdom would take such a way as no effusion of blood should follow.

The Contents of the second Answer of the L. Russell to the L. Protector. The good L. Russell's solicitor for peace between the L. Protector and the Lords.

And thus much being contained in his former Letters of the eighth of October, in his next Letters again, written the eleventh day of October, the said Lord Russell rejoicing to hear of the most reasonable offers of the Lord Protector made unto the Lords, writeth unto him, and prometh to do what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir William Herbert) joynt together with him) doth lie, to work some honourable reconciliation between him and them; so as his said offers being accepted and fastid, some good conclusion might ensue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifying moreover, that as touching the levying of men, they had resolved to have the same in readines for the benefit of the Realm, to occur all inconvenience whatsoever (either by foreign invasion or otherwise) might happen, and so having their power at hand, to draw near, whereby they might have the better opportunity to be solicitors, and a means for this reformation on both parties, &c.

And thus much for answer of the Lord Russell to the Lord Protector's Letters.

The Lords of the Council assembled against the L. Protector.

But now to the matter again of the Lords, who together with the Earl of Warwick (upon what occasion God knoweth) being assembled at London, as ye heard against the Lord Protector; when the King with his Council at Hampton-Court heard thereof, first Secretary Peter with the Kings message was sent unto them, whom the Lords notwithstanding detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the Lord Protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth.

A Letter of the Lord Protector to the Council at London.

The L. Protector's Letter to the Lords of the Council at London.

MY Lords, we commend us most heartily unto you, and whereas the Kings Majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do now also remain, and was advised by me and such other of his Council as were then here about his person, to send Mr. Secretary Peter unto you, with such message as whereby might have ensued the surety of his Majesty's person, with preservation of his Realm and Subjects, and the quiet both of us and your selves, as Mr. Secretary can well declare to you: his Majesty and we of his Council here do not a little marvel that you stay still with you the said Mr. Secretary, and have not as it were vouchsafed to send answer to his Majesty, neither by him nor any other. And for our selves we do much more marvel and are right sorry, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the Kings Majesty and us to these extremities. Which as we do intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend as nature and our allegiance doth bind us, to extremity of death, and and to put all to Gods hand, who giveth victory as it pleaseth him; so that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place (as hitherto none have been signified unto us from you, nor do we understand what you do require

or seek, or what you do mean) and that you do seek no hurt to the Kings Majesty's person; as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and to preserve the Kings Majesty's person, his Realm and Subjects, you shall find us agreeable to any reasonable condition that you will require. For we do esteem the Kings wealth and tranquillity of the Realm, more than all other worldly things; yea more than our own life. Thus praying you to send your determinate answer herein by Master Secretary Peter, or if you will not let him go, by this Bearer: We beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to Gods honour, the preservation of the King, and the quiet of us all, which may be, if the faults be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.

KING
LEWIS
No word
hitherto
sent from
the Lords
to the Lord
Protector,
what they
required of
him to do.
Reasonable
conditions
offered by
the Lord
Protector.

From the Kings Majesty's Castle
of Windsor, the seventh of
October, 1549.

Your Lordships Loving
Friend, E. Somerset.

After these Letters received, and the reasonable conditions of the Lord Protector, and yet not much regarded of the Lords, they perfiling still in their pretended purpose, took this advice, first to keep themselves in the City of London, as strong as they might; and therefore calling upon the Mayor and the Aldermen, they willed them in any case to provide a good and substantial Watch by night, and a good Ward by day, for the safeguard of their City, and the Ports and Gates thereof; which was consented unto, and the Companies of London in their turns warned to watch and ward accordingly.

A solemn
Watchword
mandated in
London.

Then the said Lords and Counsellors demanded of the Lord Mayor and his Brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the Lord Protector out of Windsor from the King; but thereunto the Mayor answered, That he could grant none aid without the assent of Common-Council of the City: Whereupon the next day a Common-Council was warned. But in the mean time the said Lords of the Council assembled themselves at the Lord Mayors House of London, who then was Sir Henry Amcotts Filhonger, and William Lock Mercer, and Sir John Aileph Sheriffs of the said City, and there the said Council did agree and publish a Proclamation forthwith against the Lord Protector, the effect of which Proclamation was as followeth:

The City of
London
printed with
500 men to
fetch the L.
Protector.
The answer
of the Lord
Mayor to
the Lords.
The Lords
assembled
in the Lord
Mayors
house.

First, That the Lord Protector, by his malicious and evil Government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the Realm.

The effect
of this Pro-
clamation
set out a-
gainst the
L. Protector

2. The loss of the Kings Pieces in France.

3. That he was ambitious and sought his own glory, as appeareth by building of most sumptuous and costly Houses in the time of the Kings Wars.

4. That he esteemed nothing the grave counsel of the Counsellors.

5. That he sowed division between the Nobles, the Gentlemen and Commons.

6. That the Nobles assembled themselves together at London for none other purpose, but to have caused the Protector to have lived within limits, and to have put such order for the surety of the Kings Majesty as appertained, whatsoever the Protector's doings were; which they said were unnatural, ungrate and traitorous.

7. That the Protector slandered the Council to the King, and did what in him lay, to cause variance between the King and the Nobles.

8. That he was a great Traytor, and therefore the Lords desired the City and Commons to aid them, to take him from the King.

And in witness and testimony of the Contents of the said Proclamation, the Lords subscribed their names, which were these:

Ann.
1552

The Lord Rich, Lord Chancellor.

The Lord Saint John, Lord great Master, and President of the Council.

The Lord Marquess of Northampton.

The

THE KING

The Earl of Warwick, Lord great Chamberlain.
The Earl of Arundel, Lord Chamberlain.
The Earl of Shrewsbury.
The Earl of Southampton, Wriothesley.
Sir Thomas Cheyney Knight, Treasurer of the Kings
House, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports.
Sir John Gage Knight, Constable of the Tower.
Sir William Peter Knight, Secretary.
Sir Edward North Knight.
Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common
Plea.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Edward Wootton.
Doctor Wootton, Dean of Canterbury.
Sir Richard Southwell.

The Lords
counting to
the Guildhall

After the afore said Proclamation was proclaimed, the
Lords or the most part of them, continuing and lying in
London, came the next day to the Guildhall, during the
time that the Lord Mayor and his Brethren sat in their
Court or inward Chamber, and entred and continued a
long while with the Mayor; and at the last the Mayor and
his Brethren came forth unto the Common-Council, where
was read the Kings Letter sent to the Mayor and Citizens,
commanding them to aid him with a Thousand well ap-
pointed men out of their City, and to send the same with
all speed to his Castle at Windsor.

This Letter by name was directed to Sir Henry Am-
cotts Knight, Lord Mayor, to Sir Rowland Hill Knight,
Mayor Elect, and to the Aldermen and Common-Council
of the City of London. The day and date of the Letter
was the sixth of October, in the third year of his Reign,
being signed with the hand of the King, and the Lord
Protector; the Contents of which Letter, for the satisfac-
tion of the Reader, are here to be seen in manner and
form as followeth.

EDWARD.

By the King.

The Copy
of the Kings
Letter sent
to the Lord
Mayor, Al-
dermen and
Citizens of
London, in
the behalf
of the Lord
Protector.

Trusty and Welbelovéd, We Greet you well. We
charge and command you most earnestly to give or-
der with all speed for the defence and preservation of that
our City of London for us, and to levy out of hand, and
to put in order as many as conveniently you may, well wea-
poned and arrayed, keeping good watch at the Gates, and
to send as hither, for the defence of our person, one thou-
sand of that our City, of trusty and faithful men, to at-
tend upon us and our most entirely beloved Uncle Edward
Duke of Somerset, Governour of our Person, and Protec-
tor of our Realm, Dominions and Subiects, well barnessed,
and with good and convenient weapon; so that they do
make their repair hither unto us this night, if it be possible,
or at the least to morrow before noon, and in the mean
time to do what appertaineth unto your duty for ours and
our said Uncles defence against all such as attempt any
conspiracy or enterprise of violence against us and our said
Uncle, as you know best for our preservation and defence
at this present. Given under our Signet at our Mannor of
Hampton-Court, the sixth of October, the third year of
our Reign.

You shall further give credit to our trusty and
welbelovéd Owen Cleydon, the Beater
hereof, in all such things as he shall further
declare unto you on the behalf of us and
our said Uncle the Lord Protector.

EDWARD SOMERSET.

This Letter of the King and of the Lord Protector was
not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, but the Lords
keeping at London had knowledge immediately thereof (by
the means, as some suppose, of the Lord Payer, who was
then with the King and the Protector, but the truth the

Lord knoweth) being there ready furnished with their
own bands of Serving-men, and other Souldiers and men
of Arms.

Who forthwith upon the same addressed their Letters in
seemable wise to the said Lord Mayor and Aldermen in
the Kings name, not only for a supportation of Armed
men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient Watch to
fortifie their City, but also that they should not obey any
such Letters, Proclamations, or Injunctions sent to them
from the Duke. Which Letter of the Lords at the same
instant came likewise to the Lord Mayor and his Brethren,
the sixth day of the said month of October. The tenour
and Copy of which Letter here ensueth.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Mayor, Al-
dermen, and Citizens of London.

After our hearty commendations unto your good Lord-
ship; knowing your hearty favour and earnest zeal
to the preservation of the Kings Majesty, and of this
Realm, and other his Majesties Realms and Dominions;
we have thought good to advertise you, that notwith-
standing all the good advice and counsel that we could
give to the Duke of Somerset, to stay himself within rea-
sonable limits, and to use his Government now in the ten-
der age of his Majesty, in such sort as might tend to his
Highest safety, to the conservation of his estate, and to
his honour; the said Duke nevertheless still continuing in
his pride, covetousness, and ambition, causeth not daily,
by all the ways and means he can devise, to enrich himself
without measure, and to impoverish his Majesty.

He buildeth in four or five places most sumptuously, and
leaveth the poor Souldiers unpaid of their wages, un-
equaled, and in all things so unfurnished, as the latter late-
ly sustained, to the greatest dishonour that ever came to
the King and this Realm, do declare. He soweth daily
division between the Nobles and Gentlemen, and Com-
mons. He rewardeth and entertaineth a number of those
that were Captains of the Commons in these late insurre-
ctions; and finally in such wise subverteth all Law, Jus-
tice and good order (as it is evident) that putting his
trust in the Commons, and perceiving that the Nobles and
Gentlemen should be an impediment to him in his Devil-
ish purposes, he laboureth first to have them destroyed,
and thinketh after easily enough to achieve his desire,
which it appeareth plainly, is to occupy the Kings Ma-
jesties place. For his doings, whosoever list to behold them,
do manifestly declare, that he mindeth never to render
account to his Majesty of his proceedings.

These things with many more too long to recite, consid-
ered, we pondered with our selves, that either we must tra-
vel for some reformation, or we must in effect as it were
consent with him to the destruction of our Sovereign Lord
and Country. Whereupon laying apart all respects, and rest-
ing only upon our duties, we joined in counsel, and thought
quietly to have treated the matter with him. Who perceiv-
ing that we joyed for the King, and would have such
order as might be for the safety of his Majesties person,
and the Commonwealth, straight put himself in force, and
respects at plain points (as it appeareth) either to go through
with his detestable purpose in such sort as he hath done, or
to try it by the sword.

Now forasmuch as we see presently, that unless there be
a reformation, the person of the King Majesty is in most
certain danger, and this Realm our natural Country like
to be destroyed with all our posterities; like as we have
again fully resolved with Gods help, either to deliver the
Kings Majesty and the Realm from this extreme ruin and
destruction, or to spend our lives for the declaration of our
faithful hearts and duties; so knowing your hearty good
wills and truth to his Majesty, and therefore nothing
doubting of your readiness to join with us in our godly pur-
pose, we thought good to let you know the very truth of our
enterprise, and in the Kings Majesties behalf to require
you not only to put good and substantial order for watch
and ward, but also to have an earnest continual regard to
the preservation, within your City, of all Harnesse, Wea-
pons, and Munition, so as none be suffered to be conveyed,
to the said Duke, nor any others attending about him; and
besides;

The Letter
of the Lords
sent to the
Lord Mayor
and Coun-
cil of Lon-
don against
the Lord
Protector.Crimes laid
to the Lord
Protector
by the
Lords.Juste judi-
cane fieri ut
minuatur.

besides, that you from henceforth obey no Letters, Proclamations, nor other Commandments to be sent from the said Duke. And thus we bid your Lordship most heartily farewell.

From London, the sixth of October.

Your Lordships assured loving Friends,

William Saint John.
W. Northampton.
John Warwick.
Arundel.
Th. Southampton.
William Peter.
Edward Norb.
John Gage.
Richard Southwell.

The City of London, urged with two contrary Letters at one instant.

After the receiving of these two Letters above mentioned, the one from the King, the other from the Lords, which came both at one instant, with contrary commandment to the Lord Mayor and Citizens of London, the case seemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were best for the Citizens of London to do. On the one side the name and authority of the King was much on the other side the power and Garisons of the Lords, lying then in London, was not little, which seemed then to be such as would have no repulse.

The Recorder speaks for the Lords.

The case thus standing perplexedly, first by the mouth of the Recorder it was requested, that the Citizens would grant their aid rather unto the Lords, for that the Protector had abused both the Kings Majesty and the whole Realm, and that without he were taken from the King, and made to understand his folly, this Realm was in great hazard, and therefore required that the Citizens would willingly assent to aid the Lords with five hundred men.

Henceunto of a great part in the Common-Council was no other answer made but silence. But the Recorder (who at that time was Mr. Brook) still rested upon them for answer. At the last stepped up a wife and good Citizen named George Stadlow, and said :

The grave Oration of a discreet Citizen speaking for the King, whose name was George Stadlow a Parliament-man.

"In this case it is good for us to think of things past, to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember, faith he, in a story written in *Fabians* Chronicle, of the War between the King and his Barons, which was in the time of King Henry the Third, and the same time the Barons (as our Lords do now) demanded aid of the Mayor and City of London, and that in a rightful cause for the Commonwealth, which was for the execution of divers good Laws against the King, which would not suffer those Laws to be put in execution; and the City did aid them, and it came to an open Battle, and the Lords prevailed against the King, and took the King and his Son prisoners, and upon certain conditions the Lords restored the King and his Son again to their liberties, and among all other conditions this was one, that the King should not only grant his pardon to the Lords, but also to the Citizens of London; the which was granted, yea and the same was ratified by Act of Parliament. But what followed of it? Was it forgotten? no surely, nor forgiven neither, during the Kings life. The Liberties of the City were taken away, strangers appointed to be our Heads and Governours, the Citizens given away body and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted. Such a thing is it to enter into the wrath of a Prince, as *Solomon* faith, *The wrath and indignation of a Prince is death*. Wherefore, forasmuch as this aid is required of the Kings Majesty, whose voice we ought to hearken unto (for he is our high Shepherd) rather than unto the Lords, and yet I would not wish the Lords to be clearly shaken off; my counsel is, that they with us, and we with them may joyn in suit, and make our most humble Petition to the Kings Majesty, that it would please his Highness to hear such complaint against the Government of the Lord Protector, as may be justly alledged and proved, and I doubt not but this

The wrath of a King not easily to be provoked.

matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the King nor yet the Lords have cause to seek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both.

KING
Edw 6

After this tale the Commons stayed, and the Lord Mayor and his Brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the Lords. To make short, I let pass what order by the City was taken. But the conclusion was, that the Lords (upon what occasion I know not) sat the next day in Council in the Star-Chamber, and from thence sent Sir Philip Hobbie with the Letter of credence to the Kings Majesty, beseeching and requesting his Majesty to give credit to that which the said Sir Philip should declare unto his Majesty in their names; and the King gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say. Who so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the Lords, that in the end the Lord Protector was commanded from the Kings presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a Tower within the Castle of Windsor, called Beauchamp Tower, and soon after were stayed Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Whalley, Mr. Fisher, and many other Gentlemen that attended upon the Lord Protector. The same day the Lords of the Council resorted to the King, and the next day they brought from thence the Lord Protector, and the other that were there stayed, and conveyed them through the City of London unto the Tower, and there left them.

1 Anno 1552
Here is to be noted that the City levied 500 men, but they were not sent.

The Lord Protector committed to the Tower.

Shortly after the Lords resorted unto the Tower, and there charged the Lord Protector with sundry Articles which follow.

The Lord Protector committed to the Tower.

Articles objected against the Lord Protector.

1. *Inprimis*, You took upon you the Office of Protector and Governour, upon condition expressly and specially that you would do nothing in the Kings affairs, publicly or privately, but by the assent of the late Kings Executors.

Articles objected against the Lord Protector.

2. Also you, contrary to the said condition, of your own authority did stay and let Justice, and subverted the Law, as well by your Letters, as by your Commandments.

3. Also you caused divers persons being arrested and imprisoned for Treason, Murder, Manslaughter, and Felony, to be discharged and set at large, against the Kings Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

4. Also you have made and ordained Lieutenants for the Kings Armies, and other weighty affairs, under your own writing and seal.

5. Also you have communed with the Embassadors of other Realms, discoursing alone with them the weighty causes of this Realm.

6. Also you have sometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the Kings most Honourable Councillors, for hewing and declaring their advices and opinions against your purposes in the Kings weighty affairs, saying sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwise advised, and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleasure.

7. Also you had and held against the Law, in your own house, a Court of Requests, and thereby did enforce divers the Kings subjects to answer for their Freeholds and Goods, and determined the same to the subversion of the same Laws.

8. Also, you being no Officer, without the advice of the Council, or the more part of them, did dispose of the Offices of the Kings gift for money, and granted Leases and Wards of the Kings, and gave Presentations to the Kings Benefices, and Bishopricks, having no authority so to do. And further, you did meddle with the felling of the Kings lands.

9. Also you commanded Multiplication and Alcaimistry to be practised, to abuse the Kings Coyn.

10. Also you caused a Proclamation to be made concerning Inclosures, whereby the common people have made divers Insurrections, and levied open War, and distressed and spoiled divers of the Kings subjects, which Proclamation went forth against the will of the whole Council.

{ KING }
{ Edw. 6. }

11. Also, you have caused a Commission, with certain Articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning inclosures of Commons, High-ways, decaying of Cottages, and divers other things, giving the Commissioners authority to hear and determine the same causes, to the subversion of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; whereby much Sedition, Infurrection, and Rebellion have risen and grown amongst the Kings Subjects.

12. Also, you have suffered the Rebels and Traitors to assemble and lie in Camp and Armor against the King, his Nobles and Gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repressing of them.

13. Also, you did comfort and encourage divers of the said Rebels, by giving of them divers sums of your own Money, and by promising to divers of them, fees, rewards and services.

{ Anno }
{ 1552 }

14. Also, you in favour of the said Rebels did, against the Laws, cause a Proclamation to be made, that none of the said Rebels or Traitors should be sued or vexed by any person for any their offences in the said Rebellion, to the clear subversion of the Law.

15. Also you have said in the time of the Rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said Rebels and Traitors; and said, That the covetousness of the Gentlemen gave occasion to the common people to rise, saying also, That better it were for the Commons to die, than perish for lack of living.

16. Also you said, that the Lords of the Parliament were loth to incline themselves to reformation of inclosures and other things, therefore the people had good cause to reform the things themselves.

17. Also you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey *Bulleigh* and the Pieces there, would never amend the same defaults.

18. Also you would not suffer the Kings Pieces beyond the Seas, called *New-haven* and *Black-neß*, to be furnished with men and victuals, although you were advertised of the defaults therein by the Captains of the same Pieces and others, and were thereto advertised by the Kings Council; whereby the *French* King, being the Kings open Enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the Pieces, to the Kings great loss, and dishonour of his Realm.

19. Also you declared and published untruly, as well to the Kings Majesty, as to other the young Lords attending by his Graces person, that the Lords of the Council at *London* minded to destroy the King, and you required the King never to forget it: and likewise you required the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make ledition and discord between the King and his Lords.

20. Also where the Kings Majesties Privy Council, of their love and zeal that they did bear unto the King and his Realm, did consult at *London*, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you, charitably to amend your doings and misgovernment, you, hearing of their said assembly, caused to be declared by Letters in divers places, the said Lords to be high Traitors to the King, to the great disturbance of the Realm.

Sir *Ralfe Vane*, Sir *Myles Partridge*, and other, &c. At length the time being come of his arraignment, the aforesaid good Duke being brought from the Tower, was conveyed through *London* with the Ax of the Tower before him, and with great preparance of Bills, Halberds, Pikes, and Polaxes in most forcible wise; a Watch also set and appointed before every mans Door through the high street of *London*, and so was he brought into *Westminster* Hall, where the Lords of the Council sitting as his Judges in the middle of the Hall, upon a new Scaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with Treason and Felony.

In the which judgment, I pass over the unfeinly speech, the vile taunts and despitful rebukes, without all modesty or honesty, used by certain of the Sergeants and Justices, and some other sitting there. All which notwithstanding he patiently and quietly did suffer, neither storming inwardly in stomach, nor reviling them with words again; but like a Lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekness, was contented to take all things at their hands, and with no less patience to bear now their ungentele and cruel railings, than he did before their glavering words and flatterings in time of his high estate and prosperity. And as the patience of this good Duke was marvelous in forbearing his enemies, so also was his discretion and temperance no less seen in answering for himself to the Articles to him objected; whereunto he wisely and substantially replied, putting himself in the end to be tried by his Peers. Who then at length, after consultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus; That as concerning the case of Treason, wherewith he was charged, they discharged him, but they accounted him guilty of Felony. When the people (which were there present to a great number) heard the Lords say, Not guilty, (meaning by the case of Treason) supposing no less but that he had bin clearly acquitted by these words,

and especially seeing the Ax of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladness they made an outcry, well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the Duke, whose life they greatly desired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent Duke condemned to die for Felony. Which Act of Felony had been made a little before against the Rebels and unlawful assemblies, such as should seek or procure the death of any Councillor, so that every such attempt and procurement, according to the Act, should be adjudged Felony. By the virtue of which Act the Duke being accused, with certain other his Complices, to intend and purpose the death of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and of certain beside, was therefore cast and condemned of Felony, and so was returned toward the Tower again.

At whole passage through the City great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, some rejoicing that he was acquitted, some bewailing that he was condemned. Thus the good Duke passing through a great part of the City, landing at the Crane of the Vinetree, was conveyed to the Tower, where he endured till the 22 of *January*. Upon the which day, at the coming down of the Letter of execution from the King and the Council, the aforesaid Duke and Uncle to the King being found no Traitor, only being cast by the Act of Felony, was delivered unto the Sheriffs, and so brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be bestowed, in describing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully been suggested to us upon the credit of a certain Noble Personage, who not only was there present at the deed doing, but also in a manner next unto him upon the Scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes, and with his pen also reporting the same in order and manner as here followeth.

In the year of our Lord, 1552, the two and twentieth of *January*, in the sixth year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, he being yet under age and governance of Tutors, the noble Duke of *Somerset*, Uncle to King *Edward*, was brought out of the Tower of *London*, and according to the manner delivered to the Sheriffs of the City, and compassed round about with a great number of armed men both of the Guard and others, he was brought unto the Scaffold on Tower Hill, where he nothing changing

The D. of Somerset was brought to the Tower.

The vile taunts of certain Justices and others sitting in judgment against the good D. of Somerset.

The great patience of the D. of Somerset in taking rebukes.

The discreet behaviour of the D. of Somerset in answering for himself.

The hearty affection of the people toward the Duke of Somerset.

The D. of Somerset condemned of Felony. Stat. an. 5. reg. Edw. 6.

The D. of Somerset accused for seeking the death of the Duke of Northumberland.

The marvellous working of the Lord for the L. Protector.

The Lord Protector delivered out of the Tower.

The treasure of the Duke of Somerset.

And thus much hitherto concerning the first trouble of the Lord Protector Duke of *Somerset*, with the Crimes and Articles objected against him, with his imprisonment also in the Tower, and the terrible Proclamation given out against him. All which purposes of man, though they seemed fully to intend no less than the spilling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the only disposer of all mens purposes, so ordered the matter by the means of the King labouring for his Uncle, that in short while after he was let out of the Tower, and that Proclamation which before had made him a Traitor, within three days after was called in again, (*a Domino factum est illud*) with commandment given, none of them to be fold. And so the Duke of *Somerset*, graciously escaping this adversity, was again restored, though not to the former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the space of two years and two days.

After the which time of reprieve being expired, the said Duke of *Somerset* was apprehended and committed again to the Towers; and with him also Sir *Michael Stanhop*,

either

either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.

The cheerful countenance of the Duke of Somerset at his death.

After that he had ended a few short Prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the East side of the Scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me standing about the midst of the Scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the Axe, or yet of the Hangman, or of present death; but with the like alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as before times he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of other, and especially the Poor (towards whom, as it were with a certain Fatherly love to his Children, he always shewed himself most attentive) he uttered these words to the people.

The words of the Duke of Somerset to the people at his death.

Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the King neither by word nor deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this Realm as any man hath been. But forasmuch as I am by a Law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my self as well as others to be subject thereto. Wherefore to testify my obedience which I owe unto the Laws, I am come hither to suffer death; whereto I willingly offer my self, with most hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor my self.

The care of the Duke of Somerset in setting forth true Religion.

Moreover, dearly beloved Friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian Religion; which so long as I was in Authority I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, for that now the State of Christian Religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the Primitive Church. Which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both unto you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.

A sudden noise and fear of the people at the death of Somerset.

When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or Tempest, which unto some seemed to be heard from above; like as if a great deal of Gunpowder being indosed in an Armory, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some again it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of Horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, without any violence or stroke stricken, or any man seen, they ran away, some into the Ditches and Puddles, and some into the Houses therabouts; other some, being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down groveling unto the ground, with their Polaxes and Halberds; and most of them cried out, Jesus save us, Jesus save us. Those which tarried still in their places, for fear knew not where they were; and I my self which was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly burly, stood still altogether amazed, looking when any man would knock me on the head. It happened here, as the Evangelists write it did unto Christ, when as the Officers of the high Priests and Pharisees, coming with Weapons to take him, being affrighted ran backwards and fell to the ground.

The like story you shall read in 1 Cor. 14. 18. in Matthew the 23. Book and 5. Chap.

In the mean time, whilst these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one Sir Anthony Brown riding under the Scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for, That the King by that Messenger had sent his Uncle pardon; and therefore with great rejoicing and calling up their Caps, they cried out Pardon, Pardon is come: God save the King. Thus this good Duke, although he was destitute of all mans help, yet he

saw before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in so great slaughter of Dukes as hath been in England within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men did see in the decay of this Duke the publick ruine of all England, except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

But now to return from whence we have strayed; the Duke in the mean time standing still in the same place, modestly and with a grave countenance made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet. Which thing being done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner.

Dearly beloved Friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is met and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now join in Prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the Kings Majesty, unto whom I have always shewed my self a most faithful and true Subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole Realm. At which words all the people cried out and said, it was most true.

The words of the Duke spake to the people.

Then the Duke proceeding, said, Unto whose Majesty I wish continual health, with all facility and all prosperous success. Whereunto the people again cried out, Amen.

Testimony of the people with the Duke of Somerset.

Moreover, I do wish unto all his Counsellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to shew your selves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the Kings Majesty.

Moreover, forasmuch as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore if there be any that hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended; and all other whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep your selves quiet and still, lest through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and through your quietness I shall be much more quieter. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness that I die here in the Faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your Prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my lives end.

The confession of the Duke of Somerset.

The Duke of Somerset dies in the Faith of Jesus Christ.

After this, he turning himself again about like a meek Lamb, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Doctor Cox, which was there present to counsel and advertise him, delivered a certain Scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God. Which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and first bid the Sheriffs farewell, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and other, taking them all by the hands which were upon the Scaffold with him. Then he gave the Hangman certain Money. Which done, he put off his Gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his Shirt-fringes. After that, the Hangman coming unto him turned down his Collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then lifting up his eyes to Heaven, where is only hope remained, and covering his face with his own handkercher, he laid himself down alone, shewing no manner of token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were covered there began to appear a red colour in the midst of his cheeks.

D. Cox, his Doctor.

Thus this most meek and gentle Duke lying alone, and looking for the stroke, because his Doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus saying, Lord Jesus save me, as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the

The godly end of the Duke of Somerset.

KING } the name of *Jesús* was in uttering, in a moment he was
 { *Edward* } bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord *Jesús*,
 being taken away from all dangers and evils of this life,
 and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment
 of whole truth and Gospel he always shewed himself an
 excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath
 received the reward of his labours. Thus, gentle Reader,
 thou hast here the true History of this worthy and
 noble Duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be
 counted as a lie.

The virtues
 of the Duke
 of *Somerset*.

As touching the manners, disposition, life and conver-
 sation of the said Duke and the Kings Uncle, what shall
 we need to speak, when as he cannot be sufficiently com-
 mended, according to the dignity of his virtues? There
 was always in him great humanity, and such meekness and
 gentleness, as is rare to be found in so high Estate. He
 was prone and ready to give ear unto the complaints and
 supplications of the poor, and no less attentive unto the
 affairs of the Commonwealth. Which if he had lived
 together with King *Edward*, he was like to do much
 good in reforming many misorders within this Realm.
 He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far
 void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of
 injury, being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a
 gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt
 and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. His ancient
 love and zeal of the Gospel and of Religion he brought
 with him to the state of his Dignity. The proof
 whereof sufficiently was seen in his constant standing to
 Gods truth, and zealous defenses thereof, against the Bi-
 shops of *Chichester*, *Norwich*, *Lincoln*, *London*, and
 others more, in the consultation had at *Windſor*, the first
 year of the Kings Reign.

The zealous
 standing of
 the Duke
 of *Somerset* in
 defense of
 the truth
 against the
 Bishops at
Windſor.

A competi-
 tion between
 Duke *Hum-
 frey* Uncle
 to *K. Henry*,
 the sixth
 and the
 Duke of
Somerset
 Uncle to *K.
 Edward* the
 sixth.

Briefly, considering the nature and virtues of this
 Duke, I may (as *ascerneth*) not unaptly compare and
 resemble him unto Duke *Humfrey*, the good Duke of
Gloucester. Who likewise being Uncle unto King *Henry*
 the sixth and Protector of the Realm (as this was also to
 King *Edward* the sixth) yet he wanted not his Enemies
 and privy enviers, especially *Henry Beauford* Cardinal,
 Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*;
 who, at that time disdaining and envying the rule and
 authority of this Duke, procured much trouble against
 him, and great division in the whole Realm, inasmuch
 that all the Shires within the City of *London* were shut
 in for fear of the favourers of these two great perion-
 ages; for each part had assembled no small number of
 people.

Troubles
 of the Duke
 of *Gloucester*
 read before.

For pacifying whereof the Archbishop of *Canterbury*
 and the Duke of *Quinber*, called the Prince of *Portugal*,
 rode eight times in one day between the two adversaries.
 Such were when the troubles of this tumultuous division
 within the Realm, between these two, as is before ex-
 pressed; not much unlike to the troublesome discord be-
 twixt parties in this Protectors days. And as in their af-
 flictions and troubles these two Dukes seemed not much
 unlike, so in matters of Religion, and in discerning truth
 from falshood, their zeals seemed not much discrepant.
 Although the light of the Gospel did not so fully then
 shine out, as in the time of this later Duke, (the Lord
 be praised therefore) yet the wisdom and towardness of
 the other Duke also touching the same was not utterly un-
 worthy of his commendation. For the more manifest
 declaration whereof, amongst many other his godly do-
 ings, we may take for example the prudent and famous
 Act of that noble Duke, in discerning and trying out
 the false lying miracle and Popish Hypocritie of the blind
 Beggar at *Saint Albans*, mentioned in his story before.
 For the which cause, and for his diligent study in reform-
 ing that and such other blind abuses of tainted Religion, he
 was the more hated of the Spirituality, and such as *Win-
 chester* then was.

A false mi-
 racle de-
 tected by *D.
 Humfrey* of
Gloucester.

Finally as this Lord Protector Duke of *Somerset* the
 Kings Uncle, by certain of the Council was then accused,
 arraigned and condemned for the trespass (as it was
 given forth) of Felony (although I never heard he mur-
 dered or robbed any) so the other Uncle of King *Henry*
 the sixth was made away. Of whose decease thus writeth
M. Tindal in his practice of Prelates; at the last they found
 the means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to pass,
 and made a Parliament far from the Citizens of *London*,

The Trea-
 son of *M.
 Will. Tindal*
 of good *D.
 Humfrey*.

where was slain the said good Duke and the only wealth
 of the Realm, and the mighty Shield which so long had
 kept it from the forrow, which shortly after his death fell
 upon them by heaps. But the *Chronicles* (saith he)
 cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means.
 Nevertheless, this they testifie, that he was a virtuous
 man, godly and good to the Commonwealth.

But to leave Duke *Humfrey*, and to return to the man-
 ners and virtues of the Duke of *Somerset*, which before
 we were about to describe; as he was a gentle and courte-
 ous Duke at home, so was he no less fortunate a Captain
 in warfare abroad. Under whose government and guid-
 ing not only divers rebellious commotions were happily
 suppressed here at home; but also abroad, in the expedi-
 tion of *Scotland*, such a Victory was given him of God,
 that with the loss of six hundred of his own men,
 there were of the enemies as good or little less than ten
 thousand slain and put to flight, and even the very same
 day and time in the which all the Idolatrous Images were
 here burnt at *London*. And yet all these Wars notwith-
 standing, whereunto he was against his will compelled,
 he was a man of nature singularly given to peace, as
 may be seen by the sweet and peaceable exhortation by
 him set forth in Print before, and sent to the Realm of
Scotland.

The happy
 success of
 the Duke of
Somerset in
 his victory.

But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all
 respects, which is not blotted or darkened with some spot
 of vice adjoynd withal; so amongst the manifold com-
 mendations of this Duke, one thing there was too, which
 both diminished his honour and estimation much, and also
 more impaired and hindered his own life and safety; which
 was, that he in condescending to the death of his Brother,
 followed too rashly the persuasion of certain whosoever
 they were; for that matter lacked not perchance some sin-
 gular fetch and policy of some, more craftily than godly
 disposed persons, as many good men have supposed.

Gods cha-
 rishment
 upon the Duke
 of *Somerset*.

But whatsoever of that matter is to be deemed, credible
 it is that the said Duke, in suffering or procuring the
 death of his Brother, not only endamaged himself,
 and weakened his own power, but also provoked the
 chastisement of Gods scourge and Rod, which did follow
 upon him.

The be-
 heading of
 the Earl of
Surrey.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the
 Lord *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, who suffered also at the
 Tower next before the Lord Admiral, the Lord Protectors
 Brother, because the casting of him was so near to the
 death of King *Henry*, as I know not upon whom or what
 cause the same did proceed; I pass it over and leave it to
 the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the Duke of *Somerset*,
 whatsoever his other vices and virtues were, this is certain,
 that his end (the Lord so working with him) was con-
 stant in Christs truth, as his life was before a great main-
 tenance of the same.

Moreover, on the 26. day of *February*, in the same
 year was Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Miles Partridge* both Hang-
 ed at the Tower-hill; and Sir *Michael Stanhop*, and Sir
Thomas Arundel beheaded upon the Scaffold, all which
 four were condemned by the said Act of unlawful assembly,
 and as accessaries unto the Duke of *Somerset*.

Sir *Ralph*
Vane, Sir
Miles *Par-*
tridge, Sir
Michael *Stanhop*
 and Sir *Tho.*
Arundel suf-
 fered at
 Tower-hill.

Not long after the death of the Duke of *Somerset*, in
 the next year following, deceased the King himself about
 the Month of *June*, whereof more shall be said (the
 Lord granting) in his due order and course hereafter. In
 the mean season, before we come to close up the later end
 and story of this good King, the place here present seemeth
 not unfit to intermit by the way a few other things before
 happening within the time of his Reign, namely, con-
 cerning matters incident of the Church, and of Religion.
 Which state of Religion began well to grow, and to
 come happily forward during this Kings days, had not
 the unhappy troubles of the outward state, among the
 Lords not agreeing within themselves, disquieted the good
 towardness of things begun. But the malice of the
 Devil how subtilly worketh it, if men could see it? So
 long as the Lords agreed in concord among themselves,
Winchester and *Bonner* with all that Faction was cut
 short, and began to condescend to good conformity. But
 afterward perceiving the States and Nobles of the Realm
 to be among themselves divided, and the Lord Protec-
 tor the Kings Uncle displaced, and his Brother the
 Admiral before beheaded, and the young King new
 left

Religion
 hindered by
 discord.

left in that case, they began upon some hope to take more heart to them, till at last it came to pass as they themselves desired. And thus though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us what discord worketh in public weals; and contrarily, what a necessary thing concord is to the advancement especially of Gods matters appertaining to his Church. Examples whereof in this Kings days be not far to seek. Examples whereof the success of the Gospel of peace, while publick peace and the Gospel did joyn together, marvelous it was how Error and Popery were in themselves confounded, and alhamed almost to shew their faces. Inasmuch that then both Doctor *Smith*, *Chadsey*, *Standish*, *Tong*, *Oglethorpe*, with many more recanted their former ignorance, whole recantations I have to shew. Bonner then with his own hand subscribed unto the Kings Supremacy, and promoted his Injunctions.

The same also did *Stephen Gardiner*, subscribing with his own hand to the first Book of the Kings proceedings, and no doubt had done less to the second Book also to let forth by the King, had not the unfortunate discord fallen amongst the Nobles in time so unfortunate, as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what Papist was found in all the Realm, which for the Popes devotion would or did once put his neck in the Halter to die a Martyr for his sake?

I shewed before how in these peaceable days of King Edward, *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, *Paulus Pagninus*, with other learned men more, were entertained, placed, and provided for in the two Universities of this Realm, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who there with their diligent industry did much good. The learned and fruitful disputations of whom I have likewise present in my hands here to insert, but that the bigness of this Volume driveth me to make short, especially seeing their disputations to be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latin, and require of themselves a whole Volume to comprehend them.

First, *Peter Martyr*, being called by the King to the publick reading of the Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, amongst his other learned exercises did set up in the publick Schools three conclusions of Divinity to be disputed and tried by Argument. At which disputations were present the Kings Visitors, to wit, *Henry Bishop of Lincoln*, Doctor *Cox* Chancellor of that University, *D. Hains* Dean of Exeter, Master *Richard Morison* Esquire, *Christopher Nevins* Doctor of Civil Law. The conclusions propounded were these.

1. In the Sacrament of thanksgiving there is no Transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.

2. The body and blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor, as other use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine.

3. The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally.

They which were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Doctor *Tresham*, Doctor *Chadsey*, and *Morgan*. The reasons and principal Arguments of *Peter Martyr* herunder follow.

The Arguments of *Peter Martyr* upon the first conclusion.

The Scriptures most plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the Evangelists we read that the Lord Jesus took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his Disciples. Saint *Paul* likewise doth oft times make mention of bread.

Ergo, We also with the Scriptures ought not to exclude Bread from the nature of the Sacrament.

Cyprianus.

As in the person of Christ, his humanity was seen outwardly, and his Divinity was secret within: so in the visible Sacrament the Divinity inserteth it self in such sort as cannot be uttered, that our devotion about the Sacrament might be the more religious.

Ergo, As in the person of Christ, so in the Sacrament, both the natures ought still to remain.

Gelasius.

KING
Edw. 6.

The Sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ are a divine matter; by reason whereof, we are made partakers by the same of his divine nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries, &c.

Augustinus.

As the person of Christ consisteth of God and Man, *Augustinus* com- when as he is true God, and true Man. For every thing containeth in it self the nature and verity of those things whereof it is made. Now the Sacrament of the Church is made of two things, that is, of the Sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the Sacrament that is signified, &c.

Theodoretus.

These visible mysteries which are seen be both honoured *Theodore. Dicit* with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace unto nature, &c. And the same *Theodoretus* again faith.

Those mystical Sacraments after sanctification do not pass out of their own proper nature, but remain still in their former substance, figure, and shape, &c.

Ergo, Like as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not changed into his Divinity; so in the Sacrament, the bread is not changed into the body, but both the substances remain whole.

Origene.

If whatsoever entereth into the mouth goeth down into the belly, and so passeth through a man, even that meat also which is sanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, as touching that part which is both material within it, passeth into the belly, and so cometh through a man. But through prayer, which is adjoined to it, according to the measure of Faith, it is profitable and effectual, &c. And he addeth moreover, For it is not the outward matter of bread, but the word that is spoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily, &c.

Irenaeus.

Jesus taking bread of the same condition which is after us, (that is, taking bread of the same nature and kind which we use commonly to eat) did confess it to be his Body. And taking likewise the cup, which is of the same creature which is after us (that is, which we commonly use to drink) confessed it to be his blood, &c.

Item, lib. 4. Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so our bodies receiving the sacred Eucharist, be now not corruptible, having hope of Resurrection, &c.

Argument.

The bread in the Sacrament is so changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made incorruptible by hope.

But our bodies are not made incorruptible by changing their substance;

Ergo, No more is the bread changed into the substance of the body.

Gregory.

Notwithstanding whether we take leavened or unleavened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Saviour, &c.

Argument.

KING
Lands

Argument.

- Da- Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is substance of bread, and not accidents only.
ri- In the Sacrament bread is received either leavened or unleavened;
i. Ergo, In the Sacrament is substance of bread, and not accidents only.

Argument.

- Ba- The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round, and is unseparable in operation.
ro- Accidents only of bread have no figure of roundness.
es. Ergo, The body of Christ is not named of accidents, but of very bread substantial.

Argument.

The words of the Evangelist speaking of that which Christ took, blessed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing else but bread.
Ergo, The substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the Sacrament.

Chrysostom.

Christ in giving Bread and Wine, said, Do this in remembrance of me.

Cyrillus.

He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread.
Alto the same Cyril faith, In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine.
Ergo, By these Doctors it remaineth bread after the consecration.

Ambrose.

Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called another kind of thing. After consecration the body of Christ is signified.

Arguments of Peter Martyr disputing with Master Chadsey upon the first question.

- Da- The Analogy and resemblance between the Sacrament and the thing signified must ever be kept in all Sacraments.
ri- In the Sacrament of the Lords body this Analogy or resemblance cannot be kept, if bread be Transubstantiated:
fi. Ergo, The substance of bread must needs remain in the Sacrament.

The Major of this Argument is certain by Saint Augustine, Lib. de Catechizandis rudibus, & Epist. ad Dardanum. Where he faith, Sacraments must needs bear a similitude of those things whereof they are Sacraments, or else they can be no Sacraments.
The Minor is thus proved.

Argument.

- Ba- The resemblance between the Sacrament and the body of Christ is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nourish outwardly, so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.
ro- Without the substance of bread and wine there is no resemblance of nourishing.
es. Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine the Analogy cannot hold.

Argument.

- Ba- Again, another resemblance and similitude or analogy of this Sacrament is this, That as one loaf of bread and one cup of wine containeth many Corns and many Grapes; for the mystical Congregation containeth many Members, and yet maketh but one body.
ro- Without the substance of bread and wine no such resemblance or similitude of conjunction can be represented.
es. Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, the Analogy of this spiritual conjunction cannot hold.

Another Argument.

- Ba- Every Sacrament consisteth in two things, that is, in the thing signifying, and the thing signified.
ro- Without the substance of Bread and Wine there is nothing that signifieth in the Sacrament.
es. Ergo, The substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament can in no wise be Transubstantiated from their natures. The Minor is thus to be proved.
Fef- There is no signification in any Sacrament without the element.
ri- The substance of bread and wine is the element of this Sacrament.
es. Ergo, Without the substance of bread and Wine there is no similitude nor signification in this Sacrament.

And forasmuch as the adversaries ground their Transubstantiation so much upon these words of Christ, *This is my body*, which they expound only after the literal sense, without Trope or figure; now that this their explication is false, and that the said words are to be taken figuratively and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proved.
1. First by the words of the Scripture. 2. By the nature of a Sacrament. 3. By the testimonies of the Fathers.

1. First, By these words of the Scripture, where he faith, *Do this in remembrance of me*, forasmuch as remembrance properly serveth not for things corporally present, but for things rather being absent.
2. Secondly, Where he faith, *Until I come*, which words were vain, if he were already come by consecration.
3. Thirdly, Where St. Paul faith, *The breaking of bread is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* Which words of breaking in no case can be verified upon the body of Christ, which for the glory thereof is unpassible.
4. Furthermore whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the same cannot be understood simply of the body of Christ without a Trope, forasmuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with Teeth, as we use properly in eating other meats to do.
5. The words moreover of *Luke and Paul*, spoken of the Cup, do argue likewise that the other words spoken of the Bread must needs be taken mystically. As where it is said, *This cup is the New Testament*, which words must needs be expounded thus; this Cup doth signify the New Testament.
6. Item, These words of St. John, Chap. 6, *My words be spirit and life. The flesh profiteth nothing, &c.*
7. Item, Where in the same place of Saint John, Christ, to reſet the carnal understanding of the Capernaimit of eating his body, maketh mention of his Ascension, &c.

The second cause why the words of Christ, *This is my body*, cannot be literally expounded without a Trope, is the nature of a Sacrament; whose nature and property is to bear a sign or signification of a thing to be remembered, which thing after the substantial and real presence is absent. As touching which nature of a Sacrament sufficiently hath been said before.

The third cause, why the words of consecration are figuratively to be taken, is the testimony of the ancient Doctors.

Three causes proving that these words of Christ, *This is my body*, are not to be taken literally, but figuratively.

Places of scripture reading against Transubstantiation.

The second cause, the nature of a Sacrament.

The third cause, the testimony of the Fathers.

Tertullianus.

Tertul-
lus Mani-
ch. 4.*This is my body; that is to say, This is a figure of my body.*

Aug. 2. fol. 9.

August. Psal. 3.

Aug. con-
tra Mani-
ch. 2. fol. 12.

Christ gave a figure of his body.

August. contra Adamantum Manichæum.

He did not doubt to say; This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.

Hieronymus.

Hieronymus.

Christ represented unto us his body.

August.

Aug. de do-
ctrina Chris-
tiana. lib. 1.*Augustine in his Book De Doctrina Christiana declareth expressly, that this speech of eating the body of Christ is a figurative speech.*

Ambrosius.

Ambros. de
sacram. c. 6.*As thou hast received the similitude of his death; so thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.*

Argument.

Fe- The death of Christ is not present really in the Sacrament, but by similitude.

re- The precious blood of Christ is present in the Sacrament as his death is present.

o- Ergo, the precious blood of Christ is not present really in the Sacrament.

The Minor of this Argument is proved before by the words of Ambrose.

The second
conclusion.*The second Question, Whether the Body and Blood of Christ be in the Bread and Wine, or under the forms of Bread and Wine carnally and corporally.*

Argument.

Di- The true natural body of Christ is placed in Heaven.

fa- The true natural body of Man can be but in one place at once, where he is.

mi- Ergo, the true natural body of Christ can be in no place at once, but in Heaven where he is.

The Major is plain by the Scriptures, *Jesus was taken up to heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God.* Mat. 26. *The poor ye have always with you, but me you shall not always have.* John 12. *I leave the world and go to my Father.* John 16. *Many shall say in that day; Lo here is Christ, and there is Christ, believe them not.* Mat. 24. *Whom the heavens must receive for a time, until the resurrection of all.* Acts 3. *Seek those things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God.* Col. 3.

The Minor likewise is evident by Saint Austin, who, speaking of the glorified body of Christ, affirmeth the same to be in one certain place, *Propter veri corporis modum*, that is, for the manner of a true body.

Argument.

Da- Every true natural body requireth one certain place.

Augustine.

re- Christ's body is a true natural body.

o- Ergo, Christ's body requireth one certain place.

Argument.

Augustine giveth not to the soul of Christ to be in moe places at once but once. August. ad Dardanum.*Ergo, much less is it to be given to the body of Christ, to be in moe places at once, but one.* Comparata
a Majori.

Argument.

The nature of the Angels is not to be in divers places, but they are limited to occupy one certain place at once. *Comparison between Angels and the body of Christ.* *Basilius de Spirit. sancti. cap. 22.*

Ergo, The body of Christ being the true natural body of a Man, cannot fill divers places at one time.

Argument.

Ba- Whatsoever is in many and divers places at once, is God.

ro- The body of Christ is not God, but a Creature.

co- Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in moe places together.

Argument.

Fe- We must not so defend the Divinity of Christ, that we destroy his humanity. *August.*

ti- If we assign to the body of Christ plurality of places, we destroy his humanity.

no- Ergo, we must not assign to the body of Christ plurality of places.

Argument.

Fe- Whatsoever thing is circumscribed, that is to say, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be dispersed in moe places at once.

ti- The body of Christ is a thing circumscribed.

no- Ergo, The body of Christ is not dispersed in moe places at one time.

Argument.

Da- Every quantity, that is, every body having magnitude, length, and other dimensions, is circumscribed in one peculiar place.

ti- The body of Christ hath his dimensions, and is a quantity.

i- Ergo, The body of Christ is circumscribed.

Cyrillus.

The Major is proved by Cyrillus. *Whatsoever is understood to be a body, the same is verily in a place, and in magnitude and in quantity. And if it be in quantity, it cannot avoid circumscription, that is, to have his place.* Cyril. de
Crem. lib. 2.
pag. 145.

Argument.

Ba- If Christ had given his body substantially and carnally in the supper, then was that body either passible or impassible.

ro- But neither can you say that body to be passible or impassible, which he gave at supper.

co- Ergo, he did not give his body substantially and carnally at supper.

Augustine.

The Minor is proved thus. For if ye say it was passible, *Augustine* is against it, which saith, *Ye shall not eat this body which you see, nor drink the same blood which they shall shed that shall crucifieme.* &c. And if ye say it was impassible, that may not be admitted by the words of the Evangelist, which saith, *Eat, this is my body which shall be given for you;* So that, that body was passible, and not impassible, wherein Christ was given. Aug. in
Psal. 51.

Vigilius.

KING
Rwds 5Fig. causa
Enitibus 1.4

Vigilius.

One Creature cannot receive in it self two contrary or divers things together. But these two things be divers and far unlike, that is to say, to be contained in a place, and to be every where. For the word is every where, but the flesh is not every where.

Argument.

- Fe- Bodies organical without quantity be no bodies.
ri- The Popes Doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the Sacrament to be without quantity.
o. Ergo, The Popes Doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the Sacrament to be no body.

Argument.

- Da- All things which may be divided, have quantity.
ri- The body in the Popes Sacrament is divided in three parts.
i. Ergo, The body in the Popes Sacrament hath quantity, which is against their own Doctrine.

Argument.

- Fe- No natural body can receive in it self, and at one time contrary or divers qualities. *Vigilius.*
ri- To be in one place local, and in another place not local; to be in one place with quantity, and in another place without quantity; in one place circumscript, in another place incircumspect, is for a natural body to receive contrary qualities.
e. Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in one place local, and in another not local; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantity, as our adversaries do affirm.

Argument.

- Fe- The wicked receive not the body of Christ.
ri- The wicked do receive the body of Christ, if Transubstantiation be granted.
Joh. Ergo, Transubstantiation is not to be granted in the Sacrament.

Argument for probation of the Major.

- Ca- To eat Christ, is for a man to have Christ dwelling and abiding in him. *Augustine.*
mes- The wicked have not Christ dwelling in them.
res. Ergo, the wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian.

Cyprianus, de Coena Dom. The eating of Christ is our abiding in him.

Argument.

- Bo- The Holy Ghost could not come, if the body of Christ were really present.
car- That the Holy Ghost is come it is most certain.
do. Ergo, it cannot be that Christ himself should be here really present.
Joh. 16. For proof of the Major, John the sixteenth, Unless I go from you the Holy Ghost shall not come: It is expedient for you that I go hence.

Argument of Peter Martyr.

- Bo- If the wicked and infidels do receive the body of Christ, they receive him either with sense, or reason, or with faith.
ro- But they receive him neither with sense, reason, nor with faith.
eo. Ergo, wicked men and infidels receive in no wise the body of Christ.
Declaration of the Major. For declaration of the Major, it ye say, they receive him with sense, that is against their own lore; for the

body of Christ in the blessed Sacrament (say they) is not sensible, nor to be perceived by any sense; neither with reason can they receive him, by their own learning, for so much as this Sacrament exceedeth all reason; *nec fides habet meritum, ubi ratio praebeat experimentum.* And if ye say, that they receive him with faith, how can that be, seeing infidels have no faith?

What it is to eat the body of Christ the teaching of the Papiſts herein is strange, and differeth from the old Doctors. For where they teach that wicked persons and infidels, albeit they receive not the effect of the Sacrament, yet the matter of the Sacrament which is the very body of Christ, they receive with their mouth, and with their sense the accidents of bread, and thus imagine a certain body of Christ, such as evil men and infidels may eat, and yet being eaten, it giveth them no nourishment nor life, nor maketh them partakers of his spirit and grace; both Scripture and the ancient Expositors of the Scripture do teach much otherwise. For the Scripture knoweth no such kind of eating Christs body, but only that which is fruitful, wholesome, and effectual. *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him, &c. John 6.* And therefore it may appear, that the Scripture meaneth by eating Christs flesh, to believe in Christs Passion, which none can do but only the faithful. And to the same sense found all the old Doctors.

Cyprianus.

That we should know that eating is our dwelling in him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certain incorporation *Domini.* in him.

Item, The same Cyprian, The eating therefore of his flesh is a certain desire to abide in him; and faith moreover, that none eateth of this Lamb, but such as be true Israelites, that is, true Christian men, without colour or dissimulation.

And again he saith, That as meat is to the flesh, the same is faith to the soul, the same is the word to the spirit.

Moreover, And therefore (saith he) doing this we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we break the holy Bread and distribute it, &c.

Augustinus.

It may not be said, that any such do eat the body of *Aug. de civ. Christi,* because they are accounted amongst the Members *cap. 13.* of Christ. Neither can they be both Members of Christ, *John 6.* and Members of an Harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Christ saith, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him;* he sheweth what it is, not Sacramentally, but indeed to eat his body and drink his blood, which is, when a man so dwelleth in Christ, that Christ dwelleth in him. For so Christ spake those words, as if he should say; he that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not say nor think, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood.

Also in other places the said *Augstn* affirmeth, that to drink is to live; And saith moreover, *Why preparest thou thy belly and thy teeth? Believe and thou shalt eat.* &c.

All which kinds of eating cannot be said of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful.

And thus briefly we have run over all the Arguments, and Authorities of Peter Martyr in that disputation at Oxford, with Doctor Tresham, Chedsey, and Morgan, before the Kings Visitors, above named, *An. 1549.*

Furthermore who so listeth more fully to be satisfied and resolved in all the points and occurrences, touching the matter of this Sacrament, let him read the Books first of the Archbishop Crammer against *Winchester*; Secondly, the tractation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, translated and extant in English; and thirdly, the Book of Bishop Ridley made in prison, called *A brief Declaration of the Lords Supper.*

The like disputation also about the same time was appointed and commenced at Cambridge, concerning the same matter of the Sacrament, the Kings Visitors being directed down for the same purpose by the King. The names of which Visitors were these, *Nicholas Ridley* Bishop

What it is
to eat the
body of
Christ by
the Papiſts.

What it is
to eat the
body of
Christ by
Scripture
and Do-
ctors.

The wicked
and infidels
do not eat
the body of
Christ.

shop of Rochester, Thomas Bishop of Ely, Master John Cleeke the Kings Schoolmaster, Doctor May Civilian, and Thomas Wendy the Kings Phylitian. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these.

The first disputation holden at Cambridge the twentieth day of June Anno 1549. before the Kings Majesties Commissioners, by Doctor Madew respondent; whose first conclusion was this.

Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the contents of the ancient Fathers for these thousand years past. D. Glina. M. Langdale, M. Segewick, M. Yong, opponents.

Doctor Madew.

First of all (quoth he) I am very sorry and do not a little lament the shortness of time, to declare and discuss such weighty matters of Religion in, as these be. But that notwithstanding, if I had had more plenty of time indeed; yet you shall understand how that I have ever both in heart and mind (if otherwise I could have avoided it) abhorred all Scholastical disputations, and subtil sophistifications. In consideration whereof, I beseech those that are to dispute, not to alledge or bring forth any dismembered, or curtailed sentences, or writted, as happeneth many times, but the whole and full sentences either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient Doctors; yea, and to avouch such Authors sayings, as are not suspected, or fained, but such as be their own very sayings indeed; which if they do, there is no doubt, but the clear light of this our disputation shall the sooner appear, and be manifest to this auditory. And for a further declaration of my part, you shall understand, that this my Preface in my said former most Catholick and godly conclusion shall consist in three principal points. 1. First, What thing it was that Christ gave to his Disciples. 2. Secondly, What season or time this Transubstantiation did begin. 3. Thirdly, How many devillish abominations have ensued upon that horrible and pestilent invention. As concerning the first, that is, what thing Christ gave to his Disciples, that may very well appear even by our own natural senses, as namely, by the sight, by the touching, by the tasting, which cannot be deceived of their natural judgment. For the eye seeth nothing but Bread and Wine, the tasting favouring nothing else; and the hands touch nothing else. He gave also to their understanding not only his holy and sacred Doctrine, but also a special gift and pledge of his love. He gave the only material Bread and Wine sanctified, as the rude and plain elements or principles to allure them withal; but he gave them the gift of his Grace and heavenly Doctrine, as the very things signified by the sensible elements: which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Christ our Saviour, *Nem bibam, &c.* I will not drink hereafter of the Fruit of this Vine, until I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of God. Now this fruit or juice of the Vine is nothing else but Wine, as *Chrysostome* saith. And moreover, to prove the same true, if it be reserved after the consecration for a time, it becometh fowre and tart, therefore it is but Wine. And as touching the Bread *Saint Paul* saith thus; Is not the Bread which we break the Communion, or participation of Christs Body? He brake Bread, therefore it was but Bread which he gave them; for the Body of Christ is not broken, as the Scripture saith of the same, *Os non comminuitis ex eo*, you shall not break a bone of him. Also he saith, this is my Body, not that the Bread was his Body, and the Wine his blood, but he spake those words to and of his own mortal Body, there sitting amongst them at Supper; or he spake yet doubtfully as thus; this signifieth my Body. It is one thing which is seen, but it is another thing which is understood: for that which is seen hath a bodily form, but that which is understood thereby hath a spiritual Fruit. *Saint Augustine* saith. Let the Word have access to the element so it made a Sacrament; mark he saith, Let the Word have

access, and not succed. Now the thing that hath access to another thing doth not engorge the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here, *Ergo*, it is Bread and Wine still as before, howbeit sacred and holy. What saw you yesterday (saith *Saint Augustine*) upon the Altar? Truly Bread and Wine, which your own Eyes can witness, said he. What plainer testimony can be had of so ancient a Father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the Scriptures of God? Seeing then that our Eyes do behold nothing but Bread and Wine, it must needs follow that it is so indeed, or else our senses be deceived in their own proper object, which cannot be by any reason or natural Philosophy. And yet notwithstanding some Papists dream and phantasie such a corporal, real, and gross presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, as they affirm it to be there even as verily as it was upon the Crofs. Indeed the Bread is changed after a certain manner into Christs Body; for Christ gave not his own natural Body to his Disciples at his last Supper, but only a sign or figure thereof. Christs Body is there with the Bread; our senses cannot be deceived about the substance of Bread, but they do judge there to be but one Body, that is of Bread, *Ergo*, so it is. Also the very denimation of a Sacrament doth plainly repugn unto Transubstantiation. Bread nourisheth the substance of Christs Body, but the accidents do not so; *Ergo*, the substance doth remain of the Bread that nourisheth: it is also called Bread in the *Acts*, and in divers other places of the Scriptures, wherefore it is so, but indeed after a sort more holy then before. What gave he in the Supper? Bread, which is the Body, that is to say, an holy sign of his Body, as *Augustine* doth witness, saying; He doubted not to say, This is my Body, when it was but a sign of his Body. The unleavened Bread was but a bare and naked sign of Christs Body, and so is this Bread the same Body even as Baptism, is. Now indeed there be two manner of signs, One that signifieth only, the other that doth exhibit the thing it self. The first is applied to the old Law chiefly, the other to the Law of Grace. The old ancient and learned Fathers did never use to speak of the substantial change, because that all the mutation is but accidental, not substantial; nor do we deem the bodily substance sacramentally, but yet we say that this Proposition (*this is my body*) is but a figurative speech, and no proper speech, as some do deem. But it is as much to say as, This signifieth my Body; or else thus, This is a Sacrament of my Body; for the bodily Bread and Christs Body are not contained in place locally, but mystically.

This portentous and monstrous Transubstantiation began first to enter, when the Popish Prelates and Priests began first to understand this said proposition (*This is my body*) of the carnal and real presence of Christs Body, as *Hugo de sancto victore*, *Gratian*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Innocent* the third, the very pestilent poison of all Christian Religion, unto whom we have of long season, yea alas too long, given credit. Under the which *Innocent* the said devillish term or vocable of Transubstantiation began, the year one thousand three hundred fifteen. And *Boniface* after him Bishop of Rome made the said mad blind Transubstantiation to be the third Article of the Faith, full wisely no doubt; whereas another Bishop of Rome after him affirmed plainly against *Nestor* the Heretic, that Bread remaineth still, whose name was *Gelasius* the third. Now as touching the most shameful and detestable inconveniences which must needs follow this devillish term or vocable of Transubstantiation, you shall understand the first is, That then such Papists will have Christs Body still prostituted and received even of the wicked and naughty people, which is clean contrary to that place of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, *Whoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him*. Now it is plain, that evil persons dwell not in Christ, nor Christ in them, wherefore they receive not his Body therein at all. For *Saint Augustine*, *Tractat. 8. super Joban.* saith, its but Bread which is seen after the consecration, *Ergo*, the substance of Bread is there still. 2. The second inconvenience that growth hereof, is the fond and superstitious reservation of the Sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vain Tabernacles over the Altar, where oftentimes it doth putrifie for all their foolish honour; which began in

Homo.

KING { *Ends* } Honorius his days, the third of that name, Bishop of Rome : Which corruption declareth it to be but only Bread, say all the Papists what they list. 3. The third inconvenience that must needs follow Transubstantiation, is Adoration, which is too plain Idolatry, as the Papists do know themselves, if they list : but they are so stiff-necked that they will not know it, and so both have, and yet also will keep the World in blindness still, if they might be suffered. But to be short with you, even as we are changed into Christ by receiving the Sacrament, so the Bread is changed into the Body of Christ. But our substance is not changed into Christs substance, *Ergo*, the substance of the Bread is not changed into Christs Body. And to be short and plain with you, most honourable Audience, the whole universal World hath been, and yet is fore deceived and deluded about the estimation of this Sacrament. Therefore this is most true, when we do receive the said Sacrament worthily, then are we joyed by Faith spiritually to Christ our Saviour. And thus much have I said in this first matter.

The second matter to be disputed of is this :

That in the Lords Supper is none other Oblation or Sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christs death, and of thanksgiving.

In this conclusion I will be much shorter, and more compendious than in the first. In consideration whereof, you shall understand that the same is a very godly, and true Catholick proposition. For to offer Christ, and to exhibit the same, is all one thing ; for in that he is offered, he is set forth to eat, there is no difference at all between the maker of the sacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lord did command saying, *Do this in remembrance of me* ; he made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice but only that. The Apostle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, saying thus, *He took Bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples.* What gave he to them ? Forsooth Bread, which was the Sacrament, and not his Body. No earthly Creature nor heavenly did ever offer up Christ at any time, but he himself once for all upon the Cross, *Ergo*, he cannot nor ought not to be many times, and often, though that Pighius with all the blind rabble of Papists say the contrary. For truly in this point especially they know not what they say, being so led by the old Pharisaical blindness. But to the purpose : you shall understand, good Auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and sacrifice, spoken of by the Prophet Malachi, is nothing else but devout and faithful prayer and thanksgiving, as Tertullian saith in his third Book *contra Marcionem*, expounding the Psalm, where it is said thus, *The sacrifice of laud and praise shall honour me.* So doth Saint Jerome, Irenaeus, and Saint Austin say also upon Malachi. Where also they deny that Christ is essentially in the Sacrament. Yea and Saint Austin Epist. 95. ad Paulinum witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly Members is our true Sacrifice that be Christians. And all the ancient Fathers do call Prayers by the name of Sacrifices. And for this purpose, whosoever list to read that most excellent and famous Clerk Zuinglius, cap. 18. *de articulis*, shall find the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whatsoever the Papists do bark against it. Thus I have declared my mind in both matters now disputable. And if my further declaration be required through the vehemence of Arguments, I will perform the same in my answer thereunto.

There disputed against this Defendant, Doctor Glim, M. Langdale, M. Segewick, and M. Tong, Students in Divinity.

Glim.

Notwithstanding, Right worshipful M. Doctor, that you have so exquisitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of these matters now in contention, before this honourable and learned Audience, and also though just occasion be ministered to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not invade the same as now

indirectly, with contrarious and vain words to occupy the small time which is appointed us for the trial of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing it self, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to use many words, where few will serve our purpose, as saith the Master of the Sentences. All words may signifie at pleasure, and commonly there be moe things than vocables. Like as sometimes there was variance amongst learned Men of the Unity of two substances in one personage of Christ God and Man : So is there now in our days variance of Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. Wherefore I do require you first to shew me here openly what the said Transubstantiation is, that we go not from the thing it self, which is our first and chiefest ground.

Madew.

As for that, I need not to shew you ; for every man knoweth it.

Glim.

Peradventure it is not so, good Master Doctor. And I am perfectly assured that every man doth not know it indeed ; for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be.

Madew.

Forsooth you know it your self, and so do all men else.

Glim.

Well, yet I pray you shew me what thing Christ did demonstrate and shew forth by that Article of the *Neuter Gender*, where he said, *This is my body* ? What did he point at in that Article *This* ? For if he meant by that, the Bread, then Christ in the Sacrament is not only of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of Bread, of the nature of Man, and of the Divine nature, which to say were blasphemy. The argument is good, and doth hold by that Text, *He spake the word, and it was done ; he commanded, and they were created.* Moreover, if he should mean by that Article of the *Neuter Gender* (*this*) the material Bread, then he would have said, *This bread is my body*, so making the Article of the *Neuter Gender* : or else he would have said thus, *Here with this bread is my body*, to have avoided ever after all Heresies, Errors and Schisms. But he said not so, but spake the Article of the *Neuter Gender* saying, *This is my body*, that is to say, the thing or substance contained under the form and kind of Bread, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I would give you my very Flesh to eat, *John 6*. In like manner when he gave the cup of his Blood, he said not *This* in the *Neuter Gender*, as he would have done if he had meant the material Creature of Wine to have remained, but he said then in the *Masculine Gender*, *This is my blood*, that is to say, the thing contained under the form of Wine, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my blood. For truly the Holy Ghost came down to lead us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in so notable a point of our Faith. But out of doubt he should have deceived in this matter, if so be he had given us only material Bread and Wine, instead of his Body and Blood, and not have fulfilled his promise made *John 6*, where he promised thus, *The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.* Here be two things spoken of, with two relatives, whereof the first with his relative must needs be referred to his gift in the last Supper, and the second giving of the same Flesh of his, with his relative, must be applied of necessity unto his giving of his Body upon the Cross. Nor do we find in the whole Scripture, where Christ did fulfil his said promise made in the sixth of *John*, but at those said two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of Transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord thou hast deceived us. But God forbid that we should once think such wickedness of him. He must also be unjust

just of his promise if it be not performed at any season, as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the said times. Then if it were performed (as the Catholick Church of Christ doth hold, determine, and believe) then must it needs be granted, that he gave at his last Supper his own body and flesh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the Croſs for the life of the world, though not in so fleshy a manner and bloody, yet the very same flesh and blood really after an unbloody sort, and spiritually. He said not, This Bread is my body, nor yet, here with the Bread is my Body, but, *This is my body which shall be given for you.* Neither said he, This wine is my blood, nor with this wine is my blood, which circumstance of plain speech he would have use, if the pure creatures should have remained, but he said, *This is my blood which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins,* that is to say, the substance hidden under these visible forms of bread and wine, are my very proper flesh and blood. I pray you where do you find in the whole body of the Scripture exprefsed, or justly understood, that Christ gave but only a bare and naked sign, figure, or Sacrament? Or where find you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread still? And if you think to find it, I pray you shew me here, whether that body that he gave with material bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was phantall; if it were his true body, (as you do grant) then must there needs be two very true bodies in one place together.

Now that it was his very true body and blood, it is certain by the plain words of the Text saying thus, *Which is betrayed or given, and which is shed for you and for many.* But I will let all this pass over, and I do require of you this one question, Whether that the Sacraments of the old Law and of the new Law be all one?

Madew.

If you do consider the things themselves, they be all the same, but if you respect the only signs, figures, and Sacraments outwardly, then they be divers.

Glin.

I do perceive your answer very well; then further to our purpose, Was Christ then after the same manner in the bread that came from Heaven, in the Paschal Lamb, and in Isaac, as he is in this Sacrament? Which if you do grant me, then these propositions were true, for Christ to say, this Manna is my body, this Lamb is my body, this Isaac is my body. Moreover, if the Sacraments of the old Law, and of the Law of Grace be all one in very deed and effect, (as you seem to grant) then what difference is between the Shew-Bread in Moses Law, and the bread that we do break, that St. Paul speaketh of? They then had that bread, which signifieth Christ, and so doth ours (as you say) that was bread, so is ours; and so by your reason there is no difference between them: yea their Manna, because it came from Heaven, was better than this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath, which is contrary to the Truth; for Saint John saith, *That the Law was given by Moses, but the mercy was given by Jesus Christ.* Wherefore that which Christ gave was not only a sign, but also the verity, that is to say, the living bread that came down from Heaven, the true Lamb that taketh away the sins of the World, and Isaac himself which is Christ, or else you must grant me that we Christians do receive less than the Jews did. For they received the bread called Manna from Heaven, and we only a poor morsel of bread from the Earth. Theirs was called Angels food, and ours is, as you hold, little better than common bread. Me seemeth that you do distrust the Doctrine of the Faith of Christianity for these 500 years, even as though Christ had forsaken his Catholick Church after 1000 years, but that is not so; for he promised his holy Spirit to assist his Spouse the Church, and to lead her continually into all truth from time to time, as need should require. As I remember, you said that adoration did follow upon Transubstantiation; but the Fathers for one thousand years past do grant Adoration of the Sacrament, therefore Transubstantiation also. The Minor I prove by the most clear testimonies of S. Austin, S. Ambrose, S. Denſe, S. Basil, and Saint Chrysostom.

Adoration
of the sacra-
ment main-
tained by
Glin.

Madew.

1 KING
1 EDW. 6

I deny Master Doctor, that I said any such thing; and therewith I say that the Fathers do understand by Adoration a certain reverent manner, that we should receive the Lords Supper with, which may be called a certain Veneration, but no Adoration.

Glin.

No may? Saint Austin (*De Civitate Dei*) witnesseth that the Ethniks and Paynims do esteem the Christians to worship and adore the Gods of Wheat and Barly called Ceres, and the God of Wine called Bacchus. And again St. Austin saith thus, Lo, no Man cateth of that bread except he first adore and worship it.

Madew.

By your patience Saint Austin in that place speaketh of the honouring of Christs body now sitting in Heaven.

Glin.

Yea Master Doctor, think you so? And why not also of his blessed body in the Sacrament? Seeing that he saith it is there, *This is my body which is given for you,* faith he. More plainly he needeth not to speak for the real presence of his blessed body, being both able and willing to verifie his word. For if a cunning Lapidary should say to you or me, this is a true right Diamond, a perfect Carbuncle, Saphyre, Emerald, or any such precious Stone, we would believe him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to believe our Saviour Christ, God and Man, in that he saith, *This is my body.* And why then ought we not to honour it in the Sacrament? Or how many bodies hath Christ, seeing you do grant his body in Heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the Sacrament?

Mat. 26.
Mar. 14.

And pre-
sented de-
fended by
the
Papists.

Madew.

Forsooth he hath but one very body, and no more, but the Argument, fame is Sacramentally in the Sacrament, and substantially in Heaven; here by faith, and there in deed.

Glin.

Well yet once again to you thus. The very true body Bishop Ridley saith is to be honoured, but the same very true body is *not* present in the Sacrament, Ergo, the body of Christ in the Sacrament is to be honoured.

Recheſter.

Welbeloved friends and brethren in our Saviour Christ, you must understand that this Disputation, with other that shall be after this, are appointed to search for the plain truth of the holy Scriptures in these matters of Religion, which of a long season have bin hidden from us by the false Glosses of that great Antichrist and his Ministers of Rome, and now in our days must be revealed to us Englishmen, through the great mercy of God principally, and secondarily through the most gentle Clemency of our natural Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesty, whom the living Lord long preserve to reign over us in health, wealth, and godliness, to the maintenance of Gods holy Word, and to the extirpation of all blind Glosses of men that go about to subvert the truth. Because therefore that I am one that doth love the truth, and have professed the same amongst you, therefore I say, because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controvertie. Not because this worshipfull Doctor had any need of my help in dissolving of Arguments proposed against him, for as true seemeth he hath answered hitherto very well and clearly according to the truth of Gods Word. But now to the purpose, I do grant unto you (Mr. Opponent) that the old ancient Fathers do record and witness a certain honour and adoration to be due unto Christs body, but they speak not of it in the Sacrament, but

KING } but of it in Heaven at the right hand of the Father, as
Edw. 6. } holy *Chrysostom* saith, Honour thou it, and then eat it :
 Christ to be } but that honour may not be given to the outward sign, but
 In our mind } to the body of Christ it self in Heaven. For that body is
 In the Sa- } there only in a sign virtually, by grace, in the exhibition
 crament } of it in spirit, effect, and faith, to the worthy receiver of
 it. For we receive virtually only Christs body in the Sa-
 crament.

Glin.

How then (if it please your good Lordship) doth Baptism differ from this Sacrament? For in that we receive Christ also by grace and virtually,

Rocheſter.

**Christ worketh other-
wise in Baptism than in
the Sacramental
bread.**

Christ is present after another sort in Baptism than in this Sacrament; for in that he purgeth and wafeth the Infant from all kind of sin, but here he doth feed spiritually the receiver in Faith with all the merits of his blessed death and passion. And yet he is in Heaven still really and substantially. As for example, The Kings Majesty our Lord and Master, is but in one place, wherefore that this Royal person is abiding for the time, and yet his mighty Power and Authority is every where in his Realm and Dominions: So Christs real person is only in Heaven substantially placed, but his Might is in all things created effectually. For Christs flesh may be understood for the power or inward Might of his flesh.

Glin.

Obſed. If it please your Fatherhood, Saint *Ambrose* and Saint *Augustine* do say, that before the consecration it is but very bread, and after the consecration it is called the very body of Christ.

Madew.

Answer. Indeed it is the very body of Christ Sacramentally after the consecration, whereas before it is nothing but common bread, and yet after that it is the Lords bread, and thus must *St. Ambrose* and *St. Augustine* be understood.

¶ Here the Proctors commanded the Opponent to dis-
 vert the second conclusion, but he requested them that they
 would permit him as long in this matter, as they would in
 the second, and so he still prosecuted the first matter as
 followeth.

Glin.

**Well cavil-
led and like
a Papist.**

The bread after consecration doth feed the soul, *Ergo*, the substance of common bread doth not remain. The Argument is good, for *S. Ambrose De Sacramentis* saith thus, After the consecration there is not the thing that nature did form, but that which the blessing doth consecrate. And if the benediction of the Prophet *Elias* did turn the nature of Water, how much more then doth the benediction of Christ here both God and Man?

Madew.

That of Book *S. Ambrose* is suspected to be none of his works.

Rocheſter.

So all the Fathers say.

Glin.

I do marvel at that for *S. Austin* in his Book of Retractions maketh plain that that was his own very work.

Rocheſter.

He speaketh indeed of such a Book so intitled, to Saint *Ambrose*, but yet we do lack the same Book indeed.

Glin.

Well, let it then pass to other Mens judgments. What then say you to holy *S. Cyprian* 1200 years past? Who saith That the bread, which our Lord gave to his Disciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and by the Almighty word was made flesh.

Madew.

I do answer thus, That this word flesh may be taken two ways, either for the substance it self, or else for a natural property of a fleshly thing. So that *Cyprian* there did mean of a natural property, and not of fleshly substance. And contrariwise in the Rod of *Aaron*, where both the substance and also the property was changed.

Glin.

Holy Saint *Ambrose* saith, the body there made by the mighty power of Gods Word is the body of the Virgin *Mary*.

Rocheſter.

That is to say, that by the Word of God the thing hath a being, that it had not before, and we do consecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Christ in Heaven by this Sacramental body.

Glin.

By your patience (my Lord) if it be a body of the Virgin (as *S. Ambrose* saith) which we do consecrate as Ministers by Gods holy Word, then must it needs be more than a sacramental, or spiritual body; yea a very body of Christ indeed, yea the same that is still in Heaven without all moving from place to place, unspcakably, and far passing our natural reason, which is in this mystery so captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively Faith to Gods Word. But let this pass. You do grant that this bread both quicken or give life, which if it do, then it is not a natural bread, but a superubstantial bread.

Rocheſter.

So doth the effectual and lively Word of God, which for that it nourisheth the soul, it doth give life; for the Divine essence infuseth it self unspcakably into the faithful receiver of the Sacrament.

Glin.

How then say you to holy *Damasene* a Greek Author, *Damasene* who, as one *Tritenis* saith, flourished one thousand years past; he saith thus, The body that is of the Holy Virgin *Mary* is joyned to the Divinity after the consecration in verity, and indeed: not so as the body once assumed into Heaven, and sitting on the Fathers right Hand, doth remove from thence and cometh down at the consecration time, but that the same bread and wine are substantially transfused into the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. If (saith he) thou dost not know the manner how it is brought to pass, let it be enough to thee to believe that it is done by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and we do know no more but that the living Word of God is working and Almighty, but the very manner how, is inscrutable to us: and no great marvel, saith he, for we cannot well express how the material bread, wine, or water are transfused naturally into the same body and blood of the receiver and become another body than they were before. So saith this great ancient Clerk, also this Shewbred with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, into Christs body and blood, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same.

Rocheſter.

Rochester.

First I deny (Master Doctor) that *Damasene* was one thousand years past; Secondly, I say that he is not to be holden as an ancient Father, for that he maintaineth in his works evil and damnable Doctrine, as the worshipping of Images and such like. Thirdly, I say that indeed God by his holy Spirit is the worker of that which is done in the Sacrament. Also I grant that there is a mutation of the common Bread and Wine spiritually into the Lords Bread and Wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lords Word. But I deny that there is any mutation of the substances; for there is no other change there indeed, than there is in us, which when we do receive the Sacrament worthily, then are we changed into Christs Body, Bones and Blood, not in nature, but spiritually, and by grace, much like as *Isaiab* law the burning Coal, even so we see not there the very simple Bread as it was before the Consecration; for an Union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore if we be joynt to Christ receiving the Sacrament, then there is no adhibition of Bread, which is, when it is reduced to nothing, as it is in your feigned Transubstantiation.

A spiritual
mutation of
the bread
and wine,
but no mu-
tation of
the sub-
stances.

Glin.

So I perceive you would have me to grant that the Sacrament is but a figure, which *Theophylactus* doth deny.

Rochester.

Theophylact
expounded.

You say truth, he denieth it indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure.

Glin.

The Paschal
Lamb a
figure.

Whereas Saint *Paul* saith, That we being many are one Bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one material Bread, as you do here, *Ergo*, he speaketh of heavenly Bread. And holy *Chrysostome* upon *Matthew* saith, That the Paschal Lamb was a figure, but the mystery is the verity. For the Disciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Christs Blood, being well accustomed to figures. For Christ did not institute a figure for a figure, but the clear verity instead of the figure, as Saint *John* saith, Grace and verity was given by Christ. Dost thou see Bread? (saith *Chrysostome*) doth it avoid or pass as other meats do which we receive? God forbid. *Ergo*, &c.

Madew.

The water-
of the Sacra-
ment that
out as a
sacrament
do.

That ancient Clerk *Origen* upon the 15. of *St. Matth.* saith thus, As touching that which is material in the Sacrament, it descendeth and issueth out as other nutriments do, but as concerning that which is celestial, it doth not so.

Glin.

Chrysostome, Homily 82. upon *Matthew* saith, That we cannot be deceived of Christs Word, but our natural senses may be deceived in this point very soon and easily; his said words cannot be false, but our senses be many times beguiled of their judgments. Because therefore that Christ said, *This is my body*, let us not at any hand doubt (saith he) but let us believe it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our understanding. And within a little after in that place he saith thus, It was not enough that he was become man, and afterwards was scourged for us, but also he did reduce and bring us to be as one body with him, not through Faith only, but in very deed also he maketh us his Body. And after that he saith, that these works are not of mans power. But the same things that he wrought in his last Supper, he now worketh also by his Precept to his right Ministers, and we do occupy the place of the same Ministers, but he it is that doth sanctifie and transmute the creatures, he performeth still the same.

Rochester.

M. Doctor, you must understand, that in that place *S. Chrysostome* sheweth us that Christ delivered to us no sensible thing at his last Supper.

Glin.

Honourable Sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his Disciples no sensible thing in substance, but thing insensible, his own precious Body and Blood, and the only kinds of creatures. And truly, as it seemeth, *Theophylactus* best knew the meaning of *Chrysostome*, because all Authors accept him as a faithful Interpreter of him. And he hath these same plain words transcribed and transformed. Also *Theophylactus Alexandrinus* super *Marcum*, *Cyrillus*, and Saint *Augustine* saith, That before the Consecration it is Bread, but afterwards it is Christs very Body. In like manner Saint *Augustine* upon the 33. *Psalms* saith, that in the last Supper Christ did bear himself in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his body in his own hands, but Saint *Augustine* saith it there for a miracle. *Irenaeus* in his Fifth Book is of the same mind. And Saint *Augustine* saith, I do remember my words, &c. The Law and Figures were by *Moses*, but the Verity and Body came by Christ.

Rochester.

Well, say what you list, it is but a figurative speech, like to this, If you will receive, and understand he is *Elias*, for a property, but indeed he was not *Elias*, but *John* the Baptist. And so in this place Christ calleth it his Body, when it was very Bread. But better then the common Bread, because it was sanctified by the word of Christ.

¶ Here Master *Langdale* replied to Doctor *Madew*.

Langdale.

Right worshipful Master Doctor, by your patience I have noted two things that you affirmed in your Position, even now before this honourable Audience, the which, as me seemeth, are not consonant to the truth of Gods Word. The first is as touching Christs saying, I will not from henceforth drink any more of the Fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you, &c. Which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, understand, and interpret as though nothing else remained after the Consecration, but very Wine still. Whereof I do not a little marvel; seeing that most famous Clerk *Erasmus*, whose authority and sentence you refuse at this present only, yet nevertheless is very worthy, in this matter, of far better estimation amongst learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend to alledge him before this learned and honourable Auditory. He plainly affirmeth that for all his great labour in searching the Scriptures, he could never find either in the Evangelists or yet in the Apostolical Doctrine, that it might be, or was called Wine, after the Consecration. And therefore I cannot but marvel, if the thing be so open and plain, as in your declaration you seem to make it, that such a profound Clerk as he was, could not find it out. For that said place he intreated of in his Paraphrases, in his Annotations, and in others of his Labours, and yet he plainly denieth that same very thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is Wine, or may be so called after the Consecration duly performed by a right Minister. I beseech you not to be offended, though I credit not your saying in this so weighty a matter of Christian Religion, as I do his.

Madew.

No forsooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But to content your mind in this point; It is most constant and sure, that *Erasmus* was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a Christian to believe Christs Body and Blood to be in the Sacrament in what manner or condition soever it were.

Langdale.

{KING
Edm. 6}Two things
noted in M.
Madew's
position.The saying
of Erasmus
of the Lords
Supper.

KING
Edw. 6.Erasmus his
opinion of
the Sacra-
ment.
Ann. 1549
Enough to
believe
Christ to be
present in
the Sacra-
ment any
manner of
way.Tertullian
his inter-
pretation
upon Mala-
chy.

Langdale.

By your licence, good Master Doctor, these be Erasmus words. The Church of Christ hath determined very lately Transubstantiation in the Sacrament. It was of a long season enough to believe Christs body to be either under the bread consecrated, or else to be present after any other manner. But yet, faith he, after that the said Church had pondered and weighed the thing more pithily with greater judgment, then she made a more certain determination of the same. In the which place, 1 Cor. 7. Erasmus saith, That the proceeding of the Holy Ghost equally from the Father and the Son, was also determined of the same Church. But let this pass. And as touching the second point which I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wrest and wring the saying of Tertullian from the verity of his mind; for you said, that he doth interpret the Prophet Malachy, speaking of our daily Sacrifice in the New Law, to mean nothing else by that Sacrifice in that place, but prayer and thanksgiving. But the said ancient Clerk Tertullian hath not those words that you do alledge of him, that is to say (Nothing else.) And yet though that Oecolampadius doth so interpret that place, yet (as me seemeth) the judgment of the whole Christian Church is to be preferred in such a matter of Religion. But I will pass over this point, and return to the matter it self. And first I do require of your Mastership, whether that this sentence, *This is my body*, be spoken of Christ figuratively or not.

Mader.

After the mind of the common Gloss of Cyprian and Origen, it is so taken in very deed.

Langdale

That cannot be by your patience, for it is taken there substantially; Ergo, not figuratively.

Mader.

I deny your Argument.

Langdale.

I prove my Argument good, thus; This word substance doth plainly repugn, and is contrary to this word figure; Ergo, substantially and figuratively do also repugn. Moreover I ask of you, whether that this be a true proposition or not; Bread is Christs body.

Mader.

Yea forsooth, it is a true proposition.

Langdale.

Then thus to you, Christs body was given for us, but you say, that Bread is Christs body; Ergo, Bread was given for us.

Rochester.

Not so Sir, for your former proposition is of double understanding.

Langdale.

Well, yet you Mr. Doctor do grant that Christ is substantially in the Sacrament.

Mader.

No I deny that I said so ever.

Langdale.

Yea? do you so? Well, I pass not thereupon greatly,

for I will prove it by another means. Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for us, really and substantially; Ergo, he is also in the Sacrament substantially. The Argument is good, because that it is the same here that was there crucified for us, howbeit here invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally, but there visibly, and after a mortal and most bloody manner.

Rochester.

Master Langdale, your Argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were here in the Sacrament after such a sort as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not so, for he was betrayed and crucified in his natural body substantially and really in very deed; but in the Sacrament he is not so, but spiritually and figuratively only.

Langdale.

By your good Lordships favour that is not so, for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed by the power of his mighty Word, yea even his very own natural Body under the Sacrament duly performed by the lawful Minister.

Mader.

O say not so, for you speak blasphemy.

Langdale.

No, no, Master Doctor, God forbid that either I or any man else should be noted of blasphemy, saying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conscience and learning I do no less.

Rochester.

O Mr. Langdale, I wis it becometh you not hereto have such words.

Langdale.

If it like your good Lordship, I gave not the first occasion of them, but only did refuse that which I was unjustly burdened withal, as reason doth require, and it grieved me to hear it. He saith, if it please your Lordship, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is consecrated; which if it be so, as I grant no less, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? No man can justly say, that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient Fathers do agree, that the same accidents are there still after, that were before; nor doth any Doctor say, That there is any mutation both of the substance and accidents also; Ergo, the substance of bread is changed into some other thing that is there really present under the forms of bread and wine, which by Christs words must needs be his own blessed body.

Rochester.

Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the substances, or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, inasmuch as that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kind of virtue which they had not before.

¶ Here is to be noted, That Peter Martyr in his answer at Oxford, did grant a change in the substances of bread and wine, which in Cambridge, by the Bishop Dr. Ridley was denied.

Langdale.

By your patience, reverend Father, by such means a man may easily avoid all the Mysteries of our Christian faith. As where it is said thus of God the Father, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. A man may also wring that *for us* is, to

Christ not
substantial-
ly in the sa-
crament.
Christ's body
in the Sa-
crament sa-
cramental-
ly, and on
the cross
after a mortal
and
bloody sort.
Christ cruci-
fied substan-
tially, but
yet is in the
Sacrament
figuratively

A question
whether the
bread be
changed in
accidents or
substance.

No change
of the sub-
stances, not
yet of the
accidents in
the Sacra-
ment.

How Scrip-
ture may be
abused to
any purpose,
as common-
ly the Pe-
ter saith is,
to

A true pro-
position,
bread is
Christs
body.

to be understood thus, This is the image of my welbelov'd Son; or, This is the virtue of my welbelov'd Son; yea, much more justly than your good Lordship doth the other; because St. Paul to the *Hebrews* doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another place he calleth him the power or virtue of God, and Gods Wisdom. Now though he be so called in Scripture, God forbid that we should call him only Gods image or Gods virtue, and not God himself.

Rochester.

A figurative speech, where hurely, some-where not. O gentle Master Langdale, you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that a trope or figurative speech is nocive somewhere, but not every where, nor in this matter.

Langdale.

A food reason wherefore this is his body, should seem no figurative speech. Yet by your licence, honourable Father, it doth appear to me no trope at all in these words of Christ, *This is my body which is given for you*, and that for this reason; Christ did exhibit or give again the very same things at his last Supper, by the which things he was joynd to us; but he was joynd or knit unto us by his own natural flesh and blood; *Ergo*, he did exhibit to us at his last Supper no less again. My former proposition I prove by the testimony of Saint *Crysostome*, whose words in Christs person are these; I would be your Brother, I took upon me common flesh and blood for your sakes, and even by the same things that I am joynd to you, the very same I have exhibited to you again, &c.

¶ Here the Professors commanded Langdale to give place to another.

Rochester.

We are not joynd by natural flesh, but do receive his flesh spiritually from above.

¶ Here Mr. Segewick replied.

¶ Anno 1549. Whether the article of the neuter Gender word (body;) is referred to the bread, or to the body. Right worshipful master Doctor, I do also ask of you first of all, whether the Greek Article (*this*) of the neuter Gender, be referred to the word (*bread*) or to the Gender word (*body*;) if it be referred to the word (*bread*) then Christ would not have said (*this*) in the neuter Gender, but rather (*this*) in the masculine Gender.

Rochester.

Forsooth that Article is referred to neither of both, but may signifie unto us any other kind of thing.

Segewick.

Bread taken directly in the Scripture. No forsooth, but it doth note unto us some excellent great thing determinately, and not so confusedly as you say. For such a great heap of Articles, in the Greek, doth signifie unto us a great and weighty thing to be in the Sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient Fathers. Moreover this word (*bread*) is not always in the Scriptures taken after one sort: Wherefore I desire you to shew me how it is taken in this place of St. Paul, *We that are many, are one bread*, &c.

Madew.

Forsooth of the very wheaten bread.

Segewick.

Then, after your mind, we are all very wheaten bread.

Rochester.

How we are bread, and how not. Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowship and unity that is noted by the coagulation of many grains into one bread or loaf.

Segewick.

{ KING }
{ Edw. 6 }

Well let that pass, then thus. It is the body, *Ergo*, no figure; because there is a perpetual contrariety between the Law of *Moses* and the Law of Grace. Therein were figures and shadows, and herein is the verity indeed.

Rochester.

I do grant it to be Christs true body and flesh, by a property of the nature assumed to the Godhead, yea, and we do really eat and drink his flesh and blood after a certain real property.

How the bread is Christs body.

Segewick.

It is not the figurative Paschal Lamb, it is not the figurative *Manna*, nor yet the figurative (shew-bread, &c. *Ergo*, It is no figure.

Madew.

I deny your Argument.

Segewick.

I maintain my Argument thus. All the shadows are wholly past; *Ergo*, so also be the figures; for every figure is a shadow: if then it be but a figure, all the figures are not past as yet; but that is false; *Ergo*, so is the other.

Rochester.

It is nothing but a figure or token of the true body of Christ; as it is said of John the Baptist, he is *Elias*, not that he was so in deed or person, but in property and virtue he represented *Elias*.

Segewick.

So: But most learned Father, when Christ said, *I am the way, the truth, and the life*, may it be understood as you do the other place thus, I am the virtue of the way, verity and the life? But now to the matter it self. It is verily meat, *Ergo*, it is not figuratively.

Madew.

This Verb or word (*is*) in this place is taken for that signifieth.

Here he was commanded to reply in the second matter.

Segewick.

NOW as touching our second Conclusion, this I say. Wheresoever Christ is, there is a Sacrifice propitiatory; but in the Lords Supper is Christ; *Ergo*, in the Lords Supper is a Sacrifice propitiatory.

Madew.

Christ is not offered in the Lords Supper, but is received spiritually.

Christ not offered, but received in spirit.

Segewick.

The Priesthood and the Sacrifice be correspondent together; but Christs Priesthood after the order of *Melchisedech* is perpetual; *Ergo*, also so is his Sacrifice.

Rochester.

Christ is a Priest for ever, that is to say, his Priesthood, and Sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, so that no other shall succeed him.

Christs Sacrifice offered once for all, is only sufficient without any other. Christs Sacrifice an end of all sacrifices.

Segewick.

{KING
Edm. 6}

Segewick.

Where there is no oblation, there is no Sacrifice; *Ergo*, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetual Sacrifice. *Item*, the same bloody-Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross was the very fine and end of all the bloody Sacrifices figured in the Law after the order of *Aaron's* Priesthood. Wherefore you must needs grant that he offered himself also at his last Supper after the order of *Melchisedech*, under the forms of bread and wine; or else you must shew the Scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done, but at his last Supper only, after an unbloody manner. *Item*, He is offered for the remission of sins daily; *Ergo*, he is a Sacrifice propitiatory still in the new Law, as *Saint Augustine* saith, expounding these words of the *Psalms*, *Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but, &c.*

Rochester.

Saint Cyprian speaketh much like that sort, where he saith thus, It is the Lords Passion, which we do offer, &c.

Segewick.

In the old law there were many Sacrifices propitiatory; *Ergo*, There be also in the new Law; or else you must grant that God is not so beneficial now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as frail and as needy as ever were they, which must be especially the most pure daily Sacrifice of Christs body and blood, that holy *Malachy* speaketh of.

Madew.

What Sac-
rifice it is
that Malachy
speaketh
of.

As touching the place of *Malachy* the Prophet, I answer, That it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ daily in the Sacrament. For that Sacrifice there spoken of, is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of Gods holy Word, of prayer, and of thanksgiving to God the Father through Jesus Christ.

Here Mr. Segewick was commanded to cease to Mr. Young.

Young.

The words
of Scripture
ever effe-
ctual.

Worshipful Master Doctor, although you have learnedly and clerkly defended these your Conclusions this day; yet seeing that I am now placed to impugn them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you. It hath pleased Christ to make us partakers of his holy Spirit, and that in very deed, by receiving of the Christian faith, hope and charity; *Ergo*, much more of his own blessed body and blood, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lords Supper. *Item*, the Angels food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly, called *Manna*; *Ergo*, also this celestial and heavenly food can be justly esteemed to be of no less excellency than that, but without comparison better; and so no very Wheat, after due Consecration of it. *Item*, the words of holy Scripture are evermore effectual and working; *Ergo*, they must perform the thing indeed that they do promise. For he that might create, might also change at his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did by changing Water into Wine at a Marriage in *Galilee*. But Christ in the Scripture did promise, *John 6.* that the bread that he would give is his flesh indeed, which promise was never fulfilled till in his last Supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body*. Which bread then was his flesh indeed, as doth well appear in the said place, and next promise depending upon the same, thus, *which flesh I will give for the life of the world*. This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the Cross; *Ergo*, the first was likewise at his last Supper. So that it was but one and the same flesh, first and last promised and performed.

Rochester.

Indeed the words of holy Scripture do work their effects potentially and thoroughly by the mighty operation of the Spirit of God.

Young.

If it please your Lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christs blood; *Ergo*, then it is his blood indeed, though it do not so appear to our outward senses, which he deceived; for Christ saith, *This is my blood*; And also, *My blood is drink indeed*. And because that we should not abhor his blessed blood in his natural kind, or his flesh if they should be so ministered unto us; of his most excellent mercy and goodness, condescending to our weak infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures, that is to say, of bread and wine. Also our body is fed with Christs body, which is meat indeed, but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present; *Ergo*, Christs body that feedeth us must needs be present in very deed in the Sacrament. *Item*, the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is one and the same thing; *Ergo*, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is *S. Cyprians de cana Domini*, saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature.

Man is nour-
ished by
the force of
Christs blood
by
faith, but
not by
drinking it
really in this
Cup.

Rochester.

Cyprian there doth take this word nature for a property *Cyprian* ex-
posed, of nature only, and not for the natural substance.

Young.

That is a strange acception, that I have not read in any Author before this time; but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christs body cannot be there where his body is not; but the communion of Christs body is in the Sacrament; *Ergo*, Christs body is there present in very deed.

Rochester.

Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christs body sitting in Heaven.

Young.

Not so only, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones.

Rochester.

We be not consubstantial with Christ, God forbid that, but we are joyned to his mystical body through his holy Spirit, and the Communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually through the benefit of his flesh in Heaven.

We be not
consubstan-
tial with
Christ, but
joyned to
him by his
body spirit.

Young.

Well, I am contented, and do most humbly beseech your good Lordship, to pardon me of my great rudeness and imbecility, which I have here shewed.

Here ended the first Disputation, holden at Cambridge the 20th of June, 1549.

¶ The second Disputation holden at Cambridge the 24th day of June 1549.

Dr. Glan tri his first Conclusion.

The Mysteries of Faith (as *Augustine* witnesseth) may very profitably be believed, but they cannot well be searched forth, as saith the Scripture, *I believed, therefore I spake*; and he thus confesseth me before men, him ed.

Mysteries
may better
be believed,
than curi-
ously search-
ed.

will I confest before my Father which is in Heaven. We believe every man in his Art, therefore much more Christ our Saviour in his Word. Marvel not most honourable Lords and worshipful Doctors that I speak thus now, for once you your selves spake the same. But peradventure some w^d. say, Believe not every spirit. I answer, Charity beleeveeth all things, but not in all things. If those things which I shall utter be convinced as false, I shall desire you to take them as not spoken at all. But these are the words of truth, *Hoc est corpus meum, This is my body*; Christ spake them, therefore I dare not say, *This bread is my body*, for so Christ said not, Christ said thus, *This is my body*, and therefore I, but dust and ashes, yea a worm before him, dare not say, this is a figure of his body; *Heaven and Earth, faith he, shall pass, but my Word shall not pass*. Whatsoever our old Father *Adam* called every creature, that is his name to this day; the new *Adam* Christ Jesus said, *This is my body*, and is it not so? He never said, *This is a figure of my body*, nor Eat you this figure or sign of my body. And therefore when the Paschal Lamb was set before him, he said not, this is my body. Wherefore if at the day of Judgment Christ should say to me, Why hast thou believed that this is my body? I would answer him, because thou hast so called it. I believed it not to be a figure, because thou saidst not that it was a figure. Other reasons to avouch I know not. On the word it self I contend not, but the thing it self I defend, for we must speak regularly. Thus Christ, thus the Apostles, thus all the ancient Fathers have spoken, our Fathers had but only figures and shadows; but the Church of God hath the truth it self with the signs. *Tertullian* faith, one figure containeth not another; but *Melchisedech* was a figure; *Ergo*, this is the body. The Sacraments of the *Jesus* were signs and tokens; but ours be both the signs and the thing signified also. *Luther* himself confessed, That the body was present with the bread, and could not deny it. *Oecolampadius* took it for a figure only. *Chrysostome* demanding wherefore Christ gave his body before his passion, rather than at any other time; answereth, That he might tie the truth to the figure, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body*, not a figure of my body. And the same *Chrysostome* faith again, If it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore should his Disciples have been offended in eating a figure. Again, in his eighty third Homily upon *Matthew*, They are not any human works which he did work at his last Supper, he it is that worketh, he maketh perfect, we are his Ministers, but it is he that sanctifieth and changeth the elements of bread and wine into his body and blood. Again, Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they pass into the Privy like other meats? God forbid, &c. *Theophilus Alexandrinus* upon these words of *Mark* the Evangelist, *This is my body*, faith, This which I give, and which you receive, is not only bread, or a figure of Christs body, but the truth it self; for if it should appear, as it is, in form of flesh and blood, we should loath it, and therefore the Lord, condescending to our weakness, retaineth the forms of bread and wine, and yet converteth the same into the truth of his body and blood. *Theophylactus* faith, the bread and the wine is the very body and blood of Christ, and not a figure only. If you stand in suspence of the Author, or approve him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken amongst all the learned for a most faithful interpreter of *Chrysostome*; The bread (saith he) is transubstantiated, and transmuted into another substance than it was before. *Augustine* faith there was great heed taken in the Primitive Church, lest any part of the Sacrament should fall down to the ground, &c. *Cyrillus* faith, Left we should abhor flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, God humbled himself to our weakness, pouring and infusing the force of life into it, and making it the very truth of his own blessed body and blood. *Damasce* calleth it a Divine body, or a body deified. *Origene*, *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, *Hieronymus*, with all the rest of the ancient Catholick Fathers, are of the same opinion with me, all which to produce

at were too long.

At Christ called not the real a figure, for he spake thus figuratively at other times, called them not plain figures, though they were so.

The Sacraments of the *Jesus* were signs of Christ to come; ours of Christ already come.

The declaration of Doctor Glin upon his second Conclusion.

THe Sacrifice and offering up of Christs body in the Sacrament of the Altar (right honourable and worshipful) I will defend even to the effusion of blood, as a thing consonant to Scripture, whereof *Paul* speaketh to the *Hebrews*. But perchance some will object, Christ offered up himself; *Ergo*, you ought not to offer him. I answer, yea, because he offered himself, therefore I offer him, for except he had offered himself, I could not have offered him. But you will say, Christs death is sufficient, and therefore you ought not to offer him again. I answer, so may we say, we need neither to fast nor pray, for Christ hath done both sufficiently for us. Again, you will object, if you offer him up again, you crucifie him anew. I answer not so, for many have offered him that have not crucified him, as *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Moses*, the *Levites*, *Anna*, *Samuel*. We offer Christ, but not to the death, but in commemoration of his death, there being not only a commemoration thereof, but also the very preface of Christs body and blood. *Irenaeus* faith, Christ commended his Disciples to offer the first fruits of all their Goods to God, not that he needed any of them, but for that they should not shew themselves fruitless or ungrateful, and therefore Christ took the creature of bread, gave thanks, and said, *This is my body*, and likewise the creature of the Cup, and consecrated, saying, *This is my blood of the New Testament*. Thus Christ hath taught a new kind of oblation, which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offereth to God throughout all the whole world, who only giveth unto us all kind of food, and the first fruits of his gracious gifts in the New Testament, whereof *Malachi* thus faith, *I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts, I will not receive any sacrifices at your hands, because my name is glorified amongst the Nations from the East to the West, saith the Lord, and in every place is incense and pure sacrifice offered to my Name*. But here it may be objected, Christ is the only sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more. I answer, notwithstanding we have this Commandment, *Do this in remembrance of me*, and although I deny not that it is a commemoration, yet I deny that it is an only commemoration; I deny his absence, and I affirm his presence.

{ KING }
{ Edm. 6 }

Christ hath offered himself; his death; no man ought to offer him.

Christ is the only sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more.

Here endeth the Declaration of Dr. Glin.

Master Perne.

Whereas you say (most reverend Master Doctor) in your proposition, I believed, and therefore I offer him, I restain the use of Scriptures. I answer, we believe, and therefore do speak, our Consciences suggesting the same unto us; and again, that Mysteries are not to be searched, and the like; it seemeth you go about to restrain the searching of holy Scriptures, whereas Christ faith *Scrutaminum Scripturas, Search the Scriptures*. Moreover, you have cited the Fathers confusedly, and without order; you left Transubstantiation, and endeavour your self to prove the real presence in the Sacrament, whereas we deny nothing less than his corporal presence, or the absence of his substance in the bread.

Glin.

You inveigh wonderfully you know not against what; for neither I, nor yet *Augustine* do deny the searching of the Scriptures, but I said out of *Augustine*, Mysteries are not to be searched; it is another thing to search Mysteries, than it is to search the Scriptures; whereas you require of me a regular order of citing the Doctors, I had not, (as all men know) the liberty of time to do so; but if you desire me to earnestly to perform that, if time may be granted me, I will easily fulfil your request.

Perne.

I pray you, let me ask you, what is a Sacrament?

Glin.

{ KING }
{ Edm. 6 }

Glin.

A Sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace.

Perne.

Augustine against Maximinus the Arian Bishop, maketh this definition of a Sacrament. A Sacrament is a thing signifying one thing, and shewing another thing.

Glin.

I refuse not his reason.

Perne.

What is the thing figured by the Sacrament?

Glin.

The thing figured is twofold, to wit, the thing contained and signified, and the thing signified and yet not contained. For there be three things contained, the true body of Christ, the mystical body, and the fruit or benefit of the Sacrament.

Perne.

The forms and signs of bread nourish not; Ergo, somewhat else besides the bare sign of bread doth remain, which nourisheth, that is the substance of bread; for in every Sacrament there is a similitude between the sign and the thing signified; but betwixt the body of Christ, and the form or kind of bread, there is no similitude; Ergo, the nature of a Sacrament is taken away.

Glin.

I deny your Minor Mr. Doctor.

Perne.

The forms nourish not; but the body nourisheth; Ergo, there is no similitude betwixt them, and so is the nature of a Sacrament clean destroyed.

Glin.

It is sufficient to similitudes that the bread which was doth nourish; and yet certain Doctors do affirm, that the Forms do nourish miraculously.

Rocheffer.

Whosoever taketh away all the similitude of substances, consequently he taketh away the Sacrament; for a similitude is threefold, namely, of nutrition, of unity and conversion. But by a contrary similitude, he is not changed into our substance, but we into his; for in nutrition this is the similitude, that as our blood nourisheth our bodies, so the blood of Christ doth nourish us, but after a wonderful manner, to wit, by turning us into himself.

Glin.

{ Anno }
{ 1549 } I have answered your reason (most reverend Father) in that I said that the forms do nourish miraculously, as certain learned men do affirm.

Perne.

By what authority can you say that bread doth not remain?

Glin.

By authority of Christ, who saith, *This is my body.*

Perne.

By the same reason may we say that bread still remaineth; for Saint Paul calleth it bread sundry times in his Epistles.

Glin.

I deny not that it is bread, but that it is material bread; for Paul always addeth this Article (*which*) betokening (as all men hold) some chief thing.

Perne.

We are changed into a new creature.

Glin.

Not substantially, but actually.

Rocheffer.

This is that bread which came down from Heaven
Ergo, it is not Christ's body, for his body came not from Heaven.

Glin.

We may say that Christ, God and Man, came down ^{Christ's body} from Heaven, for the unity of his person, or else for the ^{came not} mutual community of the same his two natures in one; for ^{from here;} his human nature I know came not from Heaven.

Rocheffer.

The bread is his human nature; but that human nature of his came not from Heaven; Ergo, neither the bread.

Glin.

It is true that the bread came not from Heaven as bread simply, but as celestial and heavenly bread. But I will answer to that, whereas you hold that the body of Christ came not from Heaven; I by the body and flesh of Christ do understand whole Christ, neither separating his soul, nor yet his Deity, although his Humanity is not turned into his Divinity by confusion of substance, but is one by unity of both. Or else thus I may reason, the God of glory is crucified, and the Son of Mary created the World, &c.

Rocheffer.

So it is. But he is called a Rock and a Vine, and so after your judgment he is both a material Rock, and also a material Vine.

Christ is called a Rock, a Vine, but in a figure.

Glin.

The circumstances there shew plainly that there is a trope or figure; for it followeth, *I am the Vine, you are the branches*; but here is no trope. For after these words, *This is my body*, he addeth, *which is given for you*.

Rocheffer.

Your judgment herein is very gross, and far discrepant from the truth.

The judges of the Pope's very gross.

Glin.

If my judgment in this be gross (most reverend Father) then are all the ancient Fathers as gross in judgment as I in this point, and the Catholick Church also.

Perne.

Shew us one place, or one Doctor, who saith that it remaineth not bread after the Consecration.

¶

Glin.

Glin.

I wonder that you are not ashamed to ask that of me ; for have you not had almost infinite places and Doctors alledged to you in my former declarations, proving as much as you request at my hands ?

Perne.

Christ took bread, and gave bread.

He took bread, he brake bread ; ergo, it is bread.

Glin.

I have answered often hereunto, and I grant it is bread, but not only, or material.

Perne.

A Sacrament consisteth of a double matter.

Irenaeus affirmeth that a Sacrament consisteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly ; ergo, the bread remaineth.

Glin.

Irenaeus in that place by the earthly matter, meaneth the Humanity of Christ, and by the heavenly matter the Deity of Christ.

Rochester.

The Humanity and the Divinity of Christ make not a Sacrament, which consisteth of a visible and an invisible nature ; and I deny that *Irenaeus* can be so understood : Therefore we desire the learned Auditory to search *Irenaeus* at home, as opportunity will serve for this matter.

Glin.

I wish them so to do also with all my heart.

Here Master Grindal beginneth to dispute.

Grindal.

Grindal to please.

Whereas you say (worshipful Mr. Doctor) that we speak not now as sometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you also judge not so now all things as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been it forceth not, God respecteth no mans person. And whereas you say, that you dare not contrary to Christ call it a sign or a figure, *Augustine* notwithstanding dareth to call it a figure, and *Tertullian* likewise, with many more.

Aug. Tertul with many more call it a figure.

Glin.

True it is, but they called it not a sign or a figure only ; but prove you, if you can, that after the Consecration remaineth any other substance than the real body of Christ.

Grindal.

What the forms of bread and what do nourish.

If the forms do nourish, as you contend, they nourish the natural and humane body, for they be both as one, and are nourished alike.

Glin.

Your reason is meer physical, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith ; but I grant they nourish, but miraculously.

Grindal.

If you grant that the forms do nourish, then you grant that bread remaineth.

Glin.

I said even now that it is true, but the nature of it is changed, and that miraculously.

Grindal.

If it be the real and substantial body of Christ, because Christ said, *This is my body* ; ergo, because the Lord said, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, and Paul calleth it bread after the Consecration, it is therefore bread and wine.

It remaineth bread and wine after the Consecration.

Glin.

Truly Sir, You must bring better Arguments, or else you will prove nothing for your purpose. For to your reasons thus I answer, *Chrysostome* saith, Christ did drink of the blood, but whether this sentence, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, be spoken of the blood, it is not certain. And truly *Erasmus* denieth that it is to be found in all the whole Scripture, that it is called bread after the Consecration. Or else thus I may answer you. Even as it is called bread for the form and kind, and accidents which remain ; so for the form and similitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the Vine, after the Consecration. And whereas *Chrysostome* saith, That the fruit of the Vine is nothing else but Wine ; Ergo, Christ gave them Wine, and drank Wine himself also, and not blood.

How it is called bread, and in what respect.

Christ calleth it wine, not blood. Ann. 7. 1549.

Glin.

Christ said twice, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine* ; once at the eating of the Paschal Lamb (as Luke saith) and then was it Wine indeed : And again, after the Consecration of his body and blood he said the like, and then it was not Wine, which methink I can prove by the plain words of Luke, if we compare him with *Matth.* For if it were Wine as they both affirm, then the words of Christ cannot well stand, because first (as Luke sheweth) he said at his legal Supper, *I will not drink of the fruit of this Vine, &c.* And again in *Matthew*, after the Consecration of his body and blood, he drank ; it followeth therefore, that that which he drank was not Wine by nature, for then must Christ needs be a lyer, which were blasphemous to say.

Rochester.

Augustine doth thus reconcile those places, saying, it is spoken by a figure which we call *Hysseron proteron*.

Two places alloted.

Glin.

I know that *Augustine* saith so ; but methink that which I have said seemeth to be the true meaning of the places.

Rochester.

Augustine seeketh no starting holes, nor yet any indirect shifts to obscure the truth.

Glin.

Say your Fatherhood what you will of *Augustine*, I think not so.

Grindal.

This Cup is the New Testament in my blood ; but here is a Trope ; Ergo, in these words of Christ, *This is my body*, is a Trope also.

In these words, *This is my body*, is a Trope.

Glin.

I deny your Argument ; for whereas *Luke* saith this Cup, *Matthew* saith, *this is my Blood*, and therefore as *Augustine*

KING *gustine* faith, places that be dark are to be expounded by other that be light.

But hear what *Tertullian* faith, he took bread and made it his Body, saying, *This is my Body*, &c.

Rocheſter.

All of your ſide deny that Chriſt ever uſed any Trope in the intituting of Sacraments.

Glin.

For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you your ſelf alſo do pretend the like.

Rocheſter.

A queſtion wherein conſiſteth the ſtrength of the ſacrament. What underſtand you by this word (*hoc*, this) and in what words ſtandeth the force or ſtrength of the Sacrament? In this Pronoun (*Hoc*, this) or in this Verb (*Eſt*, is) or elſe in this whole ſentence, *This is my Body*?

Glin.

It is not made the true body except all the words be ſpoken, as in Baptiſm, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt*. For neither doth Baptiſm conſiſt in this word *Ego*, I, or in baptiſe, or in this word, *Te*, thee; or in theſe words, *In nomine*, In the Name, &c. but in all the words ſpoken in order.

Grindal.

To eat the Body of Chriſt a figurative ſpeech. If to eat the Body of Chriſt be a figurative ſpeech, as *Auguſtine* faith it is, *ergo*, then theſe words, *This is my Body*, is a figurative ſpeech alſo.

Glin.

It is a figurative ſpeech, becauſe we eat not the Body of Chriſt after the ſame manner that we do other meats, &c.

Grindal.

Cyprian explained. *Cyprian* underſtandeth this of thoſe that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lords Body, ſpeaking of the adjudication of the Sacraments, and not of the Body of Chriſt.

Glin.

Truly he ſpeaketh of the true Body of Chriſt.

Rocheſter.

They receive unworthily who neither judg themſelves, nor yet Sacraments, taking them as other common bread.

Grindal.

Auguſtine upon the Thirty third *Pſalm* faith, Chriſt bare himſelf in his own hands after a ſort, not indeed or truly, &c.

Glin.

You omit many other things which *Auguſtine* faith, and I conſels that he carried himſelf in his own hands after a ſort, but *Auguſtine* delivereth this unto us as a great miracle. And you know it was no great miracle to carry a figure of his Body in his hands. And whereas you ſay that Chriſt carried himſelf after a ſort in his own hands. For Chriſt in the viſible figure bore himſelf inviſibly.

Grindal.

Tertullian calleth it a figure, *Ergo*, it is ſo.

Glin.

It is, as I have ſaid, a figure, but not a figure only.

Grindal.

Hear what *Chryſoſtome* faith upon *Matthew*, *Homil.* *Chryſ. ſuper* 11. *ſuper Cap. 5.* If Veſſels ſanctified to holy uſes, *Mat. dom. 11. cap. 5.*

Glin.

That works is received not as *Chryſoſtomes*, but ſome mans elſe as you know; or thus I anſwer, It is not the true Body in proper and viſible form.

Here Mr. Geſt Diſputed.

THE Bread is not changed before the Conſecration, *Ergo*, not after it neither.

Glin.

I deny your Argument, Mr. Geſt.

Geſt.

Chriſt gave earthly bread, *Ergo*, there is no Tranſubſtantiation.

Glin.

I deny your Antecedent.

Geſt.

That which Chriſt took he bleſſed, that which he bleſſed he brake, what he brake he gave; *Ergo*, he receiving earthly bread gave the ſame bread.

Glin.

Your order in reaſoning ſtandeth not; for by the ſame reaſon may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib and brought it unto *Adam*; *Ergo*, what he received he brought; but he received a rib, *Ergo*, brought a rib.

Geſt.

How is the Body of Chriſt in Heaven, and how in the Sacrament, whether circumſcriptively or definitively?

Glin.

The Body of Chriſt is in Heaven circumſcriptively, but not in the Sacrament. The Angels alſo are contained definitively. But I have learned that the Body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament, but not locally, nor circumſcriptively, but after an unſpeakable manner unknown to man.

Rocheſter.

Ah, know you not?

Glin.

Neither in other myſteries of Faith do we know the mean how, although this may partly be proved by reaſon. For as my ſoul is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and ſo in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or ſound which all men hearing do underſtand; ſo the Body of Chriſt being one and the ſame is wholly in the Altar, and in many places elſe. For if God could do this in my ſoul, how much more in his own Body?

Rocheſter.

{ Ann. 7.
1549 }

Rochester.

I beseech you shew us what difference is betwixt these two, to be in a place circumscriptively and definitively.

Glin.

Your Lordship knoweth very well : but yet if any would know the difference, let him read *August. ad Volu-
fianum, & ad Dardanum, &c.*

Gest.

The bread
not changed

If the Bread be changed, it is made the Body of Christ; but that is not so; *Ergo*, it is not changed.

Glin.

I deny your Minor.

Gest.

It is not generate or begot : *Ergo*, it is not the Body.

Glin.

That followeth not; as though to be made and to be generate or begot were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation than a generation, and so you impugn a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?

Gest.

The generation is the production of the accidents.

Glin.

A new definition of a new Philosopher.

Gest.

That which he took he blessed; that which he blessed he brake, and gave it unto them : *Ergo*, &c.

Glin.

Christ took bread, brake bread, and gave his Body, that is, the substance of his Body : saying, *This is my Body*.

Gest.

The bread is not changed into the Blood of Christ : *Ergo*, not into his Body neither.

Glin.

I deny your Antecedent.

Gest.

The Master of the Sentences saith it.

Glin.

You understand him not; for the bread is changed into the Body of Christ by the power of Gods word.

Rochester.

Papists
dream of
Transub-
stantiation.

Ye dream of a real presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, by the force of the words spoken; which the Holy Scripture doth impugn.

Glin.

We say that not only by the power of the word, but also by the spirit and secret vertue in the words it is brought to pass; for there is no power in one

word alone, as before in Baptism, but in all the words } KING
duly prolated according to the custom of the ancient Ca- } Edm. 6
tholick Church.

Gest.

If there were any Transubstantiation, the accidents should not remain still, for they have no matter whereto they may lean or cleave; but the accidents remain not themselves alone; *Ergo*, &c.

Glin.

I confesse accidents cannot stand themselves alone by their own nature without a subject, but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of Philosophers, but of the Scriptures; although I could shew out of the Scriptures the accidents to have been without the subject; as in *Genesis*, the light was made without a subject, whereas the subject of the light was made the fourth day after, as *Genesis* beareth me record.

If there
were Transubstantiation
on these
should remain no accidents.

Here Master Pilkington Disputed.

Pilkington.

THIS one thing I desire of you, most worshipful Mr. Doctor, that you will answer me with like brevity as I shall propound. And thus I reason: the Body of Christ that was broken on the Cross is a full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but the Sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your Argument.

Pilkington.

It is a Syllogism.

Glin.

It is not so; for there be four termes. Touching this word Sacrament it is manifold; but thus I answer. If you take the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament, that is, the Body of Christ, then is your Minor Proposition true, and the matter of the Sacrament is the satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but if you take the Sacrament for the sign, which we call a Sacrament, then is your Minor Proposition false.

Pilkington.

The Body of Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the whole world; but the Sacrament hath not satisfied; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your Minor, understanding the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament.

Pilkington.

The Sacrament only profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were saved before the institution of the Sacrament was begun; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

If you mean of the bare sign, only it profiteth nothing; but if you mean the thing signified, then what is spoken of the Body of Christ is spoken also of the thing of the Sacrament it self.

Pilking-

{RING
Edw-6}

Pilkington.

Transubstantiation is not a Sacrament; but that which I mean is a Sacrament; *Ergo*, that which I mean is not transubstantiated,

Glin.

I mean not that Transubstantiation is a Sacrament, neither do I say that the Sacrament is transubstantiated, but the bread.

Pilkington.

The Body of Christ is refiant in Heaven, and the Body of Christ is in the Sacrament; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is in Heaven.

Glin.

A goodly reason forsooth; but I answer, he is after one fort in Heaven, and after another fort in the Sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the Sacrament not so; in heaven visibly and circumscriptively, but in the Sacrament invisibly and Sacramentally.

Rochester.

Saint *Augustine* saith, Take away the spaces from the bodies and they shall be no where, and that which is no where is not at all; so whilst you take away the spaces and dimensions from the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, you bring to pass that it is not there at all.

Glin.

In that place *Augustine* speaketh of natural bodies, not of supernatural; otherwise I could deny that Christ had a true body, when he entred into his Disciples, the Gates being shut.

Rochester.

Of the Gates being shut a divers and doubtful meaning may be gathered; for it may be he entred in before the Gates were shut, and afterward opened them being shut, &c.

Glin.

Then it could be no miracle; but the Evangelists and all sound Interpreters say and affirm this to be a miracle of our Saviour Christ.

Rochester.

Whether Christ entred in miraculously, the Gates being shut, or else open, the Scripture setteth not down.

Glin.

As Christ (the womb of the Virgin being shut up) was born into the world without violation of her pure virginity, or apertion of her womb (for so he might have been polluted) so entred he through the doors to his Disciples miraculously.

Pilkington.

In the Body of Christ which was given for us there are no accidents of bread; but in the Sacrament there be accidents of bread; *Ergo*, in the Sacrament there is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

In the matter of the Sacrament, that is, in the Body of Christ, are no accidents of bread, but accidents are the very Sacrament itself.

Pilkington.

I beseech you, what do we eat, the substance or the accidents?

Glin.

Both as when we eat wholesome and unwholesome meats together, so we eat the substance of Christs body, and yet not without the accidents of bread.

Pilkington.

I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatsoever entred in by the mouth, goeth into the Privie; but the accidents go in by the mouth, *Ergo*, into the Privie.

Glin.

This sentence, *Whatsoever entereb in by the mouth, &c.* is not meant of all kind of meats, as not of that which Christ eat after his Resurrection.

Pilkington.

You shall not eat his Body which you see.

Glin.

That is, not after that manner as you see it now, not after the same visible form.

Pilkington.

Wheresoever Christ is, there be his Ministers also; (for *Where* Christ is, *there be his Ministers*.) But Christ as you hold is in the Sacrament, *Ergo*, his Ministers are there also.

Glin.

To be with Christ is spoken divers ways, as in heart, in mind and place, and sometimes both; or to be with Christ is to minister unto him, and to do his will, &c.

The third Disputation holden at Cambridge as before.

Master Perne.

CHRIST at his last Supper took bread, brake bread, distributed bread; *Ergo*, not his body, but a Sacrament of his body; for the bones of Christ could no man break, as witnesseth the Prophet saying, *Os non comminabitur ex eo*, that is, *You shall not break a bone of him*. *This cup is the cup of the New Testament in my blood*. In this sentence there is a Trope by their own confession; wherefore there is in the other also, *This is my Body*; for the holy Scripture is a perfect rule not only of doing, but also of speaking. *Paul* calleth it bread three times, *Ergo*, it is bread, &c. And whereas they urge so much this Pronoun (*illum*) it is not in the *Greek* Canon which hath *Panem*, bread, not *Panem illum*, that bread. There was no Transubstantiation in the Manna; *Ergo*, nor in the Sacrament; for there is this particle, *est*, if that can prove Transubstantiation, as they suppose. And if Manna were a figure, say they, then this is not. This mystery or Sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure. In every Sacrament there ought to be a certain analogy, *There* ought to be both of the intern and extern thing of the Sacrament, as a certain analogy in every Sacrament. *Augustine* saith, writing to *Bonifacius*; but betwixt the analogy in forms of Bread and Wine, and the Body of Christ there is no analogy at all. *Ergo*, they make not a sacrament. As twen the thing that of many grains, &c. This similitude of *Paul* is spoken figuratively, and the thing that of the substance of bread, not of the form thereof, otherwise *Paul* should in vain compare us to bread. As in Baptism the thing that is signified

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Anno 1549. tism there is material water; so in the Sacrament of the Eucharist is material bread. *Dionysius* called the Sacrament of Christs body no otherwise than bread. *Eusebius* in *Ecclesiastica Historia* doth the same. *Tertullian*, *Lib. 4.* against *Marcion*, saith thus, *He gave his Body*, that is, saith he, a figure or type of his body. *Cyprian* saith, in his last Supper he gave bread and wine, and his body upon the Cross. The same *Cyprian*, *Epist. 6. Lib. 1.* and *Epist. 3. Lib. 2.* saith, Christ drank wine at his last Supper, because he would root out the heresie of certain who only used water in the ministrations thereof. *Chrysostome* *Hom. 13.* upon *Matthew* saith, That only bread remaineth, &c. *Theodore* saith in his first Dialogue, bread remaineth still in his first nature as before. *Augustine* saith, The bread doth not lose his first nature after the consecration, but receiveth another quality, whereby it differeth from common bread. The same *Augustine*, *Lib. 3.* against *Maximus* saith, Sacraments are figures, being one thing indeed, and shewing forth another thing; he speaketh of no Transubstantiation here. Again, writing to *Bonifacius* he saith, The Sacrament of the Body of Christ is the Body of Christ, and so is the Sacrament of Wine also, &c. The Sacraments of the old and new Law are all one in substance of matter, notwithstanding they be divers in signs: which Sacraments why should they not be one, when as they signifie all one thing? The body of Christ when it was on the earth was not in heaven: so now it being in heaven is not on the earth.

Whereby it may appear that Transubstantiation is a most blasphemous, sacrilegious and damnable error, and a most vain, unfavoury, and Devillish Papistical invention, defended and maintained only by the Papists, the professed and sworn enemies of all truth. Those who impugn the Doctrine of Transubstantiation are no new upstarts, as the enemies of the truth the Papists bear the world in hand. But contrarily those who maintain this Devillish Doctrine are new sprung up Cockatrices, as *Manichæus*, *Eutiches*, and others. *Gelasius* saith, the Sacraments which we receive are Divine things; yet cease they not to be bread and wine in nature. Out of this piddle of Transubstantiation hath sprung up adoration of the Sacrament, and inducing men to believe that Christ hath many bodies.

Transubstantiation is a most blasphemous error.

The Declaration of the said Master Perne in the second conclusion.

Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the Apostle Paul, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Christs body and blood, and Paul to the Hebrews saith, *By one only oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternal salvation, &c.* By him therefore do we offer up the sacrifice of laud and praise to God, that is the fruit of the lips, &c. It is called the Eucharist, because we offer to God praise and thanksgiving, with devout minds; and it is called the cup of thanksgiving, because we give thanks to God thereby also. *You shall preach forth the Lords death, &c.* That is, you shall give thanks and be mindful of his death, &c. Give your bodies a quick and living sacrifice, &c. The sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving shall honour me, &c. *Chrysostome* saith, The wise men offered three kinds of sacrifices, Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh; so we do also, namely Vertue, Prayer, and Almesdeeds: These be the sacrifices wherewith Christ is pleased. And *Augustine* saith there are no other sacrifices than Prayer, Praise, and Thanksgiving, &c. *Chrysostome*, *Homil. 46.* upon *John* saith, To be converted or turned into Christ, is to be made partaker of his body and blood.

Why it is called the Eucharist.

No other sacrifice, but only praise and thanksgiving.

These words prove the bread to be transubstantiated.

There disputed against him Master Parker, Master Pollard, Master Vavisor, and Master Young.

Parker.

CHRIST, whose words are to be believed, said, *This is my Body*; he said not, this bread is my body, or with this bread, or under this bread, or by this bread, but said plainly, *This is my Body*. And this he proved by these reasons: First, for that it was prefigured before.

Secondly, for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was given. The transubstantiation of the bread was prefigured by the Manna which came down from heaven; all that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or substance annexed. Secondly, it was promised in those words of Christ, *The bread that I will give is my flesh, &c.* Thirdly, it was given by Christ, and exhibited in his last Supper, saying, *Take, eat, this is my Body*.

Here they were forced to break off through want of time, yet Parker replied thus against Doctor Perne.

WE give thee thanks most holy Father, that thou halt hid these things from the wife and prudent and halt revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all heresies whatsoever. And on the other side, to acknowledge our own infirmity and imperfection is the first step to the true understanding of the truth. *Nestorius* the Heretick affirmed, that there were two Persons in Christ, one that was man, another that was God; therefore he said that in the Eucharist was contained true flesh, but only of his pure manhood. Against him did the Council of *Ephesus* conclude, saying, That there was the real flesh of the Son of God, &c. this he proved by the words of Christ, *My flesh is meat indeed*: and what flesh that is, he teacheth upon the sixth of *John*, That is, quoth he, the flesh united to the Deity, and quickened by the Holy Ghost, &c. Now that that flesh is in the Sacrament, it is plain by *Hilary*, *l. 8. de Trinitate*: he proved the same also out of *Chrysostome*, *Homil. 45.* upon *John*, We are one body with him, members of his flesh, and bones of his bones, &c. Again in the same Homily, We are joynted to his flesh, not only by faith and love, but also in very deed and truly. And again, it pleased me to become your brother, and by the same things whereto I was joynted to you, have I given my self again unto you, &c.

Hilary *l. 8. de Trinitate*. **Chrysost.** *ho. 45.*

Perne.

I grant unto you that Christ is in the Sacrament truly, wholly, and verily, after a certain property and manner; I deny not his presence, but his real and corporal presence I utterly deny; for doubtless his true and natural body is in heaven, and not in the Sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certain unity. And also in the sixth Chapter of *John* he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucified, &c.

Christ is in the Sacrament really after a figure.

Parker.

The flesh of Christ, as it is in the Sacrament, is quick, and giveth life; Ergo, his real and substantial flesh is in the Sacrament.

How Christ flesh giveth life.

Perne.

The flesh of Christ in that it is united unto the Deity, doth vivifie, and giveth life, but not otherwise.

Rochester.

Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ both God and man, both in spirit and flesh; that is, this Sacramental eating is the mean and way whereby we attain to the spiritual eating, and indeed for the strengthening of us to the eating of this spiritual food was this Sacrament ordained. And these words, *This is my Body*, are meant thus, By grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose.

How these words, This is my Body, are meant.

Parker.

We are joynted to Christ, not only by faith, but also in very deed, Ergo, &c.

There is a unity between man and woman yet no Transubstantiation.

Rochester.

We are joynted to Christ, that is, we are made partakers of his flesh and of immortality. And so in like case is there a union between man and woman; yet is there no transubstantiation of either, or both, &c.

Why it is called bread so often.

Pollard.

The Sacrament is not bare bread, and nothing else, only because it is called bread so often in the Scriptures, and that I prove

KING. I prove by three reasons. First, it is called bread because of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact, as the Angels are called men, the Holy Ghost a Tongue, the Rod of *Aaron* a Serpent, and such like. The words of Christ do teach the same thing, as appeareth in the healing of the woman of *Canaans* Daughter, *fairus* Son, and many others, &c. *Ergo*, &c. Then he proved against *Rocheſter*, that somewhat else was in the Sacrament besides power and grace, by this reason, The evil receive the Body of Christ, as is plain out of *Augustine*, *Homil. 21. de verbis domini*; but the evil and wicked receive not the virtue, or grace: *Ergo*, there is not only grace and virtue in the Sacrament.

Rocheſter.

The evil receive not the Lord in the Sacrament, but the Sacrament of the Lord, as *Judas*, who in deed ate not the true Body of the Lord.

Pollard.

In the Sacrament be three things, to wit, an outward sign, the matter of the Sacrament, and the fruit of the same: the evil receive the outward sign, and the subject of the Sacrament, but not the fruit of the Sacrament: *Ergo*, there is somewhat else in the Sacrament than only Grace. Also every Sacrament ought to have a certain similitude with the matter of the Sacrament; but the material bread hath no such similitude with the Body of Christ, which is the matter of the Sacrament: *Ergo*, Material bread is not a Sacrament.

Perna.

I deny your Minor: for material bread doth so nourish the body, as the flesh of Christ doth the soul.

Here he being requested gave place to others.

Mr. Vavisor.

Through the shortness of time I am so constrained, that neither I can speak without loss of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speaking (as I do) without great premeditation before this honourable, worshipful, and learned Audience, I shall but shew forth my childlikehood herein, and if I should hold my peace, I might be thought to betray the truth of Gods cause. And therefore whilst I can neither speak for the brevity of time, nor yet hold my peace, Gods truth being in controversy, I have determined, (although with the impairing of my good name) to render a reason of my faith, which if I cannot afford probably in words, yet will I not fault in saying nothing at all. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish and unlearned amongst so many grave learned Fathers and Doctors, than to forsake the just defence of the Truth, which every good Christian man throughout the world hath ever holden inviolable. For whoso forsaketh the manifest known truth, had never any true faith therein. Which thing that I may overpass in *Berengarius*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, and many others, who are certainly known to be at no less variance amongst themselves, than uncertain of their faith what to believe, *Zuinglius* writeth thus of himself: Although this thing which I mean to entreat of doth like me very well, yet notwithstanding I dare define nothing, but only shew my poor judgment abroad to others, that if it please the Lord, others may be thereby instructed by the Spirit of God, which teacheth all good things. In vain do I spend many words; you see plainly he dare not define any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it please God or not. *Oecolampadius* writing to a certain Brother of his, faith thus, Peace be with thee. As far as I can conjecture out of the learned Fathers, the words, *Joh. 6.* and, *This is my Body*, be figurative locutions, &c. You see hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions; they lean not to the Scriptures, to Doctors, nor yet to the Truth, but to suppositions and conjectures: Who therefore hereafter will cleave unto them? But now I come to your Oration, whose beginning pleaseth me very well, and whose progress therein offended me not; but in the end

Uncertainty amongst the Doctors

you concluded in such sort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the same. And herein you framed a syllogism after this manner: What Christ took, that he blessed; what he blessed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave: *Ergo*, what he received he gave, &c. Whereto I answer with a like syllogism out of *Genesis*: God took a rib out of *Adams* side; what he took he built; what he built he brought; what he brought he gave to *Adam* to be his wife; but he took a rib, *Ergo*, he gave a rib to *Adam* to wife, &c. Also in your said Oration you shew much at those words of *Paul* where he calleth it bread so often, &c. But the Scripture in another place calleth it water, when indeed it was wine; a rod when it was a plain serpent.

5 Ann. 2.
1549 B.

An unreasonably compact ion.

Rocheſter.

You have pretended great zeal and words enough, but what pith or substance your reasons will afford we shall see hereafter.

Vavisor.

Christ gave the same flesh to us which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and natural flesh of her: *Ergo*, he gave us true and natural flesh. My Major I prove by *Augustine* upon the 98 Psalm.

Aug. serm. 38.

Rocheſter.

Mr. Vavisor, you are in a wrong Box; for the place maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make for any thing.

Vavisor.

I know it very well, and therefore I alledg it as the ground of my reason. These be *Augustines* words, Christ of the earth received earth, and of the flesh of *Mary* he received flesh; acknowledge his substance therefore.

Rocheſter.

I acknowledged it.

Vavisor.

And in the very same flesh he walked here upon the earth; acknowledge his substance.

Rocheſter.

I acknowledged it.

Vavisor.

And the very same flesh he gave us to eat; acknowledge his substance.

Rocheſter.

I acknowledge not his real substance to be there, but the property of his substance.

Vavisor.

Then Vavisor recited the place, to the end he might prove that his real substance ought to be acknowledged as well in the last place, as in the first and second; affirming it out of St. *Augustine*, who faith thus, The Disciples of Christ approaching the Lords Table, by faith drank the same blood which the tormentors most cruelly spilt, &c. but the tormentors spilt no figure of blood: *Ergo*, &c. This place will not permit the other so to be illuded.

Rocheſter.

It is no illusion, good Mr. Vavisor, but surely you would move a Saint with your impudent reasons.

Vavisor.

I beseech your Fatherhood to pardon my rudeness, for surely I cannot otherwise speak without breach of conscience.

Perna.

That place of *Augustine* is to be understood of a spiritual kind of eating.

Vavisor.

I demand whether the faithful may receive spiritually; so as they need not to receive Sacramentally.

Perna.

They may.

Vavisor.

Then thus to you: the spiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lords Table; for so it is the meat of the soul, not of the teeth; but the faithful come to the Lords Table, *Ergo*, that place is to be understood of a Sacramental eating. And again, *Augustine* faith that he carried himself in his hands.

Rocheſter.

{ Ann. }
1549.

Rochester.

Augustine sheweth a little after what he meaneth thereby, where he saith, he carried himself in his own hands after a certain fort or manner.

Vavijor.

True it is, that after one manner he sat at the Table, and after another manner was in the Sacrament.

Master Young here disputeth against Perne as followeth.

Young.

I Understand the meaning of this word *Proprietas*, propriety, well enough; for in *Hilary* and *Eusebius* it signifieth not the virtue or power of any substance or being, but rather a natural being or substance.

Rochester.

I commend your great diligence in searching of Authors, but in Divinity the matter standeth not so; for the propriety of essence in the Deity is the very essence, and whatsoever is in God is God.

Young.

True it is (most reverend Father) that this word *Proprietas*, propriety, in *Hilary* in his eighth Book de *Trinitate*, entreating there of the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is so meant and taken; but the same *Hilary* almost in the same place speaketh of our communion and unity with Christ, &c. *Tertullian* also writing of the Resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that the flesh of our Saviour is that whereof our soul is allied to God, that is, it which causeth that our souls are joyed to him, but our flesh is made clean, that the soul may be purged; our flesh is anointed, that the soul may be made holy; the flesh is sealed, that the soul may be comforted; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of the hands, that our soul may be lightened with the glory of the Spirit; Our flesh is clothed with a body and blood, that the soul may be fed and nourished of God.

Rochester.

The flesh indeed is fed with the Body and the Blood of the Lord, when our bodies by mortification are made like to his body. And our body is nourished, when the virtue and power of the Body of Christ doth feed us. The same *Tertullian* is not afraid to call it flesh and blood, but he meaneth a figure of the same.

Young.

Then by your leave it should follow by good consequence, that where any mortification is, there must needs be a Sacramental communion, which cannot be; Ergo, &c.

Here ended the third and last Disputation holden at Cambridge, 1549.

Answers and Disputations in these Disputations at Cambridge.

This Disputation continued three days. In the first did answer Dr. Madew; against whom disputed Dr. Glin, Mr. Langdale, Mr. Segewick, Mr. Young.

In the second Disputation did answer Dr. Glin: Against whom disputed Mr. Grindal, Mr. Perne, Mr. Geisf, Mr. Pilkington.

In the third Disputation answered Mr. Perne: Against whom disputed one Mr. Parker, (not Dr. Matthew Parker) Mr. Pollard, Mr. Vavijor, Mr. Young.

At length the Disputations ended, the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Nicolas Ridley, after the manner of Schools, made this determination upon the foresaid Conclusions, as here followeth.

The Determination of Dr. Nicolas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, upon the Conclusions above prefixed.

The determination of Dr. Nicolas Ridley upon the disputations.

THERE hath been an ancient custom amongst you, that after Disputations had in your common Schools there should be some determination made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian Religion. Because therefore it hath seemed good unto these worshipful Affiliants joyed with me in Commission from the Kings Majesty, that I should perform the same at this

time; I will by your favourable patience declare, both what I do think and believe my self, and what also other ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterward ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himself.

The principal grounds or rather head-springs of this matter are specially five.

The first is the authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture.

The second is the most certain testimonies of the ancient Catholic Fathers, who after my judgment do sufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abominable Heresie of Eutiches, that may ensue of Transubstantiation.

The fifth is the most sure belief of the Article of our Faith: He ascended into Heaven.

The first Ground.

This Transubstantiation is clean against the words of the Scripture, and consent of the ancient Catholic Fathers. The Scripture saith, *I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the Vine*, &c. Now the fruit of this Vine is Wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the Supper was finished, as it appeareth both in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and also in *Luke*, if they be well understood. There be not many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly material: For it is enough if there be any one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority, and by the verity of the same. And the Majesty of this verity is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture as in a thousand.

Moreover, Christ took bread, he gave bread. In the Acts Luke calleth it bread. So Paul calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christ's Body, for the Scripture saith, *Ye shall not break a bone of him*. Christ saith, *Do ye this in my remembrance*. St. Paul also saith, *Do ye this in my remembrance*. And 1 Cor. 11 again, *As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me*. And our Saviour Christ in the sixth of *John*, speaking against the *Carnepites*, saith, *Labour for the meat that perisheth not*. And when they asked, *What shall we do that we may work the works of God?* He answered them thus, *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent*. You see how he exhorteth them to faith, *For faith is that work of God*. Again, *This is the bread which came down from Heaven*. But Christ's Body came not down from Heaven. Moreover, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him*. My flesh (saith he) is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. When they heard this, they were offended. And whil实现 they were offended, he said unto them, *What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?* Whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. This Body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as St. Augustine saith, *It is the spirit that quickneth the flesh profiteth nothing*. The words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood. These be the reasons which perwade me to incline to this sentence and judgment.

The second Ground.

Now my second ground against this Transubstantiation are the ancient Fathers a thousand years past. And so far off is it that they do confirm this opinion of Transubstantiation, that plain they seem unto me, both to think and to speak the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plain, that it needeth not to recite them.

Ignatius to the *Philadelphians* saith, *I beseech you Brethren cleave fast unto one Faith, and to one kind of Preaching, using together one manner of shanksgiving*; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one; and his blood is one which was shed for us: There is also one bread broken for us, and one Cup of the whole Church.

Ireneus

4 KING. Irenæus writeth thus: Even as the Bread that cometh of the Earth receiving Gods vocation is now no more common bread, but Sacramental Bread, consisting of two natures, Earthly and Heavenly, even so our bodies receiving the Eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the Resurrection.

Tertullianus Tertullian is very plain, for he calleth it a figure of his body, &c.

Cyprianus Cyprian writeth to Cæsarius the Monk, albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I read the place to fasten it more deeply in your minds; for it seemeth to shew plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these.

Before the Bread is sanctified, we name it Bread: but by the grace of God sanctifying the same, through the ministry of the Priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lords body, although the very substance of Bread notwithstanding do still remain therein, and now is taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son,

Cyprianus Cyprian faith, Bread is made of many Grains. And is that Natural Bread, and made of Wheat? Yea it is

Theodore so indeed.

The Book of Theodoret in Greek was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there, especially seeing it is directly against Transubstantiation; For he faith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

Gelasius Gelasius also is very plain in this manner, The Sacrament (faith he) which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a Divine matter: By reason whereof we are made partakers by the same of the Divine Nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of Bread and Wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries,

Isidore &c. After this he recited certain places out of Augustinus and Cyril which were not noted.

Isidore Isidore also confesseth that is Bread.

Also the judgment of Bertram in this matter is very plain and manifest. And thus much for the second ground.

The third Ground.

The third ground. The third ground is the nature of the Sacrament, which consisteth of three things, that is, Unity, Nutrition, and Conversion.

As touching Unity, Cyprian thus writeth: Even as of many grains is made one Bread, so are we one mystical Body of Christ. Wherefore Bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a Sacrament.

2. Nutrition. Also they that take away Nutrition, which cometh by Bread, do take away likewise the nature of a Sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth Bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore they that take away the grains or the union of the Grains in the Bread, and deny the Nutrition or Substance thereof, in my judgment are Sacramentaries: For they take away the similitude between the Bread and the body of Christ. For they which affirm Transubstantiation are indeed right Sacramentaries and Catholics.

3. Conversion. As touching Conversion (that like as the Bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christs Body) Rabanus and Chrysostom are witnesses sufficient.

The fourth Ground.

4. Creation. They which say that Christ is carnally present in the Eucharist, do take from him the verity of mans nature. Enriches granted the Divine nature in Christ, but his humane nature he denied. So they that defend Transubstantiation ascribe that to the humane nature which only belongeth to the Divine nature.

The fifth Ground.

The fifth ground is the certain perswasion of this Article of Faith, He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand, &c.

Augustine faith, The Lord is above, even to the end of the World: but yet the verity of the Lord is here also, For his Body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place, but his Verity is spread abroad every where.

Also in another place he faith, Let the godly also receive that Sacrament, but let them not be careful (speaking there of the presence of his Body.) For as touching his Majesty, his Providence, his invisible and unspeakable Grace, these words are fulfilled which he spake, I am with you unto the end of the World. But according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Jews, was fastened to a Tree, taken down again from the Cross, laid in a Linen Cloth, was buried and rose again, and appeared after his Resurrection, so you shall not have me always with you, and why? because that as concerning his flesh he was conversant with his Disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him, he went up into Heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence, as concerning the presence of his Divine Majesty.

Mark and consider well what St. Augustine faith, He is ascended into Heaven, and is not here, faith he. Believe not them therefore which say that he is here still in the Earth.

Moreover, Doubt not (faith the same Augustine) but that Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his Manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a Christian Man, that he arose from death, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and from that place and none other (not from the Altars) shall be come to judge the quick and the dead, and he shall come as the Angel said, as he was seen to go into Heaven: that is to say, in the same form and substance, unto the which he gave immortality, but changed not Nature. After this form (meaning his Human Nature) we may think that it is every where.

And in the same Epistle he faith, Take away from the bodies limitation of places, and they shall be no where, and because they are no where, they shall not be at all.

Vigilius faith, If the Word and the Flesh be both of one Nature, seeing that the Word is every where, why then is not the Flesh also every where? For when it was in Earth, then verily it was not in Heaven; and now when it is in Heaven, it is not surely in Earth. And it is so certain, that it is not in Earth, that as concerning the same we look for him from Heaven, whom, as concerning the Word, we believe to be with us in Earth.

Also the same Vigilius faith, Which things seeing they be so, the sense of the Scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to shew plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is to refer those things to the property of the Divine Nature, which do only belong to the Nature of the Flesh: and contrariwise, to apply those things to the Nature of the Flesh, which do properly belong to the Divine Nature. Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christs Body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his Humanity, which properly belongeth to his Divinity, as they do which will have Christs Body to be in no one certain place limited.

Now in the later Conclusion concerning the Sacrifice, because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words declare what I think. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controversie in the other would soon be at an end. Two things there be which do perfwade me that this Conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the Scripture, and also certain testimonies of the Fathers. St. Paul faith, Hebrews: the Ninth, Christ being become an high Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of Body, this building, neither by the Blood of Goats and Calves, but by his own Blood, entered once into the Holy place, and

The Third Conclusion.

and obtained for us eternal Redemption, &c. And now in the end of the World he hath appeared once to put away sin by the Sacrifice of himself.

And again, Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many.

Heb. 10. Moreover he saith, With one Offering hath he made perfect for ever those that are Sanctified.

Ch. 10. never offered but once. These Scriptures do persuade me to believe that there is no other Oblation of Christ (albeit I am not ignorant there are many Sacrifices) but that which was once made upon the Cross.

Aug. ad Rom. 23. Aug. 23. Aug. 23. Aug. 23. The testimonies of the ancient Fathers, which confirm the same, are out of *Augustine ad Rom. Epist. 23*. Again in his Book of 43 Questions, in the 41 Question. Also in his 20 Book against *Fausus the Manichee, Chap. 21*. And in the same Book against the said *Fausus cap. 28*, thus he writeth, Now the Christians keep a memorial of the Sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

21. And in the same Book against the said *Fausus cap. 28*, thus he writeth, Now the Christians keep a memorial of the Sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

Eulgentius in his Book *De fide* calleth the same Oblation a Commemoration. And these things are sufficient for this time for a Scholastical determination of these matters.

Disputations of Martin Bucer.

Over and beside these Disputations above-mentioned, other Disputations were also holden at Cambridge shortly after by *Martin Bucer* upon these conclusions following.

Conclusions to be disputed.

1. The Canonical Books of Holy Scripture alone do sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging unto Salvation.

2. There is no Church in Earth which erreth not in matters as well as in Faith.

3. We are so justified freely of God, that before our justification it is sin, and provoketh Gods wrath against us whatsoever good work we seem to do. Then being justified we do good works.

In these three propositions against *Bucer* disputed *Mr. Segurick, Young, and Pern*. Which Disputations because they are long here to be recited, I mind (the Lord willing) to reserve them to some other convenient place. In the mean season, because great controversy hath been and is yet amongst the learned, and much effusion of Christian Blood about the words and meaning of the Sacrament: to the intent that the Verity thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtful scruples discussed, it shall not be out of place to adjoin to the former Discourses of *Peter Martyr*, and of *Dr. Ridley* above-mentioned, another certain learned Treatise in form of a Dialogue, as pertaining to the same Argument, compiled (as it seemed) out of the tractions of *Peter Martyr*, and other Authors, by a certain learned and reverend person of this Realm; who, under the persons of *Custom* and *Verity*, manifestly layeth before our Eyes, and teacheth all Men not to measure Religion by Custom, but to try Custom by Truth and the Word of God; for else Custom may soon deceive, but the Word of God abideth for ever.

A fruitful Dialogue declaring these words of Christ: *This is my Body.*

CUSTOM. VERITY.

Custom. I marvel much what madness is cropt in into those Mens hearts, which now adays are not alarmed so violently to tread down the lively Word of God, yea and impudently to deny God himself.

Verity. God forbid there should be any such. Indeed I remember that the *Romish* Bishop was wont to have the Bible for his footstool, and so to tread down Gods Word evermore when he stood at his Mass. But thanks be to God he is now detected, and his abominations be opened and blown throughout all the World. And I hear of no more that oppress Gods Word.

Custom. No more say you? Yes doubtless there are an hundred thousand more, and your part it is *Verity* to withstand them.

Verity. As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to stand with fallhood. But what are they? Disclose them if you will have them reprov'd.

Custom. What are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Hear you not how that Men do daily speak against the Sacrament of the Altar, denying it to be the real Body of Christ?

Verity. In good sooth I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this Country. Wherefore you must pardon me if my answer be to seek in such questions. But go forth in your tale. You have been longer here, and are better acquainted than I. What say they more than this?

Custom. Than this? Why, what can they possibly say more?

Verity. Yes, there are many things worse than this: for this seemeth in some part to be tolerable.

Custom. What? me thinketh you daily with me. Seemeth it tolerable to deny the Sacrament?

Verity. They deny it not, so much as I can gather by your words.

Custom. Nay then fare you well: I perceive you will take their part.

Verity. I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: For I never go further than the Truth.

Custom. I can scarcely believe you. But what is more true than Christ, which is Truth it self? Or who ever was so hardy before this time to charge Christ with a lie for saying these words: *This is my Body*? The words are evident and plain: There is in them not so much as one obscure or dark Letter, there is no cause for any Man to cavil. And yet that notwithstanding, whereas Christ himself affirmed it to be his Body, Men now adays are not ashamed to say, Christ lied, it is not his Body. The Evangelists agree all in one, the old Writers stand of our side, the Universal and Catholic Church hath been in this mind these fifteen hundred years and more. And I shall we think that Christ himself, his Evangelists, all the whole Catholic Church hath been so long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in these days?

Verity. You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and whereto without many words I can make no full answer. Notwithstanding because you provoke me thereto, if you will give me license, I will take part with them of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever reprov'd Christ of any lie. But contrariwise, they say, That many Men of late days, not understanding Christs Words, have builded and set up many fond lies upon his Name. Wherefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, *This is my Body*, and next in what sense the Church and the old Fathers have evermore taken them. First therefore you shall understand, That Scripture is not so to be taken always as the Letter foundeth, but as the intent and purpose of the Holy Ghost was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the Christian Faith. What is plainer than these words, *Pater major me est*, My Father is greater than I am? Of those plain words sprang up the Heresie of the *Arians*, which denied Christ to be equal with his Father. What is more evident than this saying, *I and my Father are both one*? Thereof arose the Heresie of them that denied three distinct persons. They all had one soul and one heart, was spoken by the Apostle: yet had each of them a Soul and Heart peculiar to himself. They are now not two, but one flesh, is spoken by the Man and his Wife; yet hath both the Man and the Wife his several Body. He is our very flesh, said *Ruben* by *Joseph* his Brother, which notwithstanding was not their real Flesh. I am bread, said Christ, yet was he Flesh and no Bread. Christ was the same, said *Paul*, and was indeed no material Stone. *Melchisedech* had neither father nor mother, and yet indeed he had both. Behold the Lamb of God, said *John Baptist* by Christ, notwithstanding Christ was a Man, and not a Lamb. Circumcision was called the Covenant, whereas it was but a token of the Covenant. The Lamb named the Passover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance

KING
Edw. 6.

Mat. 26.
Christs
Words.

The Evangelists.
The old
Writers.
The Catholic Church.

The Doctrine of the
Pastors
commonly
standeth
upon false
reporters.

The sense of
the off
our
is
expounded.

John 14

John 10.

Acts 4.

Gen. 37.

1 Cor. 10

A Dialogue
between
Custom and
Verity.

KING } brance only of the Passover. *Jacob* raised up an Altar, and called it, being made but of lime stone, *The mighty God of Israel*. *Moses*, when he had conquered the *Amalekites*, set up an Altar, and called it by the names of God, *Jebova* and *Tetragramatum*. *We are all one* loaf of bread, saith *Paul*, yet were they not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. *Christ* hanging upon the Crofs appointed *S. John* to his Mother, saying, *Lo there is thy Son*, and yet was he not her Son. So many as be baptized into *Christ*, saith *Paul*, have put on *Christ*, and so many as are baptized in- to *Christ*, are washed with the blood of *Christ*: Notwith- standing no man took the Font water to be the natural blood of *Christ*. The cup is the New Testament, saith *Paul*, and yet is not the Cup indeed the very New Testament. You see therefore that it is not strange, nor a thing unwont in the Scriptures, to call one thing by another name. So that you can no more of necessity enforce the changing of the bread into *Christ* body in the Sacrament, because the words be plain. *This is my body*, the Wives flesh to be the natural and real body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, *They are not two but one flesh* or the Altar of stone to be very God, because *Moses* with evident and plain words pronounced it to be the mighty God of *Israel*. Notwithstanding, if you will needs cleave to the letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cause. For thus I will reason, and use your own weapon against you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The Evangelists agree in the same. *Paul* nameth it so five times in one place; the holy Ghost may not be set to school to learn to speak. Wherefore I conclude by my own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to believe that in the Sacrament there remaineth bread.

Custom. Me thinketh your answer is reasonable, yet can I not be satisfied. Declare you therefore more at large, what moveth you to think this of the Sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long holden and taught, unless you were enforced by some strong and likely reasons.

Verity. First, In examining the words of *Christ*, I get me to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. And in this behalf I see that *Christ* meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men of themselves be and evermore were forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was behoofull that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens, as with the Passover Lamb, the Brazen Serpent, and other like. For the Brazen Serpent was a token, that when the *Jews* were stung and wounded with Serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The Passover Lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, which, when he destroyed the Egyptians, saved the *Jews*, whose doors were sprinkled with the blood of a Lamb. So likewise *Christ* left us a memorial and remembrance of his Death and Passion in outward tokens, that when the child should demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread and drinking of the Cup meaneth, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so *Christ* was broken and rent upon the Crofs, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise as wine fethereth and comforteth the body, so doth the blood of *Christ* cherish and relieve the soul. And this do I gather by the words of *Christ*, and by the institution and order of the Sacrament. For *Christ* charged the Apostles to do this in the remembrance of him. Whereupon thus I conclude.

Ref. Nothing is done in remembrance of it self.

ti- But the Sacrament is used in the remembrance of *Christ*.

mo- Therefore the Sacrament is not *Christ*.

Fe- *Christ* never devoured himself.

ri- *Christ* did eat the Sacrament with his Apostles.

son. Ergo, the Sacrament is not *Christ* himself.

Besides this, I see that *Christ* ordained not his body, but a Sacrament of his body. A Sacrament (as *S. Augu- stin* declareth) is an outward sign of an invisible Grace. His words are *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratie visibilis signum*. Out of which words I gather two arguments. The first is this; the token of the body of

Christ is not the thing tokened, wherefore they are not one. The second is this.

Fe- One thing cannot be both visible and invisible.

ri- But the Sacrament is visible, and the body of *Christ* invisible.

son. Therefore they are not one.

Which thing *S. Augustin* openeth very well by these words, *Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti. Sacramentum est quod in corpus vadit: res autem Sacramenti est corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. Moreover, I remember that *Christ* ministered this Sacrament not to great and deep Philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and unlearned Filibers, which notwithstanding understood *Christ*'s meaning right well, and delivered it even as they took it at *Christ*'s hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared unto them the meaning thereof. But the lay nor scarcely the Apostles themselves could understand what is meant by Transubstantiation, Impanation, Dimensions, qualitates, quantitates, accident sine subjecto, terminus a quo, & terminus ad quem, per modum quanti. This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people, wherefore it is likely that *Christ* meant some other thing than hath been taught of late days. Furthermore, *Christ*'s body is food, not for the body but for the soul, and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is Faith. For as ye receive sustenance for your bodily mouth, so the food of your soul must be received by Faith, which is the mouth of the soul. And for that *S. Augustin* sharply rebuketh them that think to eat *Christ* with their mouth, saying, *Quid paros dentem & ventrem? crede & manducasti*. (i.) Why makest thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? believe and thou hast eaten *Christ*. Likewise speaking of eating the self same body, he saith to the *Capernaimites* which took him grossly as men do now adays, *The words that I speak are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh John 6: profiteth nothing*. And *S. Augustin* upon these words of *Christ* saith, *Non hoc corpus quod videtis munducatur: Quod estis, neque bibimus sanguinem, quem effusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trade. Id spiritus ritualiter acceptum vivificat: caro autem non prodest quicquam. Auguſt. Quinquagesima. 2. Plal. 98.*

Custom. What mean you by this spirit, and by spiritual eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that *Christ* hath a body, and therefore must be eaten (as I think) with the mouth of the body. For to the spirit and the soul as it hath no body and flesh, so it hath no mouth.

Verity. You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts, of the body and of the soul. And each of them hath his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abstinence. For like as the body is nourished and so- stered with bodily meats, or else cannot endure; so must the soul have his cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we do and may justly say that the Turks, *Jews*, and heathen be dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what mean will you find the soul? Doubtless not by the instrument of the body but of the soul. For that which is received into the body, hath no passage from thence in- to the soul. For *Christ* saith, *That whatsoever entereth into the belly, is conveyed into the draught*. And whereas you say that the spirit hath no mouth, like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceived. For the spirit hath a mouth in his kind, or else how could a man eat and drink justice? *Matth. 5: For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit instrument for what it is to hunger and eat righteousness*. Yet *Christ* saith, that he is blessed that hungereth and thirsteth for justice. If he hunger and thirst for justice, be- like he both eateth and drinketh it, for otherwise he neither abateth his hunger, nor quengeth his thirst. Now if a man may eat and drink righteousness with his spirit, no doubt his spirit hath a mouth. Whereof I will reason thus.

Da- Of whatsoever sort the mouth is, such is his food.

ti- But the mouth of the spirit is spiritual, not bodily.

fi. Therefore it receiveth *Christ*'s body spiritually not bodily.

Christ is no food for the body, but for the soul.

Aug. in Joh. 12. 23.

That is to say: You shall not eat the body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shall cruci- fice me: I have com- mended to you a Sacra- ment, un- derstand it spiritually and it shall give you life: the flesh profit- teeth nothing.

Argument.

Joh. 6.
Now Christ's
body is eaten by
Faith.

Ergo.

Cyprian.

Irenaeus lib.
5. contra
Psalismum.
Beda supra
Lucam.
Christi body
is spiritual
meat.

Delighting
more blood
split the
Luv.

Kotelling
to the
Sacrament
forbids
do in
old Coun-
cils.
The Sacra-
ment carried
home in
Napkins.

Pope Hono-
rari the
third, first
author of
worship-
ing the Sa-
crament.

Apollines
and old
Doctors
make no
marvel at
the Sacra-
ment.

* That is
to say, Sa-
craments
here may
have their
honour as
things reli-
gious, but
they are not
to be wor-
shipped as
miracles.

And in like manner Christ, speaking of the eating of his body, nameth himself the Bread, not for the body, but of Life, for the Soul, and faith. *He that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst.* Wherefore whosoever will be relieved by the body of Christ, must receive him as he will be received, with the instrument of Faith appointed thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christ's Body must be received and taken with Faith, I mean not that you shall pluck down Christ from Heaven, and put him in your Faith, as in a visible place; but that you must with your Faith rise and spring up to him, and leaving this world dwell above in heaven, putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in him, which suffered grievous bondage to set you at liberty and to make you free, creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pierced and dented for your sake. So shall you feed on the Body of Christ, so shall you suck the Blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, the very true, the only eating of Christ's Body. And therefore S. Gregory calleth it, *Cibus mentis non ventris*, (i. e.) The food of the mind, and not of the belly. And S. Cyprian saith likewise, *Non acinus dentem, nec ventrem paramus. i. e.* We sharpen not our tooth, nor prepare our belly.

Now to return to our former purpose, seeing it is plain that Christ's body is meat for our spirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I will gather thereof this reason. The Sacrament is bodily food and increaseth the body; Ergo, the Sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourisheth the body it is evident; For Christ calleth it the fruit of the Vine, whose duty is to nourish. And for a proof, if you consecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you so well as your table bread. And if a little Moule get an Host, he will crave no more meat to his Dinner. But you will say these are worldly reasons. What then if the old Fathers record the same? Irenaeus saith, *Quando mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit curbum Dei, fit Eucharistia corporis & sanguinis Domini, ex quibus angur & conficit carnis nostrae substantia.* Beda witnesseth the same by these words, *Quia panis carnem confirmat, & vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud ad sanguinem refertur.* Wherefore as I said before, seeing that Christ's body is spiritual meat, and the bread of the Sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the Sacrament is not Christ's body. Beside this, where it was forbidden in the old Law that any man should eat or drink Blood, the Apostles notwithstanding took the Cup of Christ's hands, and drank of it, and never staggered, or flunk at the matter; whereby it may be gathered, that they took it for a military, for a token, and a remembrance, far otherwise than it hath of late been taken.

Again, when the Sacrament was dealt, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that sat there present before their eyes; but took it, and eat it, knowing that it was Sacrament and remembrance of Christ's Body. Yea, the old Councils commanded that no man should kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of Idolatry. And long after the Apostles time, as Tertullian writeth, Women were sufficed to take it home with them, and lap it up in their Chels. And the Priests many times sent it to sick persons by a Child, which no doubt would have given more reverence thereto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about 300 years ago, Honorius the Third, Bishop of Rome took him and hanged him up, and caused men to kneel and crouch down, and all to begod him.

Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that ever God wrought. But the Apostles saw no miracle in it. *Nesciamus*, an old Writer, and *Augustin* in treating of all the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the Sacrament for none. As for the Apostles, it appeareth well that they had it for no marvel, for they never mused at it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas in other things they evermore were full of questions. As touching S. *Augustin*, he not only over skipped it as no wonder, but by plain and expels words testifieth that there is no marvel in it. For speaking of the Lords Supper, and of the other Sacraments, he saith these words, *Hic Sacramenta bonivem ut religioſa habere possunt, stuporem*

autem ut mira non possunt. Moreover a little before the institution of the Sacrament, Christ spake of his ascension, saying, *I leave the world: I tarry but a little while with you. Let not your hearts be troubled, because I go from you. I tell you truly, it is for your profit that I go from you, for if I go not, the Spirit of comfort cannot come to you.* Jo. 14. with many other like warnings of his departure. S. *Stephen* saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a special revelation of God; but he never said that he saw him at the Communion, or that he made him every day himself. And in the Acts of the Apostles S. Peter saith, *That Christ must needs keep the heaven till all be ended.* *Esaiah*, *Solomon*, and S. *Stephen* say, *That God dwelleth not in Temples made with mans hands.* S. *Paul* willeth that he were dissolved and dead, and were with Christ; not in the Altar doubtless where he might be daily, but in heaven. And to be brief, it is in our Creed, and we do constantly believe, that Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at his Fathers right hand; and no promise have we that he will come jumping down at every Priests calling. Hereof I gather this reason.

Christ's body cannot both be gone, and be here. But he is gone, and hath left the world. Therefore it is folly to seek him in the world.

Custom. Fy, you be far deceived, I can in no wise brook these words. You shut up Christ too faintly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not suffering him to go as large. No doubtless, he hath deserved more gentleness at your hands, than to be tied up to short.

Verity. I do neither lock up, neither imprison Christ in heaven, but according to the Scriptures declare that he hath chosen a Blessed place, and most worthy to receive his Majesty; in which place whoſo is inclosed, thinketh not himself (as I suppose) to be a Prisoner: But if you take it for so heinous a thing that Christ should sit in heaven in the glory of his Father, what think you of them that imprison him in a little Box, yea and keep him in captivity so long, until he be moulty and over-grown with vermin, and when he is past mens meat, be not contented to hang him till he stink, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extreme cruel imprisoning. But to return to the matter, we are certainly perſwaded by the word of God, that Christ the very Son of God vouchsafed to take upon him the body and shape of man, and that he walked and was converseant amongst men in that same one, and not in many bodies, and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the self same body, and that he sitteth at his Fathers right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of the said one body. This is our belief, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are false deceivers, which leaving heaven will grope for Christ's body upon the earth.

Custom. Nay Sir, but I see now you are far out of the way. For Christ hath not to grofs and fleshly a body as you think, but a spiritual and ghostly body, and therefore without repentance it may be in many places at once.

Verity. You say right well, and do grant that Christ's body is spiritual. But I pray you answer me by the way, can any other body than that which is spiritual be at one time in sundry places?

Custom. No truly.

Verity. Have we that self same Sacrament that Christ gave to his disciples, at his Maundy, or no?

Custom. Doubtless we have the same.

Verity. When was Christ's body spiritual? was it so even from his birth?

Custom. No: For doubtless before he arose from death his body was earthly, as other mens bodies are.

Verity. Well, but when gave Christ the Sacrament to his Disciples? Before he rose from death or after?

Custom. You know: you tell he gave it before his Resurrection, the night before he suffered his Passion.

Verity.

KING
Edw. 5

It chold
were both
gone and
tarried,
then he
should seem
to have lett
himself be-
hind him.

The body of
Christ im-
prisoned by
the Priests
in a Box,
and after-
ward burn-
ed when he
is moulty.

Christ's bo-
dy is spiri-
tual in the
Sacrament,
say the
Papists.

KING Verity. Why then me thinketh he gave the Sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual.

Custom. Even so.

Verity. And was every portion of the Sacrament dealt to the Apostles, and received they into their mouths the very real and substantial body of Christ?

Custom. Yea doubtless.

Verity. Mark well what ye have said, for you have granted me great repugnance. First, you say, That no body being not spiritual can be in sundry places at once. Then say you, That at the Maundy Christs body was not spiritual; and yet hold you, that he was there present visibly before the Apostles eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths all at one time; which grants of yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formal reason of your words in this fort.

Fe. No body being real, natural, and organical, and not spiritual, can be in many places at once.

ri. Christs body in the Sacrament was in the Apostles hands and mouths at one time, which were many places.

son. Ergo, Christs body in the Sacrament was not a real, natural, and organical body, but spiritual.

Custom. Indeed you have driven me into the straits before I was ware of you; and I know not how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this, that I will not believe you.

Verity. I desire you not to give credence to me, believe the word of God, ye believe your own belief; for they both witness against you, that Christs body is taken up into Heaven, and there shall remain until he come to judge.

Custom. Tush, what speaks you of the word of God? there be many dark sayings therein which every man cannot attain to.

Verity. I grant you there be certain obscure places in the Scripture, yet not so obscure but that a man with the grace of God may perceive; for it was written not for Angels, but for men. But, as I understand, *Custom* meddeth but little with the Scripture. How say you by *S. Augustine*, *St Hierom*, *S. Ambrose*, what if they stand on our side?

Custom. No no, I know them well enough

Verity. So well as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witness, they will give evidence against you. For *S. Austin* commonly in every of his Books, but chiefly in an Epistle to his friend *Dardanus*, declareth that Christs body is placed in one room. I marvel you be not nearer of his Counsel. His words are these, *Noli dubitare ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Jesum, unde venturus est. Memoriterque recole & fideliter crede Christianam confessionem; quoniam resurrexit, ascendit in caelum, sedet a dextris Dei patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est, ad vivos mortuosque judicandos. Et venturus est in eadem corporis substantia, cui immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. Cavendum enim est ne ira divinitatem asseramus hominis ut humanitatem mittamus Dei. i. Do not doubt the man Jesus Christ to be there, from whence he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully believe the Christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he shall come and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And shall come in the same substance of body, to the which he gave immortality, and took not the nature from it. After this form he is to be thought not to be dispersed in all places; for we must beware so to defend his Divinity that we destroy his humanity. And in another place of the same Epistle, *Una persona Deus & homo; & utrumque est unus Christus. Vbiq; per id quod Deus, in calo autem per id quod homo.* Likewise upon the fourteenth Psalm, *Domec secundum finitur sursum est Dominus; sed etiam hic nobiscum est veritas Domini. Corpus enim in quo resurrexit in uno loco esse oportet; veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est.* While the world shall last, the Lord is above, and also the verity of the Lord is with us. For the body wherein he rose again must be in one place; but the*

verity of him is every where dispersed. In like manner witness *Damasus* an old Bishop of Rome in his *Credo*, *Dei vero mortis imperit, cum ea carne in qua natus & passus est & resurrexit, ascendit in caelum, manente eadem natura carnis in qua natus & passus est.* *S. Ambrose* writing upon the tenth Chapter of *S. Eusebii* recordeth the same, *Ergo non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum terram querere debemus Dominum, si volumus invenire. Non enim supra terram quiescit qui stantem ad Dei dextram vidit. Maria querebat in terra tangere Christum & non potuit; Stephanus tetigit quia quiescebat in celo.* (i.) Wherefore neither above the earth, nor upon the earth, nor according to the earth we ought to seek the Lord, if we will find him; For he did not seek him above the earth, which did see him sitting at the right hand of God. And *Mary* sought upon the earth to touch Christ and could not, *Stephen* touched him because he sought him in Heaven. *St Hierom* in an Epistle to *Marcella* proveth that the body of Christ must needs be contained in some place, for he saith, *Veri Dei est ubique esse; veri hominis alibi esse.* The property of God is to be every where, the property of man is to be in one place. The same *Hierom* in another place calleth it a foolish thing to seek for him in a narrow place, or in a corner, which is the light of all the world; *Stultum est cum parvo in loco vel abscondito querere, qui totius mundi est lumen.* i. Foolishness it is, in a small place or in a hid corner to seek him which is the light of the whole world. *Origen* saith likewise, *Audienti non sunt qui Christum demonstrant in edibus.* i. They are not to be heard, which shew Christ in houses. The same also recordeth *Beda*, writing upon these words of Christ; *Now a little while shall you see me: He speaketh in Christs person. Therefore (saith he) shall you see me but a little while after my resurrection, because I will not still abide in the earth bodily, but in the manhood which I have taken will ascend up to heaven.* What needeth more words? All the old Fathers witness the same. You may by these soon judge the rest. Now to return to the matter, seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the *Credo*, and the abridgement of the Faith, seeing all the old Fathers do constantly agree in one, that the body of Christ is ascended into heaven, and there remaineth at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I do conclude that the Sacrament is not the body of Christ; first, because it is not in Heaven, neither sitteth at the Fathers right hand; moreover, because it is in an hundred thousand Boxes, whereas Christs body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then would it necessarily follow that sinners and unpenitent persons receive the body of Christ.

Custom. Marry and so they do. For *Paul* saith plainly, that they receive the body of Christ to their own confusion.

Verity. No not so. These are not *Pauls* words, but he saith, *Who so eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own condemnation; not judging the body of the Lord.* Here he calleth it in plain words bread. And although the Sacrament be very bread, yet doth the injury redound to the body of Christ. As if a man break the Kings Mace, or tread the Broad Seal under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but Silver and Wax; yet is the injury the Kings; and the doer shall be taken as a Traitor. *S. Ambrose* declareth the meaning of *S. Paul* by these words, *Reus est corporis Domini, qui penas dabit mortis Christi, quoniam irritam fecit mortem Domini.* The cause of the ordinance thereof was the remembrance of the death of Christ, which who so forgetteth, receiveth the Sacrament to their condemnation. That same witnesseth *S. Augustine* for the Sacrament, saith he, is an outward token of love and charity. For like as many grains of Corn are become one peace of bread, even so they that receive it ought to be one. Then saith he, *Mysterium pacis ac unitatis nobis Christus in mensa sua consecravit. Qui accipit mysterium unitatis & non servat unitatem, non mysterium accipit pro se, sed testimonium contra se.* He that receiveth the Gospel wherein is declared the Passion and Death of Christ, and is yet contrary to the Gospel, shall doubtless be the more guilty of the death of Christ, because he heareth and receiveth the word of God, and regardeth it not. In a certain country

The Papists though they be contrary, yet they will not believe.

Custom meddeth but little with Scripture.

August. ad Dardanus.

Aug. ibid.

August. in Phil. 14.

Damasus

Ambros. in 10. cap. Eusebii.

Hierom. ad Marcell.

Origen

Beda in 1. Joh.

Tit. Sacerd. ment is not the real body of Christ and why.

The wicked receive not the cup of Christ

Ambrosius

Augustinus

St. Paul, of receiving unworthily expounded

the manner is, that when the Gospel is read, the King shall stand up with a naked Sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his Sword in defence of the Gospel. But if he himself oppresseth the Gospel, he beareth the Sword against himself; for the Gospel shall turn to his judgment and condemnation. So will Christ so much more extremely punish a man, which knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet notwithstanding will impudently creep into the company of Christian men, and receive the Sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant St. Paul by the unworthy receiving of a Sacrament of Christs body. Wherefore a man may unworthily take the Sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Christ, although he receive not Christs body into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth. But what if I prove that every massing Priest is guilty of the body and blood of Christ?

Custom. I dare say you cannot prove it.

Verity. But if I do prove it, will you believe me?

Custom. I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it. *Confession.* For Priests commonly are confessed before they go to Mass, and how can they then take the Sacrament unworthily?

Verity. Indeed confession, if it be discreetly used, is a laudable custom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience so good as a Sermon; But notwithstanding because it was never commanded of Christ, nor received of the Apostles, nor much spoken of by the old Doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the Sacrament. But how like ye these words of S. Ambrose? *Ambrosius.* *Is indigne sumis, qui aliter sumit quam Christus instituit.* i. He taketh it unworthily, that taketh it otherwise than Christ ordained it.

Custom. This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?

Verity. This will I gather. The massing Priest taketh the Sacrament otherwise than Christ either commanded or taught. Ergo, he taketh it unworthily, and so consequently to his condemnation.

Custom. That is not so, for he doth altogether as Christ commanded him.

Verity. That shall appear. For Christ commanded it to be done in his remembrance; the Priest doth it in remembrance of dead men. Christ took bread, and left it bread; the Priest taketh bread and conjureth it away. Christ took bread and gave thanks; the Priest taketh bread and breatheth upon it. Christ took bread and brake it; the Priest taketh bread and hangeth it up. Christ took bread and dealt it to his Apostles; the Priest, because he is an Apostle himself, taketh bread and eateth it every whit alone. Christ in a Sacrament gave his own body to be eaten in Faith; the Priest for lack of Faith receiveth accidents, and dimensions. Christ gave a Sacrament to strengthen mens Faith; the Priest giveth a sacrifice to redeem mens souls. Christ gave it to be eaten; the Priest giveth it to be worshipped. And to conclude, Christ gave bread; the Priest faith he giveth a God. Here is difference enough between Christ and the Priest. Yet moreover Christ at his Supper spake his words out and in a plain tongue; the Priest speaketh nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he oft times perceiveth not, and much he whispereth lest any poor man should perhaps perceive him. So it cometh to pass, that the Priest knoweth no more what he himself faith, than what he doth. Thus you may see that the Massing Priest receiveth the Sacrament of Christs body far otherwise than ever Christ minded, and so therefore unworthily and to his condemnation. Now if you think your self satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large, that Christs body cannot be eaten of the wicked, which thing must necessarily ensue if the bread were turned into the body of Christ. Christ in the sixth of S. John, speaking of the eating of his body, faith, *He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.* Whereof I gather thus; But sinful men take the Sacrament of their condemnation, and live not for ever; Ergo, in the Sacrament they receive not the body of Christ. Again, Christ faith, *He that eateth me shall live for my sake.* Hereof I conclude thus, but impenitent persons cannot live for Christs sake. Moreover Christs body shall be received, not with the mouth, as

Gregory recordeth, saying, That it is eaten with the teeth of the soul, not of the body, as I have above more largely declared. But wicked and impenitent persons lack Faith; wherefore they cannot eat the body of Christ. Again, Christs body cannot be divided from his spirit; but wicked men have not the spirit of God; Ergo, they have not Christs body. Hereunto agree all the old Writers, affirming constantly that the unfaithful be no meet vessels to receive the body of Christ. S. Augustine faith, *Qui non manet in Christo, & in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio non manducat carnem Christi, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, quamvis tantæ rei mysterium ad judicium suum manducet, ac bibat.* And in the person of Christ he faith likewise, *Qui non manet in me, & in quo ego non maneo, ne se dicat aut existimat manducare corpus meum, aut sanguinem meum bibere.* Ambrose avoweth the same by these words, *Qui discordat a Christo non manducat carnem ejus, nec bibit sanguinem, est tantæ rei sacramentum accipiat.* In like manner writeth Prosper, *Qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem Christi edit, nec sanguinem bibit, est tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suum præsumptum quodæ accipiat.* And therefore S. Augustine faith, *Mali sacramentum habent, rem autem sacramenti non habent.* Thus by the Word of God, by reason, and by the old Fathers it is plain, that sinful men eat not the body of Christ, receive they the Sacrament never so oft. Which thing could not be, if in the Sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Christ.

The Sacrament in holy Scripture is named *Frassio panis*, the breaking of bread; which, to say the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to break, but certain phantasies of white and round. Yet whereas as they with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leavings, and much ado, can scarcely make one God, they have such virtue in their fingers, that at one cross they be able to make twenty Gods; for if they break the Sacrament, every Portion, yea, every mite must needs be a God. After the Apostles time there arose up Hereticks, which said that Christ walking here amongst men bodily upon the Earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and so therewith dimmed mens sight. Against whom the old Fathers used these arguments: Christ increased in growing, fasted, hungered, eat, wept, sweated, was weary, and in conclusion died, and had all other properties of a very body; wherefore he had a body. I will use the same kind of reasoning; If feedeth, it tasteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the little silly mouse taketh it for bread, and so the short, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread, Ergo, it is bread. The old Fathers when there remained any part of the Sacrament more than was spent at the Communion, they used to burn it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the Sacrament that can turn to ashes but only bread (for I think they burned not Christs body to ashes;) Ergo, in the Sacrament there remaineth bread. Henry the Emperor, the sixth of that name, was poisoned in the Host, and Victor the Bishop of Rome in the Chalice. But poison cannot hang in Gods body and blood; wherefore there remaineth Bread and Wine. What needeth many words in a matter so evident? If you demand either Gods word, or the Doctors and the ancient Writers, or your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the Cat, or the Ape, or the Moufe, all these agree in one, and answer together, There is bread. Wherefore if you reject so many and so constant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale, specially being such as will lie for no mans pleasure, I will appeal from you, and take you as no indifferent Judge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I will call the Sacrament itself to record: it crieth unto you, and plainly doth advertise you, what you should think of it: I am, it faith, grated with the teeth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish; I can endure no spice; I canker; I suffer green mould blew mould, red mould; I breed worms; I am kept in a Box for fear of Rats; if you leave me out all night, I shall be devoured before morning, for if the Moufe get me I am gone; I am bread, I am no God; believe them not. Thus crieth the Sacrament daily, and beareth witness it self.

Custom. The Devil on such like reasons; and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you answer: but if it be true that you have said, why is the Sacrament so well of Christ himself, as of his Apostles, and the old Fathers, called the Body of Christ?

Verity.

The Priest taketh the Sacrament unworthily, as Christ ordained, ergo, the Priest taketh it unworthily.

Difference between Christs ordinance and the Priests receiving.

John 6.

[KING] [Edm. 6] Gregory.

Augustine.

Ambrose.

The Sacrament called breaking of bread.

Against Transubstantiation.

Reason proving bread in the Sacrament.

The Sacrament giveth witness that it is bread.

Verity. Because it is no strange thing in Scripture so to speak, as I have declared before. But will you stand to St. Augustine's arbitrement in the matter?

Custom. To no Man sooner.

Verity. St. Augustine in an Epistle to his friend Bonifacius giveth a good cause why the Sacrament, although it be not the Body of Christ, is notwithstanding called the Body of Christ. His words be these: *Si Sacramenta quendam similitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino Sacramenta non essent.* Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque earum rerum nomina accipiunt. Ergo, secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est; Sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est. If Sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be Sacraments, then were they no Sacraments. Of the which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore after a certain manner the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the Blood of Christ is the Blood of Christ, &c. And upon the three and twentieth Psalm he writeth likewise, *Christus quodammodo se ferebat in manibus suis, cum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum;* Christ after a certain manner and fashion, as it were, did bear himself in his own hand, when he said, *This is my Body.* In manner (he saith) and after a fashion, not in very deed. Again, when faithful Men receive the Sacrament, they think not of the Bread, nor mark the Wine, but they look further, and behold the very Body of Christ spread upon the Cross, and his very Blood poured down for their sakes. So in Baptism Men regard not greatly the Water, but account themselves washed with the Blood of Christ. So saith St. Paul, *Whosoever we are that be Baptized, we are washed in the Blood of Christ.* Wherefore to the faithful receivers you may say, That the Water of Baptism is the Blood of Christ, and the Bread and Wine the Body and Blood of Christ: for to them it is no less than if the natures were altered and changed. Which thing you may very well learn of Chrysostom, whose words are these: *Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis consideranda sunt, hoc est, spiritualiter.* Interiores autem oculi, postquam panem vident, creaturas transvolant, neque de illo pane a pistore cocto cogitant, sed de eo qui se dixit panem esse eterna vite: All mysteries must be considered with inward Eyes, that is to say, Spiritually. But the inward Eyes when they see the Bread, they pass over the Creatures, neither do they think of that Bread which is baked of the Baker, but of him which called himself the Bread of Eternal life. For these two causes the Bread and Wine are called the Body and Blood of Christ. Now I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words: *This is my Body.*

Custom. Yet one thing moveth me very much.

Verity. What is that?

Custom. The Doctors and old Writers, Men inspired with the Holy Ghost, have evermore been against your Doctrine; yea, and in these days the wisest Men and best learned call you Hereticks, and your learning Heretic.

Verity. As touching the old Writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the Sacraments, like as every Man ought to do; but whereas they deliver their mind with their right hand, you Custom receive it with the left. For whereas they say, that it is the Body of Christ, and that it must be verily eaten, meaning that it doth effectually lay before the Eyes Christ's Body, and that it is to the faithful Man no less than if it were Christ himself, and that Christ must be eaten in Faith, not torn nor rent with the Teeth: you say that howsoever it be taken, it is Christ's Body, and that there is none other eating but with the mouth.

And that the Fathers meant no other thing than I have said, it shall appear by their words. But as touching the learned and wise Men of these days, I cannot blame them if they call my Doctrine Heretic; for they would condemn all ancient Writers of Heretic, if they were now alive. But I will answer you to them anon. In the mean while mark you how well their learning agreeth. They say, you must follow the Letter, you must stick to the Letter. But Origen saith, *Si secundum litteram sequaris id quod scriptum est (nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis,*

non eris vita in vobis) ea littera occidit, si ye follow after the Letter that which is written (unless ye shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, there shall be no life in you) this Letter killeth. Augustine in the third Book *De Doctrina Christiana*, Principio cavendum est ne figuratam dictionem secundum litteram accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait Apostolus, littera occidit. Cum enim figurate dictum sit accipitur tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur; neque ulla anima mors congruentius appellatur. I. First thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech after the Letter. For thereto pertained that the Apostle saith, The Letter killeth. For when a thing is Spiritually meant, and the same is taken literally as properly spoken, that is a carnal taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the Soul rather than that. And in the same Book he reacheth a Man to know the plain sense from a Figure, saying thus: *Si preceptum loquutus est flagitium jubens, aut beneficentiam vitans, figura est: Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, & biberitis ejus sanguinem, non eris vita in vobis.* Flagitium videtur jubere; Ergo, figura est preceptum passionis Domini esse communicandum, & suaveret in memoria recordandum, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa sit. I. If the commanding speech be such as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech: Unless ye shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and shall drink his Blood, there shall be no life in you: Because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the Passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retain it in our remembrance. In like manner Chrysostom plucketh you from the plain Letter, and the bare words by this saying, *Caro non prodest; hoc est, secundum spiritum verba mea intelligenda sunt.* Quia qui secundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid est autem carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter ut res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita judicanda sunt quae videntur, sed mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt, hoc est, spiritualiter. I. The Flesh profiteth not; that is to say, my words must be taken and expounded after the Spirit. For he that heareth after the Flesh gaineth nothing. Now what is it to understand carnally? To take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be judged as they are seen, but all mysteries must be seen with inward Eyes, that is to say, spiritually. What is so heinous in these days, as to call the Sacrament the Token or the Remembrance of Christ's Body? Yet did the old Writers in manner never call it other. Tertullian in the Fourth Book against the Marcionists, Christus accepit panem, & corpus suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicens, id est, figura corporis mei. Christ took Bread and made it his Body, saying, This is my Body; that is to say, a Figure of my Body. Ambrose upon the Eleventh to the Corinthians, Quia morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memoriam edendo & potando, carnem & sanguinem quae pro nobis oblata sunt significamus; Because we are delivered by the Lords death, in the remembrance of the same by eating and drinking we signify the Body and Blood which were offered up for us. Chrysostom in the Eighty Third Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew, Quando dicunt, unde patet Christum immolatum fuisse? hac adferentes eorum ora conjuvamus. Si enim mortuus Christus non est, cujus Symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est? When they object unto us, and ask, How know you that Christ was offered up? Then alleging these things we stop their mouths. For if Christ did not, then whose sign or token is this Sacrifice? Augustine to Adimantus, Non dubitavit Christus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. Christ doubted not to say, This is my Body, when he gave but a sign of his Body. Augustine upon the Third Psalm, Christus adhibuit Judaeis ad convivium, in quo corporis & sanguinis sui figuram discipulis suis commendavit & tradidit; Christ received Judaei to the Supper, in the which he commanded and delivered a Figure of his Body and Blood unto his Disciples. Rabanus, de institutione clericorum; Quia panis filii Christi corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Because the Bread

signifieth

signifieth

signifieth

signifieth

The cause why the Scripture calleth the Sacrament the Body of Christ, August. B. viij. cap. 3.

August. in 2. fol. 23.

Another cause why the Scripture calleth the Sacrament the Body of Christ, Rom. 6.

Chrys. in 2. fol. 1. cap. 4.

Custom handeth upon authority and common voice.

The right meaning of the Doctors misconstruction of Custom-keepers.

The Doctors how they call the Sacrament the Body of Christ, and why. The words of the Doctors against the Pope's Doctrine. Orig. in Leviti. Item.

Aug. de Doctr. Chry. in 2. fol. 1. cap. 3.

Aug. de Doctr. Chry. in 2. fol. 1. cap. 3.

Chrys. in 2. fol. 1. cap. 4.

Tertullian in 4. fol. 1. cap. 4.

Ambrosius in 1. cor. 11. cap. 1.

Chrys. in 83. fol. 1. cap. 1.

Aug. ad Adimant. in 1. cor. 11. cap. 1.

Aug. in 2. fol. 1. cap. 3.

Rabanus in 1. fol. 1. cap. 1.

strengtheneth the Body, therefore it is aply called Christs Body. And likewise the Wine, because it increaseth Blood in the Fleth, it doth resemble the Blood of Christ. *Drubmarus Monachus in Mathæum, Vinum lasificat, & sanguinem auget, & ideo non inconuenienter per hoc sanguis Christi figuratur.* Wine maketh glad the heart, and increaseth blood; and therefore the blood of Christ is not unaply signified thereby. *Irenæus* witnesseth plainly, That in the Sacrament remaineth Bread and Wine, by these words, *Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens uocationem Dei, iam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duobus rebus constans, terrena, & celestis;* As the earthly Bread receiving the vocation of God, is now no common Bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the one Earthly and the other Heavenly. Here he recordeth that there remaineth in the Sacrament an Earthly nature, which is either Bread or nothing. *Gelasius* writing against *Nestorius* avoweth the same, saying, *In Eucharistia non definit substantia panis, & natura vini. Etenim imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Domini in actione mysteriorum celebratur.* i. In the Eucharist the substance of Bread and nature of the Wine ceaseth not to be: For the Image and similitude of the Body and Blood of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the mysteries. *Chrysostom* in his twentieth Homily upon the Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, preferreth a poor Man before the Sacrament, and calleth him the Body of Christ rather than the other. Whereof I may gather this reason:

Bo- The poor Man is not the natural and real Body of Christ.

car- Every poor member of Christ is the Body of Christ rather than the Sacrament. *Chrysostom*.

do. Ergo, The Sacrament is not the natural and real Body of Christ.

His words are, *Hoc altare ueneratis quoniam in eo propinquit corpus Christi. Eam autem qui reipia corpus est Christi, affectu contumelia, & negligis peruentem;* This Altar thou dost reverence, because the Body of Christ therein is set before thee; but him which is the Body of Christ indeed thou dost spitefully intreat, and dost neglect him ready to perish. *Chrysostom* in the Eleventh Homily upon *Matthew*. *Quod si hac uasa sanctificata ad priuatos usus est transferre periculosum, in quibus non uerum corpus Christi sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur, quanto magis uasa corporis nostri?* If it be so perillous a matter to translae these Sanctified Vessels unto private uses, in the which not the True Body of Christ, but a mystery of the Body of Christ is contained, how much more then these Vessels of our Body? *Athanasius* upon these words: *Qui dixerit uerbum contra filium hominis, scilicet, Ea quæ Christus dicit non sunt carnalia, sed spiritalia. Quid enim comedentibus sufficisset corpus, ut totius mundi fieret alimonia? Sed idcirco meminit Ascensionis filii hominis in calum, ut eos a corporalis cogitatione auelleret.* The words that Christ here speaketh, be not Carnal, but Spiritual. For what Body might have sufficed for all that should eat, to be a nourishment of the whole World? But therefore he maketh mention of the Ascension of the Son of Man into Heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation. *Aug. ad Marcel.* In illis carnalibus uictimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro peccatis nostris erat oblaturus, & sanguinis quem erat essulurus; in isto autem Sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit, & sanguinis, quem pro nobis effudit. In illo ergo sacrificio, quid nobis sit donandum figurate significatur; In hoc autem sacrificio quid nobis donatum sit, euidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis præmuniabatur filius Dei occidendus, in hoc pro impiis annuntiatur occisus. In those carnal Oblations the Fleth of Christ was figured, which he should offer for our sins, and the Blood which he should bestow for us; but in this Sacrifice is the giving of thanks and memorial of the Fleth of Christ, which he hath offered for us, and of the Blood which he hath shed for us. In that Sacrifice therefore is signified figuratively what should be given for us; in this Sacrifice what is given to us is evidently declared. In those Sacrifices the Son of God was before

preached to be slain; in this Sacrifice he is shewed to be slain already for the wicked.

Origines, upon *Matthew* expounding these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, saith, *Panis iste quem Christus corpus suum fatetur esse, uerbum est nutritorium animarum, (id est) The Bread which Christ confesseth to be his Body, is a nutritive word of our Souls.* *Augustinus*: *Nulli aliquatenus dubitandum, nunquamque fidelium corporis & sanguinis Domini tunc esse participem, quando in baptismo membrum efficitur Christi. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non prouidetur, quando in se hoc inuenit quod Sacramentum significat.* No Man ought in any wile to doubt but that every faithful Man is then partaker of the Body and Blood of the Lord, when in Baptism he is made a member of Christ. For he shall not be deprived of the participation and benefit of that Sacrament, when he findeth in himself that thing which the Sacrament doth signifie. *Ambrosius*, *Tanta est uis uerbi, ut panis & uinum maneat quæ sunt, & mutantur in aliud.* Such is the force and strength of the Word, that the Bread and Wine remain the same, as they were, and yet are changed into another thing. For it is not any longer common Bread, but it is turned into a Sacrament; yet notwithstanding there remaineth Bread and Wine. *Tertullianus* writing against an Heretick named *Marcion*, which taught that the Creatures of God, as Fleth, Bread, and Wine, and such like, were naught and uncleanly, *Non abiecit Deus creaturam suam, sed ea representauit corpus suum, God hath not cast away his Creature, but by it he hath represented his Body.* *Origines* upon *Leuiticus*, speaking of the drinking of Christs Blood, saith, *Non sanguinem carnis expetimus, sed sanguinem uerbi, We do not desire the Blood of the Fleth, but the Blood of the Word.* *Ambrosius* called the Sacrament, *Typum corporis Christi, and Basilus Antitypum*, which is as much as to say, as a token, a figure, a remembrance, and example of Christs Body. *Origen* upon the Fourteenth Chapter of *Matthew*, *In isto pane, quod est materiale eiecitur in secessum: id autem quod fit per uerbum Dei pro fidei ratione prodest.* In this Bread that thing which is material passeth through Mans Body; but that which is made by the Word of God, by the means of Faith doth profit. And let perhaps you think that he spake those words of our common Table-Bread, he concludeth the matter himself with these words, *Hæc diximus de pane symbolico.* These things we have spoken of the Mystical Bread. *Augustinus* contra *aduersarium Legis & Prophetarum*, declareth, That it must needs be a figure and a remembrance of the Body of Christ, *Ista secundum sanctæ fidei regulam figurate intelliguntur. Nam aliqui horribilibus uideretur esse humanam carnem uorare quam perimere, & humanum sanguinem potare quam fundere;* These things are understood figuratively, according to the rule of sound and True Faith. For otherwise it seemeth to be more horrible to eat Mans Fleth, than to kill a Man, and more horrible to drink Mans blood, than to shed it. And therefore he saith upon the 58th Psalm, *Non hoc corpus quod uidetis esset manducaturus, nec bibiturus sanguinem quem fundens qui me crucifigens. Sacramentum aliquod uobis trado.* I Ye shall not eat this Body which you see, and drink that Blood which they shall shed that shall Crucifie me; I commend unto you a Sacrament. *Tert.* Aliud a pane corpus Iesus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus, sed ipsum Christi uerum corpus traditum est in crucem, quod panis figura in cena exhibitum est. i. Iesus hath another Body than Bread, for Bread was not given for us, but the very True Body of Christ was given upon the Croſs, which Body was exhibited in the Supper under the figure of Bread. This recordeth *Theodoretus* an ancient Writer, and avoweth, That there is no turning or altering of the Bread in the Sacrament. His words are these, *Symbola uisibilia corporis & sanguinis sui appellatione honorauit, non mutans naturam, sed naturæ addens gratiam.* i. He hath honoured and dignified the visible signs with the name of his Body and of his Blood, not changing the nature, but adding Grace to nature. And in another place, where he maketh a true Christian Man to reason with an Heretick, he giveth to the Heretick this part, to hold with the turning of Bread and Wine into the natural Body and Blood of Christ. The Hereticks words are these, *Sacramenta Domini corporis*

Drubmarus in Math.

Irenæus contra Valentinum, p. 79.

Gelasius.

Chrysostomus, hom. 20. in Epistolam ad Corinthios.

Chrysostomus, in hom. 11. super Mattheum.

Athanasius, in uerbis Basilii. Qui dixerit uerbum in filium hominis.

Augustinus ad Marcellinum.

Anno 1552.

RING 1 Edm. 6

Augustinus in sermone.

Ambrosius.

Tertullianus contra Marcionem.

Origines in Leuitico.

Typum, Antitypum.

Origen super Mattheum, Cap. 14.

Augustinus contra aduersarium Legis & Prophetarum.

Augustinus in Psal. 58.

Tertullianus.

Theodoretus.

[KING] & sanguinis alia sunt ante sacram invocationem; post invocationem vero manentur, & alia sunt; The Sacraments of the Lords Body and Blood before Invocation, are one thing, but after, they are changed and made another. This maketh Theod. to be on the Hereticks part. Then he bringeth forth the true Christian Man, which reprovethe the Heretick for so saying, incidisti in lequeos quos ipse struxeras: Neque enim sancta illa symbola post consecrationem disciunt a natura sua: Manent enim in priori & substantia & figura, etenim oculis videntur & digitis palpari ut ante possunt; Thou art fallen into the snares which thou thy self hast laid. For those self-same holy signs after the Consecration do not go from their nature, for they abide still both in their former substance and figure, and may be both with eyes seen, and felt with hands as before. To the same agreeth well Chrysost. saying, Postquam sanctificatur panis, non amplius appellatur panis, tamenque manent natura panis. i.e. After the Bread is Sanctified, it is called Bread no more, although the nature of the Bread still remain. Hereby you may understand, how and in what sort the old Fathers, how the Primitive and beginning Church, how the Apostles, and how Christ himself took these words, *This is my Body*.

Now to withstand and stoutly to go, not against only ancient Writers, or the Congregation of Christian People, which at that time was not overgrown, no, neither spotted with covetousness and worldly honour, but the Apostles also, and God himself, no doubt: it is great fondness. But what speak I of the old Fathers? It is not long since the Sacrament grew out of his right under standing. For this word *Transubstantiatio*, whereby they signifie the turning of the Bread into the Body of Christ, was never either spoken or heard, or thought of among the ancient Fathers, or in the old Church. But about 500 years past, Pope Nicholas the Second in a Council holden at *Lateranum in Rome*, confirmed that opinion of the changing of Bread, and would have made an Article of Faith, and placed it in the Creed. After which time ensued *Corpus Christi* days, Masses of *Corpus Christi*, reservation of the Sacrament, with Canopies, with Ganopies, with censuring, with kneeling, with worshipping and adoration, and with so much as any Man could devise. For they thought they could not do too much to him after that the Bishop of Rome had allowed him for a God.

But not fully 200 years before that time, when this Doctrine first began to baul, (and yet notwithstanding had not so prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good Men could know the Sacrament to be a Sacrament, and not Christ himself) *Charles the Great*, King of France, and Emperor of Germany, demanded of a great learned Man, whose name was *Bertram*, what he thought of that strange kind of selling down Christ from Heaven, and turning a little gobber of Bread into his natural body. To whom *Bertram* made answer in this wise, *Dicimus quod multa differentia separantur corporis in quo passus est Christus & sanguinis quem in cruce pendens sumpsit, & hoc corpus quod in mysterio passus est Christi quod in a sacramento celebratur. Etenim hoc corpus pignus & species est, illud autem ipse veritas. Apparet ergo quod tam multa differentia separantur, quantum est inter pignus & rem pro qua pignus traditur, & hominem inter imaginem, & rem talem cuius imago est, & quantum inter speciem & veritatem*. This we say; That there is a great difference and separation betwixt the body in the which Christ suffered, and the blood which he shed upon the Cross, and this body which every day is celebrated in the Mystery of the Pasch of Christ. For this body is a pledge and similitude, but the other is the very truth itself. Ergo, it appeareth that these are separated standers by no leiss difference than is between a pledge and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or than is betwixt an Image of a thing and the thing it self whereof the Image is; or than is between the form of a thing, and the verity it self. This wrote *Bertram*, *Druthmarus*, and many other, and yet were never in all their time once reproved of Heretie. This wrote *Johannes Scotus* also, in whose life time Men had not Eyes to espy his Heresies; but about two hundred years after his death he was judged and condemned for an Heretick, and his Books burned, in a Council holden at *Verceil in Lombardy*, in the year of our Lord God 1015. Since which time, even until this day,

although Idoltry had great increase, yet there never wanted some good Men which boldly would profess and set forth the truth, although they were well assured that their worldly reward should be Spight, Malice, Imprisoning, Sword, Fire, and all kinds of torments. Thus I shortly, and in so few words as I could I have declared unto you what Christ meant by these words, *This is my Body*; what the Apostles taught therein, and in what sort they delivered them to their successors in what sense and meaning the holy Fathers and old Writers, and the universal and Catholick Church have ever taken them.

The end and death of King Edward the Sixth.

THUS having discoursed things done and past under the reign of King Edward, such as seemed not unfruitful to be known, we will now draw to the end and death of this blessed King, our young *Josiah*. Who about a year and a half after the death of the Duke of Somerset his Uncle, in the year of our Lord 1553, entering into the seventeenth year of his Age, and the seventh year of his Reiga, in the month of June was taken from us, for our sins no doubt; whom if it had so pleased the good will of the Lord to have spared with longer life not unlike it was, by all conjectures probably to be effected by those his toward and blessed beginnings, but proceeding so as he began, he would have reformed such a Common Wealth here in the Realm of England, as by good cause it might have been said of him that was said in the old time of the noble Emperor *Augustus*, in reformed and advancing the Empire of Rome, *Quam quum ille laterebam* (ut dicebat) *accepit, marmoream reliquit*; Which Empire he received (he said) of Brick, but he left it of fine Marble. But the condition of this Realm, and the customable behaviour of English People (whose property is commonly to abuse the Light of the Gospel when it is offered) deferred no such benefit of so blessed a Reformation, but rather a contrary plague of deordination, such as happened after his reign, as you shall hear, the Lord granting, in the next Queens days that followed.

This then this godly and vertuous King, in the time and month above-mentioned, was cut from us, whose worthy life and virtues have been partly afore-declared. Nevertheless, to leave some Monument of him remaining to testify of the good nature and gentle disposition of that Prince, we will add here, for a remembrance, this little Epistle of his own hand-writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury his God-father, as followeth:

An Epistle of young Prince Edward to the Archbishop of Canterbury his God-father.

Impertio te plurima salute, colendissime Praeful, & charissime Susceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumem. Precor autem ut vixas diu, & providere verbum Dei. Vale. Antil. decimo octavo Junii.

This in Christo filius,
Edwardus Princeps.

Another Epistle of the young Prince Edward to the Archbishop his God-father.

Et si puer sum, colendissime Susceptor, non tamen immerito sum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuae quam indies mihi exhibere studeas. Non exciderunt mihi humanissime tuae litterae prae dei Petri ad me datas. Quibus ante hac responderem nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque deum bene ruminatus pro mea civitate responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector & veneror, optoque ut multos viros annos; tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendum & excolendam esse doceo, quoniam dicens Paulus i Titum 4

1550
1552
The Disce
of King Edward
the Sixth
1553

Ex Shute

Printed by
ward when
he wrote
this epistle
seemed to
be very
young, not
above seven
years of age
lying then
at Amples.

Another E-
pistle of
Prince Edward
to his
God-father

Titum 4

dicis, Pietas ad omnia utilis est. Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos. Hartesfordie 13. Januarii.

Tui studiosissimus,

Edwardus Princeps

The Answer of the Archbishop to Prince Edward's Epistle.

*Attalus ad
eunda, Teren-
ti in Com-
dia.
The answer
of Thomas
Cranmer
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury, to the
Epistle of
Prince Ed.*

NON magis poterat ipsa me servare salus (fili in Christo charissime) quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita absque tua & salute & valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac saluum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse & incolumem sentio. Neque certe absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi quam sunt literae tuae perjurandae mihi. Quae arguunt tibi iuxta adesse & ingen. dignum tanto principe & praeceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinae celestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura: quae cuicumque sit cura, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, Princeps illustissime, & Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te etate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, & similem simili: tum etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa illa tua indoles barbariae vitium contrahat.

The report of the Princes School-master, in commendation of his towardness, to the Archbishop.

*This Letter
seemeth to
be written
by Dr. Cox.*

Right honourable and my singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations: the opportunity of this Messenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter but only to signify unto your Grace, that my Lords Grace your God-son is merry and in health, and of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you and I, and all this Realm ought to think him and take him for a singular gift sent of God, an Imp worthy of such a Father; for whom we are bound, sine intermissione, to render to God most hearty thanks, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost four Books of *Cato* to construe, to parse, and to say without Book. And of his own courage now in the later Book he will needs have at one time fourteen Verses, which he cometh pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, *Satellitium Vivis, Axioms Fabler, and Latin* making, whereof he hath sent your Grace a little talke. Dominus Iesus te diutissime servet.

Thus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy virtues and singular towardness of this godly Imp, King Edward the Sixth, although I have not, neither can infer all things due to his commendation, but am enforced to let pass many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one brief Note I thought not to overslip (something to recreate the weary Reader in such a doleful story) being notified to me by one Mr. Edward Hunderbil, who waiting the same time with the rest of his fellow Prisoners and Men at Arms, as Sir Henry Gates, Mr. Robert Hall, Mr. Henry Harrison, and Mr. Stafforten, heard these words between the King and his Council.

The Relation and Testimony of which person and persons above-named come to this effect, That King Edward the Sixth, the fourth year of his Reign, being then but thirteen years old and upward, at Greenwich upon St. Georges day, when he was come from the Sermon into the Presence-Chamber, there being his Uncle the Duke of *Sauarby*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, with other Lords and Knights of that Order, called, The Order of the Garter, he said to them, *My Lords, I pray you, what Saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?* At which question the other Lords being all astonished, the Lord Treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and said, If it please your Majesty, I did never read in any

History of St. George, but only in *Legenda aurea*, where it is thus set down, *That St. George our with his Sword, and ran the Dragon through with his Spear.* The King when he could not a great while speak for laughing, at length said, *I pray you, my Lord, and what did he with his Sword the while?* That I cannot tell your Majesty, said he. And so an end of that question of good St. George. Now to return again from whence we have digressed, which is to signify some part of the order and manner of his godly departing: As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young King from us, which was the sixth day of July, the year above-said, about three hours before his death, this godly Child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none to have heard him, made this Prayer which followeth:

The Prayer of King Edward before his death.

LORD God deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: bowbetti noi my will, but thy will be done: Lord I commit my spirit to thee, Ob Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosen sake I end me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God blest thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God save thy chosen people of England. Ob my Lord God, defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy Name, for thy Son Jesus Christs sake.

*The Kings
Prayer at
his death.*

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, *Are ye so nigh?* I thought ye had been further off. Then Dr. Owen said, We heard you speak to your self, but what you said we know not. He then (after his fashion smilingly) said, I was praying to God. The last words of his pangs were these, *I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit.* And thus he yielded up the ghost, leaving a woful kingdom behind unto his Sister. Albeit he in his will had excluded his Sister Mary from the succession of the Crown, because of her corrupt Religion: yet the Plague, which God had destinate unto this sinful Realm, could not so be avoided, but that she, being the elder Daughter to King Henry, succeeded in possession of the Crown. Of whose dreadful and bloody regiment it remaineth now consequently to discourse.

This briefly may suffice to understand, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the Lady Mary, by the King and his Council, and also by Bishop Ridley, yet would she not be reclaimed from her own singular opinion fixed upon custom, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of verity. The which set Will of the said Lady Mary, both this young King and also his Father King Henry before him right well perceiving and considering, they were both much displeased against her: Inasmuch that not only her Brother did utterly sequester her in his Will, but also her own Father, considering her inclination, conceived such heart against her, that for a great space he did seclude her from the title of Princess, yea and seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceed further with her (as it is reported) had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer the Archbishop reconciled the King again to favour and pardon his own Daughter. For the better understanding whereof, by these her own Letters composed out of her own hand-writing, which I have to shew, something may be perceived, and more peradventure may be guessed. The words out of her own hand-writing be these. And first her Letter to King Henry her Father here followeth:

A Letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry her Father.

IN my most humble wise I beseech your Grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised, that this morning my Lord my Chamberlain came and shewed me, that he had received a Letter from Sir W. Paulet Controller of your House. The effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the Castle of Hextford, Whereupon I desired him to see the same Letter, which he shewed me. Wherein was written that the Lady Mary the Kings Daughter should remove to the place before-said, leaving

*Lady Mary
writeth to
King Henry
her Father.*

*The order
and time of
the Kings
departures.*

*{ Anno }
1553 }*

*The Lady
Mary wid-
ded to
Cathart.*

*The Lady
Mary in
displeasure
both with
her Brother
and Father.*

KING leaving out in the same the name of Princeſſe. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, truſting verily that your Grace was not privy to the ſame Letter, as concerning the leaving out of the name of Princeſſe, for as much as I doubt not in your goodneſſe, but your Grace doth take me for your lawfull Daughter, born in true Matrimony. Wherefore if I ſhould agree to the contrary, I ſhould in my Conſcience run in the diſpleaſure of God, which I hope aſſuredly your Grace would not that I ſo ſhould. And in all other things your Grace ſhall have me always as humble and obedient a Daughter and Handmaid as ever was Child to the Father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his moſt holy truſtion, with much honour, and long life to his pleaſure. Written at your Mannor of Beaulieu, the ſecond day of October,

By your humble Daughter,

Mary, Princeſſe.

Proteſtation of the Lady Mary to certain Lords ſent by the King her Father, with certain requeſts unto her.

The proteſtation of Lady Mary.

MY Lords, as touching my removing to Hatfield I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his Grace will appoint me. But I proteſt before you and all other that be here preſent, that my Conſcience will in no wiſe ſuffer me to take any other than my ſelf for the Kings Lawfull Daughter, born in true Matrimony, or Princeſſe, and that I will never willingly and wittingly ſay or do whereby any perſon might take occaſion to think that I agree to the contrary. Nor of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my Judge, but that, if I ſhould ſay or do otherwise, I ſhould in my Conſcience ſlander the Deed of our Mother holy Church, and the Pope, who is the Judge in this matter, and none other, and alſo diſhonour the King my Father, the Queen my Mother, and ſhall confeſs my ſelf a Baſtard, which God defend that I ſhould do, ſeeing the Pope hath not ſo declared it by his ſentence Definitive; for to his Judgment I ſubmit me.

As you have heard ſome part already of the ſtout courage of the Lady Mary toward her Father, and alſo by her Letters no leſs was declared toward King Edward her Brother and other of his Council, as well may appear by the Letters above ſpecified between the King her Brother and his Council: So now let us infer ſomewhat likewiſe of the ſtout talk and demeanour of the ſaid Lady Mary toward Doctour Ridley Biſhop of London, who gently coming to her of mee good will, had this communication with her, and ſhe with him, as here followeth:

About the Eighth of September, 1552, Dr. Ridley then Biſhop of London, lying at his Houſe at Hadham in Hertfordſhire, went to viſit the Lady Mary then lying at Hunſden, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her Officers, till it was almoſt Eleven of the Clock, about which time the ſaid Lady Mary came forth into her Chamber of Prefence, and then the ſaid Biſhop there ſaluted her Grace, and ſaid, That he was come to do this duty to her Grace. Then ſhe thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleaſantly, and ſaid, That ſhe knew him

in the Court when he was Chaplain to her Father, and could well remember a Sermon that he made before King Henry her Father, at the Marriage of any Lady Chriſten that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown, &c. and ſo diſmiſſed him to Dine with her Officers.

After Dinner was done, the Biſhop being called for by the ſaid Lady Mary, reſorted again to her Grace, between whom this communication was; ſuit the Biſhop began in manner as followeth:

Biſhop. Madam, I came not only to do my duty to ſee your Grace, but alſo to offer my ſelf to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will pleaſe you to hear me. At this her countenance changed, and, after ſilence for a ſpace, the

answered thus: **Mary.** My Lord, as for this laſt matter I pray you make the answer to it your ſelf.

Biſhop. Madam, conſidering mine Office and Calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have ſaid) to this matter your ſelf; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I muſt make you answer, this ſhall be your answer; the door of the Parliſh-Church adjoining ſhall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you liſt; but neither I nor any of mine ſhall hear you.

Biſhop. Madam, I truſt you will not reſuſe Gods Word.

Mary. I cannot tell what ye call Gods Word; that is not Gods Word now, that was Gods Word in my Fathers days.

Biſhop. Gods Word is all one in all times, but hath been better underſtood and practiſed in ſome Ages than in other.

Mary. You durſt not for your ears have avouched that for Gods Word in my Fathers days, that now you do. And as for your new Books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do.

And after many bitter Words againſt the form of Religion then eſtabliſhed, and againſt the Government of the Realm, and the Laws made in the young years of her Brother, which ſhe ſaid ſhe was not bound to obey till her Brother came to perfect Age, and then ſhe affirmed ſhe would obey them; ſhe asked the Biſhop whether he were one of the Council: He answered, No. You might well enough, ſaid ſhe, as the Council goeth now a days.

And ſo ſhe concluded with theſe words: My Lord, for your gentleneſſe to come and ſee me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.

Then the ſaid Biſhop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was deſired to drink. And after he had drunk, he pauſed a while looking very ſadly, and ſuddenly brake out into theſe words: Surely I have done amiſs. Why ſo? quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. For I have drunk (ſaid he) in that place where Gods word offered hath been reſuſed: where, as if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have taken off the duſt of my Shoes for a teſtimony againſt this Houſe. Theſe words were by the ſaid Biſhop ſpoken with ſuch a vehemency, that ſome of the hearers afterward confeſſed their Hair to ſtand upright on their Heads. This done, the ſaid Biſhop departed, and ſo returned to his Houſe. Teſtified by a certain reverend perſonage yet alive, being then the Biſhops Chaplain.

Dr. Ridley offered to preach before the Lady Mary.

Lady Mary reſuſeth to hear Biſhop Ridley to preach before her.

It is like that was perſuaded by articles and blind propoſitions, that outward ſhould not live ſo long.

Dr. Ridley repeated to have drunk there where Gods Word was reſuſed.

Talk between Lady Mary and Dr. Ridley.

¶ And thus making an end of this Ninth Book, touching the Story and Reign of King Edward, and having alſo ſomewhat ſaid before of the nature and diſpoſition of the Lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next Book following; we intend, the Grace of God aſſiſting us therein, now further to proceed in deſcribing the acts and proceedings of the ſaid Lady Mary, coming now to be Queen, and advanced, next after this godly King Edward, to the Crown of this Realm of England.

A T A B L E O F T A B L E S,

Shewing to a whole Alphabet of sundry sorts of Readers; To each kind a particular Catalogue of Instances: Giving him an account, wherein the reading of this great Book of MARTYRS may abundantly give contentment to his vein of Study, and recompence his pains.

The References of which Table let the Reader thus understand,

v. volume.	}	ch. chapter.	}
p. page.	}	ver. verse.	}
c. column.	}		}

Understand, studious Reader (what is not considered by most) that this large Book of MARTYRS, is not a Legend of Fables, nor a Chaos-rude-heap of worthless rubbish; but Bibliotheca literarum & literatorum, A Library of learning and learned mens Works, making this Book, for the prime and choice Subject thereof, justly to be esteemed (as the learned confess) the most of all human pen'd Books to the sacred Bible; as may appear in regard either of the Form or Matter thereof.

		Methodical; keeping time, as so great a vastness of Story would permit, in the Histories of many Kingdoms besides our own.
		Certain in the proof; from eye-witnesses intent upon the things in the doing; and ancient Records, legally drawn, safely preserved, and faithfully produced.
For Form, it is	{	Well qualified for file and expression; keeping in <i>medio dicendi genere</i> , a middle strain, yet varying the phrase of speech to the matter in hand. When this Book speaks otherwise, it speaks the words of another man, either relating or acting the matter of that Story. And then what is wanting in our best phrase, is recompensed there with certainty, patheticalness, and pleasure of hearing the Dialects of plain and ancient times and men.
		Rich in variety; ever and anon, after a more serious narration, fetching the Readers spirits fresh again (like the witty Comedian) with a sudden winding in, not impertinently, of some cheerful discourse.
For Matter,	{	As a Library it abounds with Treatises, each Page mostly being as a several Book; yea, one Leaf many times as a Shelf of Authors, for most points and persons: We will give but a taste in some few particulars, in an Alphabetical order.

A.

A Description of true <i>Antiquity</i> out of <i>Irenaeus</i> . Volume 3. Page 34. Column 2:									
Antiquaries may here read	{	Ancient Records of	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%; text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;"> Words, </td> <td style="width: 5%; text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;"> { </td> <td style="width: 80%; padding-left: 10px;"> Proper names. <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px; margin-top: 5px;"> The divers writing of the Names of the Ancient Saxon Kings of England, Vol. 1. p. 121, 122. The acceptions of ancient names of places, as <i>Dorobernia</i> and <i>Canterbury</i> are taken for one. Vol. 1. p. 195. c. 2. with many like. The Names of all that were at the Conquest of England. Vol. 1. p. 204, 205. </div> </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;"> Common Names, </td> <td style="text-align: center; vertical-align: middle;"> { </td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px; margin-top: 5px;"> The different Names of Reproach given to true Christians in divers Countries: As about <i>Lyons</i> they are called <i>The poor People of Lyons</i>; In the borders of <i>Sarmatia</i>, <i>Livonia</i>, and these <i>Northern Parts</i>, they have been called <i>Lollards</i>; In <i>Flanders</i> and <i>Artois</i>, <i>Turrelupins</i>; In <i>Dolphin</i>, <i>Chagnards</i>; but most commonly <i>Waldos</i>. Volume 2. Page 147. col. 2. </div> </td> </tr> </table>	Words,	{	Proper names. <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px; margin-top: 5px;"> The divers writing of the Names of the Ancient Saxon Kings of England, Vol. 1. p. 121, 122. The acceptions of ancient names of places, as <i>Dorobernia</i> and <i>Canterbury</i> are taken for one. Vol. 1. p. 195. c. 2. with many like. The Names of all that were at the Conquest of England. Vol. 1. p. 204, 205. </div>	Common Names,	{	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px; margin-top: 5px;"> The different Names of Reproach given to true Christians in divers Countries: As about <i>Lyons</i> they are called <i>The poor People of Lyons</i>; In the borders of <i>Sarmatia</i>, <i>Livonia</i>, and these <i>Northern Parts</i>, they have been called <i>Lollards</i>; In <i>Flanders</i> and <i>Artois</i>, <i>Turrelupins</i>; In <i>Dolphin</i>, <i>Chagnards</i>; but most commonly <i>Waldos</i>. Volume 2. Page 147. col. 2. </div>
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 2 TIM.
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	1 PETER.	
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IF thou canst not (Christian Reader) remember the Quotations of
Book, Chapter and Verse of some places whose Exposition thou
wouldst find, but canst remember the words; then have recourse to the In-
dex or Table at the later end of the Book, where in the Alphabet of the
more principal words of sentences, thou shalt find divers places of more spe-
cial controversie and difficulty noted, where their Expositions may be
found in this Book of Martyrs.

E.

Ecclesiastical persons may read History in
this Book, not only of
{

Ecclesiastical Officers of most kinds throughout the Book;
Ecclesiastical Acts of the Archbishops and Bishops in sundry Dioces-
ces:
But also a most ample and pithy discussing of the bounds of *Eccle-*
siastical Authority in a Parliament of France. Vol.1. p.482. c.1.

F.

Farmers may here meet with whole some Country Divinity, in a stile suitable to their place, in the beginning of the
First and Third Volumes; and in particular, in the Complaint or Prayer of the *Plough-man*. Vol.1. pag. 453.
col. 1.

G.

Geographers
may here
{

Read de-
scriptions
{

Of *Englands* { Monarchy, Vol.1. p.119. c.2.
{ An Heptarchy of seven *Saxon* Kingdoms, Vol.1. p. 131.
{ Octarchy,
{ One Kingdom of *British* Kings. Vol.1. p.125. c.1.
Of many other Kingdoms. As Vol.1. p. 837, to 852.
View Tables of the Countreies, *Asia* the less, Vol.1. p.863.
tries, Provinces and King-
doms of { *Europe*, Vol.1. p.864.
{ *Africa*, Vol.1. p.864.
Peruse a Map of the *Saxonish* Heptarchy of this Kingdom in former times, Vol.1. p.120.

H.

Heraults may here find not only the History,
but also the Genealogy of
{

Nineteen *Saxon* Monarchs, Vol.1. p.150.
Of *Edward* the fourth, Vol.1. p.809, 810.
And of many more Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Earls, Barons, through-
out the first Volume.

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Laodicean	Vol. 1. p. 863. See the Margent.
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Roman	Vol. 1. p. 849.
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Spaniſh	Of the Commonwealth, the Empire and Emperors. Vol. 1. p. 33, to 295.
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York-Daniſh	Vol. 1. p. 864.
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	Vol. 1. p. 156.
	Vol. 1. p. 864.

I.

Juſtices have } A multitude of Legal Preſidents and proceedings ſet before their eyes to very good purpoſe, in the
here } ſecond and third Volume.
} Excellent Exhortations of *Edward* the Sixth, to them to help in Reformation of Religion, Volume 2.

K.

Kings of divers ages and times, } Learned King *Alured*, alias *Alfred*, vol. 1. p. 197. c. 2.
do here ſo ſhine with their } Prudent King *Henry* the Second, choſen Arbitr between Kings. Vol. 1. p. 252. c. 2.
Diadems of excellent Go- } Warlike King *Henry* the Fifth. V. 1. p. 635. c. 1.
vernment and Crowns of } Anti-Pope King *Henry* the Eighth. v. 2. p. 2, &c.
due praiſe, that they allure } Chriſtian King *Lucius*. V. 1. p. 194. c. 1.
the eyes of ſucceſſors in fu- } Preaching King *Oſwald*. V. 1. p. 135. c. 1.
ture ages to look hitherward } Pious and devout King *Edward* the Sixth. Vol. 1. p. 748.

L.

Lawyers may read } A parallel between *Jews* and other Kingdoms Judicial Laws. Vol. 1. pag. 597:
here } See the Margent.
} Summaries of ſeveral Kings Statute-Laws, and Notes of their Parliaments. *Hen.*
} 4. Vol. 1. p. 634.
} *Rich.* 2. v. 1. p. 584.
} When there was no Law to burn men for opinions. v. 1. p. 502. c. 2.
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Lawyers may read here,	Common Law,	Some cases disputed, Set in the <i>Cassius</i> . Articles of <i>Magna Charta</i> , and touching <i>Charta Foresta</i> . Vol. 1. p. 398. c. 1.
	Civil Law. Vol. 1. 409. c. 1. 417. c. 1.	
	Ecclesiastical Laws in sundry Propositions, vol. 1. p. 166.	
	Eight Kings Ecclesiastical Laws whereby the Church was governed before the Conquest. vol. 1. 883; 884.	
Linguists shall meet with in this History, for their studies,	Canon Law, delivered in	The Apostles Canons, as they call them, vol. 1. p. 12. 17. c. 1. Popes Canons, a censure of them, vol. 2. p. 349. c. 2.
	French Quotations, vol. 2. p. 336, c. 2. with others of like kind.	
	Hebrew derivations	נחמ, Deut. 16. 10. and observations נחמ, Levit. 6. 15. from מ. What it signifies, vol. 2. p. 380.
	Dutch Etymologies, vol. 3. p. 1. c. 2.	
	Greek readings, vol. 1. p. 18. c. 2. Διδ το βασιλευς τω πηλινωννυ. vol. 1. p. 12. πηλινω απολυετς; with abundant more in that Page, &c.	
	Writings in	Saxon, vol. 2. p. 376, 378. Persian Tongue, vol. 1. p. 874. c. 2.

M.

Merchants may here find a rare example of one that was a Martyr as well as a Merchant, merchandising as well for godliness as gain, for goodness as well as goods, in that Mirour of Piety and Patience, *William Gardiner*, suffering torment to death for Christ in *Portugal*. In *Edw. the 6th*. reign.

N.

Nobility in { Duke *Humfry*, vol. 1. p. 801, &c.
Lord *Cromwel* Earl of *Essex*, vol. 2. p. 419. } in this History shines to their future posterity.
Lord *Cobham*, vol. 1. 732. and others.

O.

Old age may here with its dim eyes see plain patterns to lead him in the plain way; and encourage him, seeing he is so high his end, rather to be dissolved (if he be called unto it) in flames of fire to be with Christ, then in this last period of his life to deny him, and by and by at his death be denied Christ, Heaven; and any thing else but only Hell and damnation.

One lively example is, vol. 3. p. 38. col. 1. Compare p. 359. col. 2. p. 375. c. 2.
Another, vol. 1. 829. c. 2.
More, vol. 3. p. 587. c. 2.
Phoebus a very old man suffers for Christ, vol. 1. 52. c. 1.
Polycarpus, who coming to the place of Martyrdom to die for Christ, and being perswaded to turn, and he should be discharged; answered, *Eighty six years have I been Christ's servant, and he never yet hurt me, how then may I now speak evil of him which hath thus preserved me?* vol. 1. p. 47.

P.

Politicians may be hence furnished with many observations touching matters of State and Government of Commonwealths, not only laid down in the rule, but proved in the practices; For example,
Thirty two Emperors lives and deaths exemplifie the issue of too much severity and cruelty in Government. vol. 1. 34. 35. Count the Margent.
Decay of Religion decays a Commonwealth. vol. 1. p. 112. c. 2. overthrows the Government, as may be seen in *Richard* the Second. vol. 1. p. 580. c. 2. Compare p. 585. c. 1.
Greatness of a State without true Empire of Government is a weakness to the same, as is plain in the *Turkish* Dominions, by the story of them.
The mischief of several factions in a State, exemplified in *Henry* the Eighth his Government. vol. 2. throughout. A particular instance, see vol. 2. pag. 474.
Dissension in a Kingdom opens the door to foreign invasion; see in the example of Christians thus letting in the *Turk*, vol. 1. 827. c. 1.
The *Roman* Empire, and ruined by refusing Christ, vol. 1. pag. 34. c. 2. 35. c. 1.
The *Jewish* Nation
The many changes of State, and the causes of them may be seen in this story more than in most; as in the coming in of *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Scots*, *Picts*; as also in *Richard* the Second his Reign, *Henry* the Sixth, &c.

Q.

Queen *Katharine*, { Vol. 2. p. 491. c. 1. 493.
Queen *Jane*, { Vol. 3. p. 11. c. 1.
Queen *Elizabeth*, { Vol. 3. p. 32. c. 2. p. 83. c. 2. p. 792. } Make this story worthy to be read of the Royal eyes of that Sex.

A Table of Tables.

R.

Registers of ancient Records may here meet with abundance of those throughout the History.

S.

Soldiers may here behold the fights	Of the <i>Turks</i> at <i>Constantinople</i> . Vol. 1. p. 838. c.2.	{	In all which see notable	{	Stratagems Valour.
	Of the <i>French</i> against the <i>Pope</i> . vol. 1. p. 830. c.1.				
	Of the <i>Germans</i> <i>Zisca</i> , vol. 1. 733. c.2.				
	Of the <i>English</i> throughout the History, with <i>Saxons, Danes, Scots, Picts, Normans</i> , &c.				
	Of the <i>Grecian Scanderbeum</i> against the <i>Turk</i> , vol. 1. p. 840. c. 1. vol. 1. p. 844. c.2.				

T.

Tradesmen of most forts shall find here rare patterns of piety of life, and patience in suffering death for Christ in men of their own calling, throughout the third Volume.

V.

Virgins may behold here for their instruction mirrors	Of valour in the Maid that defended <i>Lesbos</i> against the <i>Turks</i> , when the men had even given over defending it. Vol. 1. p. 863. c.2.	{
	Of patience and meekness, in <i>Rose Allen</i> a Maid, quietly suffering her hand to be burned for Christ, vol. 3. p. 698.	
	Of courageous dying for Christ, in the admirable example of <i>Blandina</i> , vol. 1. p. 52. c.2.	

W.

Women have here rare Examples	Of Chastity in that Nobleman's Wife of <i>Rome</i> , who would rather die than be defiled with lustful <i>Maxentius</i> , Vol. 1. p. 93. c.2.	{
	Of Martyrdom, in <i>Symphorissa</i> and her seven Children, cruelly martyred for Christ, vol. 1. p. 45. c.1. Of <i>Sophia</i> and her three Children martyred, vol. 1. 45. c.1.	
	In many more women, sometimes mother and daughter embracing flames for Christ, in the third Volume.	

Y.

Young-men may here learn to know the God of their Fathers, to remember their Creator, yea Redeemer in the days of their youth, and in their youth to suffer for him that suffered for them in the flower of his age.

In the example of	That famous young man, Martyr <i>Germanicus</i> , vol. 1. p. 48. c.2.	{
	Of <i>Origen</i> a youth, that vehemently desired Martyrdom, vol. 1. p. 59. c.2.	
	Of <i>Pamens</i> , of six fifteen years old, admirably suffering for Christ, Volum. 1. p. 53. c. 1. A child Martyr, vol. 1. p. 59. c. 2.	

THUS of multitudes of instances we have given but a very few, wherein this University of godly Learning may profit any ingenious Reader; no such can come amiss, but that he may go away the better from this Book after his reading it, if himself be not in fault.

Here is in this Book	To settle the judgment in the truth, thousands that have subscribed to it in blood.	{
	To win the affections, the most patheticall speeches of dying Saints:	
	Here are files and ranks of Christian Soldiers to muster thee in Christ's battel.	
	Here is zeal burning till it be in flames of fire.	
	To encourage practise Here is godliness, which when it is scoffed reviles not, when it is burned cries not.	
	Here is Devotion praying sweetly, <i>In Constantine</i> Emperour. <i>Luther</i> . <i>Lady Jane</i> , and many others:	

A Chro^m

A
CHRONOLOGY
 OF
 Master FOX his Martyrology.

An Advertisement to the Reader,

THAT here is presented unto him a compendious Chronological Table of the most remarkable things contained in the whole Book of Martyrs, (according as they are set down after Master Fox his Method and Computation) digesting them into several Columes; The

First and smaller Colume making report of time.

Four next larger of persons.

Sixth and largest of matters, concisely anatomizing the whole body of the story into the master veins, arteries and sinews.

Seventh, last and least, pointing to the place in the large Volumes, where the Contents of all the other Columes are to be found, and filled up with flesh, blood and spirits of larger Discourses.

To which we have added this brief Chronological Digest, that it may serve the studious Reader, either as a perspective, whereby to view what ground he is to travel, and where the several turnings are, before he begins to read; or as a Register or Note-book, whereby to recollect his thoughts and observations after so long a travel in reading so voluminous a Work: And at all times to be both as a Map of the limits, a Skeleton of the limbs, and Pourtraiture of the face of so rare a Story and a right Martyr; as also a Methodical Index to find and fetch in the main bulk of any special piece of the Story (out of the heap of prolix circumstances wherein it is covered) when it is to be remembered or perused. In all which thus projected, and with extraordinary care and pains effected, if any Reader from his knowledge of other Histories, conceive that many touches of additions or alterations of things, names or times, would have done well; let him remember that Master Fox his Book of Martyrs was the Copy set before the Pen to write after, both for matter and method. As also, that the scope of the Pen-man was, to make this Model a Key to the same; so that if we had any ways set this and the great Volume at difference and odds, we had set the Son against the Father, many references of this to that would have misreported things, and the whole Project had been ruined. This Child then, though a tender little weak one, comes abroad under the Parents Wing; and is modestly bold to speak and go on this way, because in its word it doth (as we speak) say after the Father; *Sequiturque patrem quamvis non passibus equis*, and follows the Fathers footsteps, though it cannot stride so wide. The hope is that that Nail will not score this Paper with dislike, whose Finger never felt the pains of carrying the Pen through so troublesome a business; and that the exercised hand in penning things of this nature will be merciful in censuring this *Chronographizing* of Master Fox his Story; whose parts, though belonging to the same time, are oft so far dispersed, and the same things at sundry times so frequently repeated, that it could not but be a great labour to gather them into times Method.

Farewell

First,

A Chronology.

<i>Anno Christi</i>	<i>Emper. of Rome, Greece, France, and Germany.</i>	<i>Bishops and Popes of Rome.</i>	<i>Kings of England</i>	<i>Archbishops of Canterbury.</i>		<i>Vol. I. Page</i>
					<i>First, The Author premiseth.</i>	
					<p>A Preface declaring the difference of <i>Rome</i> from <i>Rome</i>; that Church being now revolted from what she was, in</p> <p>First, Life and Conversation, in</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prophaneness; As, simony, murders, poisonings of each other. 2. Omission of ministerial duties, as of preaching, &c. 3. Schisms and factions, to the number of eighteen since Pope <i>Damasen</i>. 4. Covetous injustice to get money, by fifteen unlawful practices, <i>Viz.</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Annats and vacancies of Archbishopsricks, Bishopsricks, Abbacies, and spiritual places. 2. Retaining of other livings, besides that the incumbent now pays for. 3. New Annats upon change of the incumbents. 4. Preventions of Benefices before the fall. 5. Resignations upon favour. 6. Commendams. 7. Compositions with them that are non-resident, attending at Court. 8. Dispensations for any condition or sin. 9. Exemptions and Privileges, and the continuations of them. 10. Mandats to the Ordinaries. 11. Penitentiaries and Absolutions from the Pope. 12. Pardons and Indulgences. 13. Making Notaries and Protonotaries, &c. 14. Bulls and Commissions for new foundations. 15. Giving the Pall to Archbishops newly elected. <p>Secondly, Jurisdiction and Power, in</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Elections of Bishops and such Offices. For whereas in the Apostles days, the Apostles with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers: as <i>James</i> was made Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i> by the Apostles, &c. as may be seen in the 4th Page of this Volume. After in the increase of the Church, the Elections of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergy and the People, with the consent of the chief Magistrate of the place, and thus it continued till <i>Constantine</i> the fourth Emperor, and after: But when <i>Alexander</i> the second came, he was chosen without the Emperor, and after him <i>Hildebrand</i> and his followers ordered the matter, that first the Emperor, secondly the Lay-people, lastly, the Clergy, for the most part were excluded. 2. Judiciary Power. For whereas in the Primitive times the Bishops debated all causes of Faith only by Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiastical Discipline by the Canons of ancient Councils: Now Scriptures and Councils are set aside, and all things are determined by the Popes new Decretals in his Canon Law. 3. In Collation of all Ecclesiastical Promotions. For whereas anciently, according to sacred Councils, the holy Fathers, and the common Law, Bishops, Doctors, Patrons, &c. might bestow the Benefices, &c. in their own Precinct, now the <i>Romish</i> Church inroadeth upon, and getteth all into her own hands and power. 4. Binding and loosing. In which what the Scripture gives generally to all the Church, <i>Rome</i> arrogates to her self, and she only will alone have the Keys. Whereas again, the Scriptures give authority to no Church in some things, there <i>Rome</i> will enlarge her self, and fit the wards of her Keys, so as she will unlock and lock those things which never came into Gods mind to allow. As, to loose and discharge Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance to their Prince; and any man from Perjury for Money; and to bind with Excommunication persons for petty matters, as breaking Parks, not ringing Bells, &c. 5. Secular power over Emperors, Kings and Civil Magistracy whatsoever, to excommunicate depose, &c. and put in others; making all subject to him. Whereas it was not so from the beginning, no not of later times; but <i>Gregorius Magnus</i> was subject to <i>Mauricius</i>, and to <i>Phocas</i> though a wicked Emperor. <p>3. The Titles and Stile of the Bishops of <i>Rome</i>. Anciently the word Pope was common to all Bishops (as it is common in signification, coming of <i>pater</i>, that is, Father.) Saint <i>Austin</i> being called Pope of the Council of <i>Africa</i>; <i>Serome</i> so called of <i>Boniface</i>, and <i>Cyprian</i> of others. And the highest Bishops anciently were not called more than Patriarchs (as were four so called) or Archbishops and Metropolitans; but now the Pope will have the name</p>	<p>3. c. 1.</p> <p>4. c. 1.</p> <p>5.</p> <p>7^a</p> <p>9.</p>

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	name Pope peculiar to himself; with addition of the high Titles of Vicar-General, Vicar of Christ, Universal Bishop, Head of the Universal Church, Prince of Priests, Bishop of the World, A Neither-God-nor-man, but a thing between both: Against which arrogancy is,	Vol. I. Page.
					1. The ancient title of the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> .	10.
					2. The Act of the <i>Nicene</i> Council against carrying ca- sues to <i>Rome</i> , and their five reasons.	11.
					3. Act of the Synod of <i>Milevisan</i> , against Appeals to <i>Rome</i> .	12.
					4. The Exposition of the name head-Bishop.	
					5. How the name Universal Bishop did rise and stand at <i>Constantinople</i> .	13.
				shew'd.	6. The name Bishop of Bishops forbidden by <i>Cyprian</i> .	
					7. <i>Gregory</i> his refusal of the name Universal Bishop.	14.
					8. Objections for the name Universal Bishop, answered.	
					9. Arguments proving the equality of the Apostles.	15.
					10. Answer to arguments for <i>Peters</i> Supremacy over the Apostles.	16.
					11. Certain demands, which answered, overthrow <i>Peters</i> Supremacy.	19.
					12. Thirteen causes of the <i>Roman</i> Bishops coming to this height.	20.
					4. Doctrine, For <i>Paul</i> the Apostle, and <i>Peters</i> Successor flatly differ in nine- teen summary points, <i>viz.</i> touching Justification, Merit, strength of na- ture, and mans will, distinguishing of Law and Gospel, distinguishing the righteousness of God and of us, Traditions, subtil speculations, mans be- ing in the first and second <i>Adam</i> , imputation of the first and second <i>Adams</i> condition to man, the glory of a mans condition in Christ, differ- ence of days, difference of meats, limitation of marriage, sacrifice for sin, the holy Communion, the number of the Sacraments, what language to be used in the Church, obedience to Kings; the armour of the Church. In all which whosoever knows Saint <i>Pauls</i> judgment, let him suppose the clear contrary opinion, and that is the tenet of the Church of <i>Rome</i> ; the several differences may be coched into this one; <i>Paul</i> advanceth Christ, and casteth down man: The Church of <i>Rome</i> casteth down Christ, and advanceth man.	22.
1. 27.	Angustus Cesar.	Cunobell- inus, alias Cimbeli- nus			Secondly, The Author of this History comes to the <i>Body of the Story</i> , That Christ is rejected, and crucified by the <i>Jews</i> , choosing <i>Cesar</i> for their King in the seventeenth year of that <i>Tiberius</i> .	33.
33.			Gulderius		Gods judgment on the <i>Jews</i> for it.	
					<i>Tiberius</i> Cesar hearing of Christs Miracles, Resurrection and Ascension, moves the Senate to receive and adore Christ as God.	
					The Senate of <i>Rome</i> refuseth to receive Christ for God, because contrary to the Law of the <i>Romans</i> (as they said) he was received for God, before the <i>Romans</i> decreed the same. This <i>Tiberius</i> lived six years after Christs Passion.	
					Gods judgment on the City of <i>Rome</i> for refusal of Christ, their Emperors turning extreme Tyrants against them, almost to their utter subversion. And for three hundred years after Christ, in which time were thirty two Emperors, was there scarce one Emperor but came to an ill end.	
					<i>Tiberius</i> and his Tyranny defcrib'd. By whom he was executed.	35.
					Gods judgment on <i>Pilate</i> that condemned Christ; which <i>Pilate</i> was depo- sed from his place, banished, and at length he slew himself.	
					The stoning of <i>Stephen</i> the Proto-martyr, at which <i>Paul</i> was a persecuting agent. This day (saith <i>Dorotheus</i>) suffered also <i>Nicanor</i> one of the seven Deacons, with 2000 Christians more.	35.
					<i>Paul</i> is Converted.	
					<i>Tiberius</i> Cesar having reigned twenty three years dies, after whom succeed- eth C. Cesar <i>Caligula</i> : commanding his Image to be set up in the Tem- ple of <i>Hierusalem</i> ; which was the beginning of The abomination of de- solation to stand in the Holy place. He took the <i>Romans</i> wives violently from them; and having deflowred three of his own sisters, banished them. By this C. Cesar <i>Caligula</i> ,	
					<i>Herod</i> that mocked Christ, and murdered <i>John the Baptis</i> t, was banished, and dies miserably.	
					<i>Caiaphas</i> also was deposed by the said <i>Caligula</i> .	
					<i>Caligula</i> being slain, leaves in his Study two Bills or Notes of them whom he did mean to persecute and kill, which Notes he called the Sword and Dagger; which were used for cruelty by him that followed, <i>viz.</i>	
					<i>Claudius Nero</i> , who reigned thirteen years a grievous Tyrant.	
					<i>James</i> the Apostle, the Son of <i>Zebedee</i> , martyred.	
					<i>Simon</i> and <i>Parmenas</i> , two of the seven Deacons, martyred.	
					<i>Thomas</i> the Apostle, preaching to the <i>Medes</i> , <i>Persians</i> and <i>Parthians</i> , <i>Ger- mans</i> , &c. was slain with a Dart.	
					<i>Simon Zelotes</i> preaching in <i>Africk</i> , and <i>Britany</i> , was Crucified.	
					<i>Andrew</i> the Apostle preaching at <i>Patris</i> in <i>Achana</i> , was by <i>Egeas</i> the Go- vernour Crucified.	
					<i>Matthew</i> the Apostle wrote his Gospel to the <i>Jews</i> in the Hebrew Tongue. He is martyred with a Spear.	36.
					<i>Matthias</i> the Apostle preaching to the <i>Jews</i> , was stoned.	
					<i>Philip</i> the Apostle having much laboured among the Barbarous Nations in preaching, was crucified and stoned to death at <i>Hierapolis</i> .	
62.						<i>James</i>

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	James the younger, the Son of <i>Aspensis</i> , the brother of the Lord, Bishop of <i>Hierusalem</i> , was thrown down from the battlements of a Church, and afterward stoned, and so martyred to death. With <i>James</i> many more were stoned, as may be collected out of <i>Ioseph</i> . l. 6. 20. 8cc.	Vol. I. Page
63	Domitius Nero.		Claudius the Emperor falls into Britain, and subdued part of it to the Empire.		Mark the Evangelist martyred at <i>Alexandria</i> , as <i>Reusner</i> affirmeth. The description in general of the Ten Persecutions in the Primitive Church, under the <i>Roman</i> Emperors: Wherein, first, the wonderful many kinds of torments of the Christians are described by <i>Rabanus</i> : Secondly, the admirable patience of the tormented declared by <i>S. Augustin</i> . Thirdly, the infinite number of those patient tormented ones, set forth by <i>S. Hierome</i> and <i>Heliodorus</i> .	37.
67					Under this Emperor was the first of the ten Persecutions, by which (as <i>Eusebius</i> reports) whose Cities were filled with the dead bodies of all ages, sexes, and sorts.	
69					This <i>Nero</i> was so wicked, that <i>St. Hierome</i> upon <i>Daniel</i> faith, he was thought to be Antichrist. For so prodigious a monster was he, more like a beast, or rather a Devil than a man, that he caused his Mother, his Brother-in-Law, his Sister, his Wife great with child, and his Instructors, <i>Seneca</i> and <i>Lucan</i> , with divers more of his own kin to be put to death. He fired <i>Rome</i> in twelve places, and sung the while the <i>verses</i> of <i>Homere</i> . His end, after he had reigned fourteen years, was by the Senate proclaimed an enemy to all mankind, condemning him to be drawn through the City, and to be whipped to death, for fear whereof he fled and slew himself. Under him suffered <i>Peter</i> and <i>Paul</i> for Christ, about the later end of his reign. A question moved whether <i>St. Peter</i> were ever at <i>Rome</i> . Another question concerning <i>Paul</i> , whether he wrote the Epistle to the <i>Hebrews</i> , and that to <i>Laodicea</i> . <i>Paul</i> declares the sum of that Doctrine which he preached.	34.
73		Anacletus alias Cletus. Clements.	Marius.		<i>Vespasian</i> was the quiet Prince that put the distinction between the first and second persecution; in that he did not proclaim Persecution against the Christians. Howbeit he with <i>Titus</i> destroyed the <i>Jews</i> for their rebelling, killing many above 1000, selling into slavery 17000, and leading 2000 in triumph, to be torn with wild beasts, and cruelly to be slain. <i>Domitian</i> , Brother of <i>Titus</i> , beginning his reign mildly, turned a blasphemous Idolater against God (commanding men to worship him) and a cruel tyrant against Christians; for by him was moved the 2d Persecution. <i>Simon</i> , Bishop of <i>Hierusalem</i> was Crucified. <i>John</i> the Evangelist is banished into <i>Patmos</i> . But after the death of <i>Domitian</i> , he was released under <i>Vermax</i> the Emperor, living to the time of <i>Trajanus</i> , governing the Churches of <i>Asia</i> , and penning his Gospel. He converted a thief. And flies out of a Bath, because wicked <i>Cerintus</i> was there. <i>St. John</i> could not (as the Papists lay) be the Virgin <i>Maries</i> Confessor, seeing according to them, she was without sin. <i>Domitianus</i> fearing the coming of Christ, commanded all that could be found of the stock of <i>David</i> in <i>Jewry</i> to be slain. Another cause inciting Persecution, was false accusation of the Christians. But however the inquisition was this, <i>Swear the truth, whether thou art indeed a Christian</i> . If they confessed they were, the Law condemned them for that alone. This Bishop of <i>Rome</i> was a martyr, and flourished as <i>Reusner</i> counts, Anno Christi 102.	39.
81					This Bishop of <i>Rome</i> was also martyr, see in the reign of <i>Adrian</i> Emperor. Traditions of holy water, &c. are falsely fathered on him, he flourished as <i>Reusner</i> will, in the year 110, in the later end of <i>Trajanus</i> reign.	42.
91					<i>Saphira</i> and <i>Sabina</i> , martyrs.	43.
96	Domit. anus.	Evaristus. Alexander.			<i>Nerva</i> with his quietness put a period of peace for one year between the second and third Persecution. <i>Trajanus</i> caused the third Persecution. <i>Pliny</i> writes to <i>Trajan</i> to stop the Persecution. <i>Trajan</i> seeks out and puts to death the stock of <i>David</i> . Certain Sectaries of the <i>Jewish</i> Nation accuse <i>Simon</i> Son of <i>Mary Cleophas</i> , that he was of the line of <i>David</i> , and a Christian; whereupon he was crucified; but the accusers escaped not being condemned for being (as the Emperor supposed) of the stock of <i>David</i> . <i>Pbocas</i> Bos of <i>Pontus</i> , mar. <i>Sulpitius</i> , <i>Servilianus</i> , <i>Euphrosinus</i> , <i>Theodora</i> , Mart. <i>Nereus</i> and <i>Achilleus</i> , Martyrs. <i>Ignatius</i> Mart. being devoured of wild beasts. <i>Publius</i> , Bishop of <i>Athens</i> , Martyr.	
100					Under him suffered <i>Alexander</i> Bishop of <i>Rome</i> , with his two Deacons. <i>Zenon</i> , a Nobleman of <i>Rome</i> , 1260 more slain for Christ. <i>Achaicus</i> , <i>Heliodorus</i> , <i>Theodorus</i> , <i>Carcerius</i> , prime Martyrs. <i>Eusebius</i> , with his Wife and Children, Martyrs. <i>Calocerius</i> seeing the patience of <i>Eusebius</i> and <i>Johanna</i> suffering the cruel torments, cried out with these words, <i>Vere magnus Deus Christianorum</i> , i.e. Great is the God of the Christians, whereupon he was presently apprehended, brought to the place of their execution, and was made partaker of their Martyrdom.	45.
III					<i>Eleutherius</i> with his Mother <i>Ambia</i> , Martyrs: <i>Iustus</i> & <i>Paistor</i> , Brethren, Mart. <i>Symphorissa</i> with her 7 Children, Martyrs. <i>Sophia</i> with her three Children, Martyrs. Apologies made to the <i>Quadratus</i> Bishop of <i>Athens</i> : Emperor in behalf <i>Aristides</i> a Philosopher. of the Christians by <i>Servus Granius</i> a Nobleman.	

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	A Chronology.	Vol. I. Page.
124. 140.	Aurelius Antonius Plus.		Collus.		The success was that the Emperor writeth and slacketh the Persecution, charging that none be persecuted barely for Christianity. Hereby then began to come in the respite of peace between the third and fourth Persecution. Howbeit this <i>Adrian</i> understanding of the <i>Jews</i> rebelling, sent <i>Julius Severus</i> against them, who overthrow fifty two Castles in <i>Jewry</i> , burnt and demolished 9080 Villages, and slew fifty thousand of the <i>Jews</i> . After this <i>Adrian</i> the Emperor repaired <i>Hierusalem</i> , calling it <i>Heliopolis</i> . <i>Adrian</i> dies by bleeding at the nose, as he had shed Christians blood. This Emperor <i>Antoninus</i> reigned twenty three years, continuing that peace with the Christians he found begun in <i>Adrians</i> last days; for which he had the name of <i>Pius</i> . Yet by the peoples tumult, without the Emperors consent, some were martyred. His saying was, He had rather save one Citizen, than destroy a 1000 of his adversaries. He writes in behalf of the Christians, to the Persecutors, notable arguments to stay persecution, as being conquered by the patience of the Christians. An Edict of peace for the Christians is proclaimed at <i>Ephesus</i> . This quiet Emperor in life, of all other Emperors of those times, died the most quiet death.	46.
162.	M. Antoninus Verus, Who joyed with him in his Government of the Empire. M. Aurelius Commodus.				This <i>Antoninus</i> was studious of Philosophy, but severe against the Christians, moving the fourth persecution. He moveth much <i>In France</i> , see pag. 50. persecution. <i>In Asia</i> , where <i>Polycarpus</i> Bishop of <i>Smyrna</i> was Mart. In this persecution, Christians were whipped until their veins, arteries and bowels did appear. <i>Germanicus</i> , a famous Martyr for patience. <i>Quintus</i> a Phrygian, being rashly hardy, suffers for it. <i>Polycarp</i> at first by perswasion, did fly persecution, at last offered himself willingly to those that beset the house to seek him, and was martyred. Twelve Martyrs at <i>Smyrna</i> . —Of <i>Polycarp</i> s Epistle to the <i>Philippians</i> . <i>Irenaeus</i> was conversant with <i>Polycarp</i> , and <i>Polycarp</i> with the <i>Apostles</i> . Difference of Ceremonies brake not amity in the Primitive Church. <i>Socrates</i> deceived in his Tripartite story. <i>Aetodorus</i> Martyr. <i>Corpus</i> , <i>Papilus</i> , <i>Agathonica</i> , Martyr.	46.
					<i>Felicitas</i> with her seven Children, viz. <i>Januarius</i> , <i>Felix</i> , <i>Philippus</i> , <i>Silvanus</i> , <i>Alexander</i> , <i>Vitalis</i> , <i>Martialis</i> . Martyrs at Rome.	48.
					<i>Julianus</i> Martyr, learned in Philosophy, and godly in practise. <i>Crescens</i> a Philosopher, procurer of <i>Julian</i> s death. <i>Praxedis</i> and <i>Potentina</i> two godly Virgins, bury the bodies of the dead Martyrs, and spend their Patrimonies to relieve the living. <i>Prolomus</i> and <i>Lucius</i> , Martyrs at <i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> . A place in <i>Gratians</i> suspected. <i>Concordus</i> , Martyr; spiriteth in the face of the Idol. <i>Vincentius</i> his story suspected.	49.
					In <i>France</i> were many Martyrs, at <i>Lions</i> , and <i>Vienna</i> , whose History is set forth under the hands of the brethren of <i>France</i> , in their Letter to the brethren in <i>Asia</i> . <i>Vetius</i> Epagathus, a young man, is a courageous Martyr, unto wonderment. Ten Christians as weak as he was strong, fainting, to the great sorrow of the stronger. The Christians are accused of keeping the Feast of <i>Thyestes</i> , and Incest of <i>Oedipus</i> .	51.
					<i>Blandina</i> , martyr, is so patient in suffering all manner of torments, that she wearies her tormentors. <i>Sancus</i> , Martyr, was so able patiently to bear all mannes of torments, that none could make him answer to many questions put to him, but only this in <i>Latin</i> to each of them; <i>I am a Christian</i> . His first torments making him so swollen and scorched, that his members had lost their shape and use; the second contrary to his enemies intent restored his limbs in regard of both. <i>Bibides</i> , a woman Martyr, having denied Christ, returns and confesseth Christ in the midst of those torments which were inflicted to make her blaspheme Christ. Divers Martyrs strangled. Martyrs die in prison. <i>Phorinus</i> a Deacon, eighty years old, Martyr. A description of the comfort of confessing, and the discomfort of denying Christ. <i>Maturus</i> and <i>Attalus</i> martyred in a red hot Iron-chair, could not be made by setting them in it, to confess any thing, but what they had willingly before. Deniers of Christ return and become Confessors. <i>Alexander</i> a Phrygian, beckoning at the Bar to the Christians to stand to the Confession of Christ, is questioned, confesseth Christ, and is martyred. <i>Blandina</i> , a woman, and <i>Perennis</i> a youth of fifteen years old, Martyrs, could not be forced to swear, with all the witty cruelty of the tormentors.	51.
					<i>Justi-</i>	52.

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. I. Page
				<p><i>Justinus</i> a deep Philosopher, a godly man, an Apologizer for the Christians, and a Martyr.</p> <p>Grounds of crediting the Prophets. The profit of reading them.</p> <p><i>Epiphanius</i> found in a fault.</p> <p>Molt worthy Martyrs pronounce themselves unworthy of the name of Martyrs.</p> <p><i>Alcibiades</i> rebuked for over-strict fasting.</p> <p><i>Apollinaris</i> and <i>Melito</i> exhibit Apologies to the Emperor in behalf of the Christians.</p> <p>The Books of the Old Testament anciently received for Authentick.</p> <p>Christian Soldiers get rain by prayer in a time of their great want of water in the army: for which the Emperor favours them, writing Letters in behalf of all the Christians, to the asswaging of the Persecution.</p> <p>This <i>Commodus</i> was (though incommodious to the Senators of <i>Rome</i>) commodious to the Church; giving some peace univerally throughout the same. Mean while the Gospel spreads, and many Noble families in <i>Rome</i> adjoyne themselves to the Christians.</p> <p>Notwithstanding there was some persecuted in his time, for although there was a Law made by the Emperor, that none should fallly accuse the Christians upon pain of death, yet in case any Christian were once accused, the ancient Law was that none that were arraigned for profetion of Christ should be released without recantation of his opinion. Hereupon it followed, that</p> <p><i>Apollonius</i> a Noble Senator of <i>Rome</i> being accused of his servant, the servant by the Law against accusers, was executed, and had his legs broken; and <i>Apollonius</i> himself by the Law of not dismissing accused Christians without recantation, was beheaded; because instead of making a recantation, he made an Apology of Christian belief.</p> <p>This Emperor, <i>Antoninus Commodus</i> was very skilful in casting Darts, and took great pride to be called <i>Hercules</i>, and to wear oft times a Lions skin, in both intimating what a Protector he was to the City, and chieftain over the people; <i>Hercules</i> being a Giant, and a Lion the King of Beasts.</p> <p>This Emperor on his birth-day, clothed in his Lions skin, and sacrificing to <i>Hercules</i> and <i>Jupiter</i>, commanding also the people to do the like, <i>Vincencius</i>, <i>Peregrinus</i>, <i>Eusebius</i>, <i>Potencianus</i>, learned men, and instructors of the people, dissuaded them: for which cause, and for that they would not sacrifice to Idols at the command of the Emperor, were with sundry devices tormented, and at last with the pressure of leaden weights, were martyred to death.</p> <p><i>Tulius</i> with his family are baptized, and after martyred.</p> <p>This <i>Xistus</i> or <i>Sixtus</i> Bishop of <i>Rome</i> is counted the sixth Bishop after <i>Peter</i>. The Epistles, and in them the Ordinances fathered upon him, very probably are fallly put upon him. He sat in his Seat about nine or ten years.</p> <p>This <i>Telephorus</i> sat in the Seat eleven years, and died a Martyr. Many Ordinances touching <i>Gloria in Excelsis</i>, Lent-fast, not permitting of Laymen to accuse the Clergy, are fallly fathered upon him.</p> <p>This <i>Higinus</i> died a Martyr. The Ordinances of Cream, of one Godfather and Godmother, of Dedications of Churches, &c. are fallly put upon him. The inflicting penance forty days upon the Priest, for letting fall one crum of the Lords-Supper: and if a drop did fall, that it should be licked up, or else the place washed or pared, &c. all which, put on this Bishop <i>Pius</i> by <i>Platina</i>, found as unlikely as they are in themselves trivial. He made a Decree of changing <i>Easter-day</i> from the wonted day, viz. the fourteenth day of the Moon in the first Month, to the Sunday after.</p> <p>This <i>Anicetus</i> sat in the Seat eleven years, and died a Martyr. He determined the same about <i>Easter-day</i>, as <i>Pius</i> his Predecessor had.</p> <p>This <i>Soter</i> sat in the Seat eight years: He also concludes the same order touching <i>Easter</i>, as <i>Pius</i> and <i>Anicetus</i> had.</p> <p>He sat Bishop of <i>Rome</i> fifteen years. His determination touching <i>Easter</i> is the same with his three Predecessors. See more in p. 37. in the <i>Hist. of Victors</i>.</p> <p>Divers Writers report that this Bishop of <i>Rome</i> sent <i>Damianus</i> and <i>Eugenius</i> at the request of King <i>Lucius</i>, King of <i>England</i>, to him into <i>England</i>, by whom the said King should be converted and baptized. But as they vary in time, some making this sending to be a year or two under 180, and others as much over: so is there a just difference between them, whether these were the first that transported the Christian Faith into <i>England</i>, some of them avouching the coming of <i>Simon Zelotes</i> into <i>England</i>, others the coming of <i>Joseph of Arimathea</i> first founding Christian Religion in this Isle. Whoever was first, <i>Petrus Cluniacensis</i>, <i>Origen</i> and <i>Tertullian</i> do witness that Christianity was much more ancient than <i>Eleutherius</i>, yea and then the conversion of the said King <i>Lucius</i>.</p> <p>Besides those mentioned above, were these learned men, comforting the Persecutors by writing, in the time of this present Emperor <i>Commodus</i>.</p> <p><i>Serapion</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>.</p> <p><i>Egesippus</i> a Writer of the Ecclesiastical story from Christs Passion to his own time. None of his Books remain save only five. <i>De Excidio Hierosol.</i> And those are not mentioned by <i>Hieron</i>.</p> <p><i>Eusebius</i> or <i>Miltiades</i>, who notwithstanding make mention of the man himself.</p> <p><i>Miltiades</i> wrote an Apology for the Christians.</p>	53.
175.	<i>Lucius Antoninus Commodus.</i>				55.
					55.
129.		<i>Xistus I. alias Sixtus I. Telephorus.</i>			
140.		<i>Higinus.</i>			
		<i>Pius.</i>			
159.		<i>Anicetus</i>			
		<i>Soter.</i>			
178.		<i>Eleutherius.</i>			
			<i>Lucius.</i>		

[b] 2

Heraclius

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Heracles about this time began to write his Annotations and Enarrations upon the New Testament.	Vol. I. Page
					<i>Theophilus</i> an Ecclesiastical writer, Bishop of <i>Cæsaria</i> . <i>Dionysius</i> Bishop of <i>Corinth</i> , famous for learning, writes divers Epistles to several Churches. He writes to one <i>Penitus</i> a Bishop, <i>Ne grave servandæ castitatis onus, &c. i.e.</i> That he laid no yoke of necessity of keeping Chastity upon his Brethren. This <i>Dionysius</i> writes an Epistle of <i>Dionysius Areopagita</i> , declaring (as it is storied in the <i>Acts</i>) his Conversion by <i>Paul</i> , but speaks not a word of his Book <i>De Hierarchia</i> ; yet doth he speak more of him touching his being first Bishop of <i>Athen</i> . This <i>Dionysius</i> of <i>Corinth</i> doth shew us that it was the custom in his time, that the Epistles that were sent unto Congregations by learned men, should be read in the Churches in the audience of the Assemblies. <i>Clement Alexandrinus</i> also wrote in the time of this Emperor <i>Commodus</i> , whose Books some are yet extant, declaring the order and number of the Books of the New Testament. A man of these times too, was <i>Pantenus</i> , the first publick professor in Schools in <i>Alexandria</i> , occasioning by his example Christian Universities. This <i>Pantenus</i> for his great Learning, was sent for by <i>Demetrius</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> , to preach to the <i>Indians</i> , where he finding <i>St. Matthew's</i> Gospel in <i>Hebrew</i> , left there by <i>St. Bartholomew</i> , brought it from thence to the Library of <i>Alexandria</i> . While the Christians had any respites of peace in this <i>Commodus</i> his time, they jangled about the celebration of <i>Easter</i> . Yet differing in this Ceremony, they brake not off Charity. The difference of their <i>Easter</i> -days. He reigned but a few months Emperor. This <i>Severus</i> raised the fifth Persecution, of the eighteen years of his reign, the first ten were favourable to the Christians, the other eight through false accusations of the malignant, by Proclamation drew blood upon the Christians, see <i>Euseb. Lib. 6.</i> about the year 205. The accusers branded them with sedition, murder, &c. with worshipping of an <i>Ass</i> his head, because they believed the story of <i>Sampson</i> slaughtering the <i>Philistines</i> with a Jaw-bone: and with worshipping the Sun: because before Sun-rising they met and sung Psalms, praying towards the East: But the true quarrel was their not worshipping the <i>Roman</i> Idols. The Captains and Officers in this Persecution were <i>Hilarius</i> , <i>Vigilius</i> , <i>Claudius</i> , <i>Hormianus</i> . The places of this Persecution were <i>Africa</i> , <i>Alexandria</i> , <i>Cappadocia</i> , and <i>Carthage</i> . The persons persecuted and martyred were, <i>Leonides</i> Father of <i>Origen</i> beheaded, with whom his son <i>Origen</i> , being then of seventeen years, would have suffered Martyrdom, but that his Mother by force hindred him. <i>Origen</i> encourageth his Father to Martyrdom, saying, <i>Cave tibi ne quid propter nos, &c.</i> that is, <i>Take heed you turn not your purpose of Martyrdom for our sakes</i> . His Father being slain, and his goods confiscate to the Emperor, he maintained himself, and mother, and her children, being in great poverty, by teaching School. He was very learned, conferring the <i>Hebrew</i> with the Translation of the <i>Septuagint</i> ; and finding out the common Translations of <i>Aquila Symmachus</i> and <i>Theodotion</i> ; adjoining to them four other Translations. His Books he penned, were by <i>St. Hieronimus</i> account, 7000 Volumes, which he sold for a little above three pence a piece for his relief. <i>Plutarch</i> , a Scholar of <i>Origen</i> , martyr. <i>Serenus</i> his Brother, a hearer also of <i>Origen</i> , martyr, burned. <i>Heraclides</i> , another hearer of <i>Origen</i> , martyr, beheaded. <i>Heron</i> , <i>Origen</i> 's scholar, martyred by beheading. <i>Serenus</i> a fifth of <i>Origen</i> 's scholars, martyred by beheading. <i>Rbas</i> and <i>Pontamiena</i> were tormented with pitch poured upon them, and so martyred. <i>Marcella</i> , mother of <i>Pontamiena</i> , martyred with fire. <i>Basilides</i> , an Officer that saw execution done upon <i>Pontamiena</i> , afterwards denied to give an Oath in a matter whereunto he was called, because he was to swear by the Idols, professing himself also to be turned Christian, by means of <i>Pontamiena</i> , who said as she went to martyrdom that she would pray that God would have mercy on him, after which she had seen a Crown put upon his head, whereupon he was martyred by beheading. <i>Alexander</i> by his great strength of body and grace, surviving many great torments inflicted on him for Religion, was by the repute thereof, adjoined Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i> to <i>Narcissus</i> the former Bishop of that seat being 163 years old, and unwieldy to govern alone. Three malicious false witnesses accusing this <i>Narcissus</i> , confirmed it with imprecations of burning, deaths sickness, and losing both the eyes to themselves if their false accusations were not true: which being false, those several imprecations were truly executed upon them by the Lord, to each his own will. <i>Andoclus</i> sent by <i>Polycarp</i> into <i>France</i> for his spreading the Gospel there, was beaten with flaves and bats, and beheaded, and so martyred. <i>Arsenius</i> a persecuted Confessor, Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Irenæus</i> , Bishop of <i>Lions</i> , Martyr; commended by <i>Tertullian</i> to be the greatest searcher of all kind of Learning.	59.
195.	<i>Pertinax Severus</i> .	This same <i>Severus</i> extended his Empire over Britain at this time.				60.

Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	He as his name signifies, a man of peace, composing by his great Learning many differences, and suppressing many errors wherewith the Church in his time did swarm.	Vol. 1. Pag.
	Victor.				Not long after this <i>Irenaeus</i> , flourished <i>Tertullian</i> , an Ecclesiastical writer, commended by <i>Vincentius Lirinensis</i> , to be the Flower of all <i>Latine Writers</i> , and one that by his eloquence of style compelled assent, having in it as many sentences as words, and as many victories as sentences. To <i>Tertullian</i> made a singular Apology for the Christians, touching every particular false accusation, shewing the impossibility and improbability of any truth in them.	60
					This <i>Victor</i> is reported (though <i>Platina</i> saith the contrary) by <i>Damasus</i> , and the followers of the common Chronicles, to die a Martyr. But he moved some stir about the time of <i>Easter</i> , which the Apostles had left as indifferent, who by reason of their intentiveness of Preaching, gave no heed to times and days; nor did they bind the Church to any Ceremonies, saving of strangled things, and blood. Which of blood seemeth to be given to the Church, to prevent the scandal the heathen Gentiles laid upon the Christians eating blood, and so to continue only whiles the Persecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Also <i>Pius</i> , <i>Anicetus</i> , <i>Soter</i> , and <i>Eleutherius</i> , having changed <i>Easter-day</i> , from the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month, to the next Sunday after, and being opposed by <i>Melita</i> Bishop of <i>Sardinia</i> , <i>Egeippus</i> and <i>Polycarp</i> , sent by the brethren of <i>Asia</i> to <i>Rome</i> to <i>Anicetus</i> , to confer with him about it, and not agreeing in opinion, the learned Men of those Times, with those now named, keeping Charity, left the time of <i>Easter</i> , as <i>Adaphoron</i> , a thing indifferent in the Church till the time of this <i>Victor</i> . Now this <i>Victor</i> was so violently set upon upholding the Roman determination of his former Predecessors, as a necessary: that he would Excommunicate all the Bishops and Churches of <i>Asia</i> as Hereticks, unless they would be of his Opinion. Had not <i>Irenaeus</i> restrained him. Yet was <i>Irenaeus</i> , also <i>Theophilus</i> , Bishop of <i>C. Sarcis</i> , <i>Narcissus</i> Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i> , <i>Palmas</i> of <i>Pontus</i> , <i>Banchillus</i> of <i>Combric</i> , &c. of the judgment of <i>Victor</i> , touching keeping <i>Easter</i> upon the Sunday after the fourteenth of the Moon in the first month, for these two Reasons: First, because they would differ as much as might be from the Jews; Secondly, because the Resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day. On the contrary opinion were divers Bishops in <i>Asia</i> , chiefly <i>Polycrates</i> Bishop of <i>Ephesus</i> , alledging Scripture, the example of some of the Apostles, and custom of other Fathers. But <i>Irenaeus</i> still took off the edge of sharp Contentions; and so the Controvercie remained free till the time of the <i>Nicene</i> Council. And other Doctors of Christian liberty were free till <i>Victor's</i> time, about Anno 200.	62
203		Zephyrus.			The two Epistles in the first Tome of the Councils, ascribed upon this <i>Zephyrus</i> Bishop, may justly be suspected to be fained. And that those and other ordinances spoken of before, were invented by some to advance the Papacy, and naming them with the names of those Fathers. The same we may think of the patins of Glass ascribed to the said <i>Zephyrus</i> . For that time of his sitting Bishop, some Writers make it 8, some 16, some 17 years. The most agree between 17 and 18.	
	Bassianus.		This same Bassianus extends his Empire over England.		This Emperor <i>Severus</i> invades <i>England</i> , he calls up a Ditch of 120 miles, from Sea to Sea, beginning at <i>Time</i> , and reaching to the <i>Scottish Sea</i> . He removing thence to <i>York</i> , was there by the Northern men and Scots besieged and slain.	62
214					<i>Severus</i> leaving behind him two Sons, <i>Bassianus</i> and <i>Geta</i> , <i>Bassianus</i> slays <i>Geta</i> , and governs the Empire alone about six years, and then was slain of his next Successors.	
219	Macrinus with his son Diadumenus. Varius Hellogabalus.				These two, <i>Mac</i> , and <i>Diad</i> , having Reigned one year, were slain of their own people.	
					This <i>Hellogabalus</i> affected pomp in his life exceedingly; burning balm for oyl in his Lamps, filling his Fish-ponds with rose-water, wearing apparel of gold, and most costly silks, shoes set with precious stones, feeding himself with variety of dishes every second day, furnished with whatsoever was rarest and dearest; He affected too a pompous death, providing (in case his wicked life should make his enemies besiege him) swords of gold, silken ropes, cups of <i>Jacinths</i> to hold poyson, pavements of precious stones, wherewith to stab, hang, poyson and brain himself. He affected Lust as well as Pride, having 600 chariots of bauds and harlots to attend him in his progress. He was slain of his Souldiers, being an enemy to all honesty, and advancer only of base ones.	63
224	Aurel. Alex. Severus.				This <i>Severus</i> was adopted by <i>Hellogabalus</i> , being without Issue. He was learned, and in his actions constantly advised by his Senate; he so hated bribed Judges, that he would vomit when he saw them; and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. He dismissed all idle and needless servants from his Court. He favored the Christians, saying of a place where they did meet for good Duties, which the Cooks and Tiplers would have taken from them, It was fitter for Gods service, than the use of Scullians, and so restored it to the Christians. Observe hence, that as yet there were no Christian Churches in <i>Rome</i> .	
					He put to death <i>Therinus</i> with smoke, for taking many of People, to get for them the Emperors favor, which he, lying, boasted he had at command; The Cryer proclaiming at his execution, Smoke be sold, and smoke he is punished with.	63

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	His mother <i>Mammea</i> hearing of <i>Origen's</i> fame, sent for him from <i>Alexandria</i> , to hear him, who came to her and the Emperor her son. Though he favored the Christians, yet some were martyred in his time, as Historians affirm, giving this reason: That by him no Proclamation was set forth for the safety of the Christians.	Vol. I. Pag.
227		Calixtus.			The persons persecuted under him they reckon to be, <i>Calixtus</i> martyred. Many Ordinances of the Fast of <i>Ember-week</i> , of not accusing Bishops, &c. fully put upon him. <i>Urbanus</i> Martyred. His Epistle decretal of Church-goods, Confirmations, &c. may justly be thought to be feigned. <i>Tiburtius</i> and <i>Valerianus</i> , Converts of <i>Urbanus</i> , and Noble men of <i>Rome</i> , Martyred. <i>Cecilia</i> , wife of <i>Valerianus</i> , a great confinner of him and his brother <i>Tiburtius</i> , and a means of the Baptizing of 400 persons (as the story reports) Martyred. <i>Agapetus</i> of fifteen years, who could neither be made to sacrifice to Idols, nor be killed with whips, hot water poured upon him, or wild Beasts, was by Beheading Martyred.	64
236		Pontianus.			The Executioner of this <i>Agapetus</i> , named <i>Antiochus</i> , in the executing of this Martyr, fell down from his Seat, crying, That his inward Bowels burned within him, and so dyed. Many more (as Authors affirm) as well of the Senate and chief of <i>Rome</i> , as others were martyred under this Emperor, and their Heads were hanged over the City gates, to terrise others from the profession of Christ. <i>Alberic</i> , as touching the time of these fore-named Martyrs, I suppose they suffered rather under <i>Maximinus</i> or <i>Decius</i> , than under <i>Alexander</i> .	
237	Maximinus.				This Emperor <i>Maximinus</i> , was chosen Emperor rather by the wilfulness of the Soldiers, than the will of the Senate. He caused the sixth Persecution, especially against the Teachers, hoping that when they were smitten, the Sheep would soon be scattered. And therefore it is the more likely that <i>Urbanus</i> , and the rest above-named in the former persecution, suffered rather under this <i>Maximinus</i> , than under that <i>Alexander</i> .	
240	Gordianus.				<i>Origen</i> , under this Emperor, wrote his Book <i>De Martyria</i> . <i>Pontianus</i> the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> banished. This <i>Gordianus</i> was a learned and quiet Prince, and governed with much peace.	65
					<i>Pontianus</i> the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> dyes. His Epistles decretal, touching the hyperbolical dignifying of the Clergy, probably are feigned. At this time were raised in the Church other famous Fathers, as, <i>Phileas</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Zacharias</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Ammonius</i> the School-master of <i>Origen</i> , who wrote divers Books in defence of Christian Religion: and continued himself in the Profession thereof. <i>Julius Africanus</i> , who was (as <i>Nicephorus</i> writes) a Scholar of <i>Origen</i> , and a great Writer of Histories.	
		Anterius.			<i>Natalius</i> , who had suffered as a good Confessor, much persecution, but being hired with promise of being a Bishop, and by money, viz. 150 pieces of Silver every month, he turned to be of the Sect of <i>Theodotus</i> . But being much afflicted by the Lord, he repenting, returned to the Christian Congregation, and was received.	
					<i>Eusebius</i> saith, That because this Bishop of <i>Rome</i> , <i>Anterius</i> did cause the lives and deaths of Martyrs to be written, that he himself was Martyred by <i>Maximinus</i> the Judge.	
246	Philippus the first Christian Emperor.				<i>Hippolytus</i> a Bishop, a great Writer, <i>Eusebius</i> and <i>Hierome</i> mentioning his Books, and a Martyr, by being drawn with wild Horses through the Thickets.	
250	Decius				<i>Gordianus</i> Emperor, is slain; <i>Philip</i> Emperor, after him. This <i>Philippus</i> Emperor, took to himself his Son <i>Philip</i> assistant in governing. This <i>Philippus</i> , with his Son and all his Family, being converted by <i>Fabianus</i> and <i>Origen</i> , were Baptized: And howsoever <i>Pomponius Letus</i> writes, he was a dissembling Prince; this is certain, that for Religions sake, he and his Son were slain by <i>Decius</i> one of his Captains.	
		Fabianus.			This <i>Decius</i> Emperor, moves the seventh Persecution, which was a most terrible one, because, besides <i>Philippus</i> his Christianity, he had committed his Treasure to <i>Fabian</i> the Bishop.	
					This Bishop <i>Fabian</i> was a married Man, and chosen Bishop, as <i>Eusebius</i> reports, by the lighting of a Dove upon his head, as he stood among the Assembly met to choose a Bishop of <i>Rome</i> . He was Martyred by <i>Decius</i> . The Ordinances of burning the old oyl, and consecrating new once a year; of not Marrying within the fifth Degree, &c. may justly be suspected of feigning.	
					To this <i>Fabian</i> wrote <i>Origen de Orthodocia fidei sue</i> , that is, Of the righteousness of his Faith.	
					<i>Origen</i> living to this <i>Decius</i> , suffered under him many bands, torments, rackings, &c. for Religion. After all which, being brought by the Officers to the Altar, whereon lay an <i>Ethiop</i> , and commanded to Sacrifice to the Idol, or else he should have his Body defiled by the <i>Ethiop</i> ; he chose rather to Sacrifice, for which he was Excommunicated of the Church; and for his calling upon the Christians to carry those Boughs which he had in his hand, in honor to Christ, which the Heathen used to honor their gods withal, was by the Church of <i>Alexandria</i> removed from their Communion, and so departed thence for shame to <i>Jenny</i> . Where being impo	rtuned

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Anno Christi	Roman. Emper.	Roman Bithops.	Kings of England.	Archb- shops of Canter- bury.		Vol. Pag.
					<p>portuned by the Congregation to make some exhortation to the people, after long denial, he stood up and read the Verse of the fifth Psalm, and so sat down and wept. What became of him at last, is not known, but only that, as <i>Suidas</i> saith, he dyed and was buried at <i>Tyrus</i>, and ended his life, as <i>Eusebius</i> saith, in great misery and poverty.</p> <p>This <i>Origen</i> Ulther in the School at <i>Alexandria</i>, was one <i>Heracles</i>; who for his excellent parts was Master of that School, and afterward Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>, next after <i>Demetrius</i>.</p> <p>After <i>Heracles</i> succeeded <i>Dionysius Alexandrinus</i>, Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>, as he succeeded him before in the School. This <i>Dionysius</i> writes of <i>Heracles</i> thus, <i>Hunc ego, &c.</i> that is, <i>This Canon I received from blessed Heracles our Pope</i>. Yet observe, that this <i>Heracles</i> was no Bishop of <i>Rome</i>.</p> <p><i>Nicephorus</i> saith of this Persecution, that it was as easie to number the lands, as the Martyrs under this <i>Decius</i>. The more famous were these,</p> <p><i>Asclepiades</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>, a persecuted Confessor under <i>Severus</i>, dyes a Martyr under <i>Decius</i>.</p> <p><i>Babylas</i> Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>, for not suffering the Emperør, having committed a Murder, to enter into the Christians Temple, was martyred. Being buried in the Temple of <i>Apollo</i>; he causeth the Oracle that was there to cease. Whereupon his Body was taken up again.</p> <p><i>Babylas</i> Bishop of <i>Nicomedia</i>, Martyr.</p> <p>Forty Virgins in the City of <i>Antioch</i>.</p> <p>Martyrs in <i>Phrygia</i>.</p> <p>Confessors at <i>Babylon</i> carryed to <i>Spain</i> to be Martyred.</p> <p>Divers Martyred in <i>Cappadocia</i>.</p> <p>Divers Martyred in <i>Perjide</i>.</p> <p>Many Martyred at <i>Alexandria</i>.</p> <p>A Sooth-sayer was a great stirrer up of this Persecution (being a great friend to Idolatry) by whose means the multitude was so incraged against them that would not sacrifice to their Idols, that they stoned <i>Metræ</i> a Christian Priest, and dragged <i>Quinta</i> a godly Woman through the streets, and killed her. They went into Christians Houses, and took away their goods of price, and burned the rest in the Market-place.</p> <p><i>Apollonia</i> a Martyr, had her teeth dasht out. And being threatend with a fire made before her to burn her, unless she would commit Idolatry, she voluntarily leaped into the fire.</p> <p>Difention among the Persecutors, turned Persecution for a time from the Christians upon themselves.</p> <p>Revolters being perswaded to Sacrifice to the Idols, come trembling, as if they themselves should be Sacrificed.</p> <p>A Souldier taking part with the Christians against them that rail at them, is Martyred for the same.</p> <p><i>Ammonarian</i> was tormented for telling the Judge she would not yield to his wicked commands for any torments he would inflict. Which she accordingly performed; and the Judge was ashamed to be overcome of a Woman. Knights and Warriors standing by the Tribunal, where the Martyrs were condemned, made signs to the fearful, imboldning them to Confession and Martyrdom. They being espied, and about to be questioned, pressed in to the Bench, professed Christ, and were Martyred.</p> <p><i>Cheremon</i> a married Bishop, fled with his Wife in this Persecution in the Mountain of <i>Arabia</i>, and was never seen more.</p> <p><i>Dionysius</i> charged by <i>Germanus</i> Bishop, for flying in Persecution, cleareth himself, calling God to witness, that he regarded not his life, but the Souldiers that kept him, leaving him through a fear, by the shreeking of some not far off, he was left alone, and escaped.</p> <p><i>Christophorus</i>, of twelve cubits high, as Writers report, was martyred in this Persecution; whether he be that <i>Christophor</i> of whom the speech goes, he carryed Christ, &c. it is uncertain.</p> <p>Abundance in this Persecution wandred in Mountains, and were starved, or devoured of Beasts.</p> <p>A Souldier out-facing all threats to draw him to Idolatry, is by the Pretor put into a soft bed in a pleasant Garden of Lillies and Roses, and a beautiful Harlot sent in to him with Imbracements, enticing him to Adultery. But he bites off his tongue whiles she was kissing him, and spit it in her face, and rejected her wicked offers.</p> <p><i>Theodora</i> Virgin, for refusing to sacrifice to Idols, was adjudged to the stews. A Christian Souldier going thither, as if (as the people hoped) he would have been one of them that would have abused her, changed his habit for hers, he sending her to escape, and staying there himself to dye in her stead; who being condemned, <i>Theodora</i> to release him, declares her self to be the right party. The Pretor cutting off their hands, burns both him and her.</p> <p><i>Nicomachus</i> in his torments renouncing his Christianity, and offering Sacrifice to the Idols, was, when he was released, taken estions with a wicked Spirit, throwen on the ground, that he bit off his tongue, and so died. Many more examples there were in this Persecution of Gods Judgments on revolters.</p> <p>Upon these revolters rose first the Heresie of <i>Novatus</i>, viz. that revolters for fear of Torments, might not be reconciled nor admitted to the Church, though they repented. This <i>Novatus</i> makes three Bishops drunk, that they might Ordain him Bishop of <i>Rome</i> against <i>Cornelius</i> the then lawfull Bishop of that See.</p>	
					Upon	

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Upon these two Bishops of Rome set up together, doth Cyprian so much write of Unity and one Bishop, and not otherwise is he to be understood as any way to speak for a Pope.	Vol. 1. Page.
255		Cornelius.			A Synod is held at Rome against this upstart Bishop, Novatus. This Cornelius is highly commended of Cyprian for his worthiness, of Hierome for his eloquence, and of others for his Martyrdom. Hence conceive all the trivial Decretals to be fained.	
	Gallus and Volusianus his son reign together.				This most Tyrannical Decius having reigned a very short time, viz. between two or three years, was slain of the Barbarians.	72.
					After Decius his death God sent a Pestilence on the Empire of ten years continuance. In it the Christians visited each other, though Infection did kill the Visitors next in short space. But the Gentiles being cruelly uncharitable, neglected their Brethren, being sick, and cast out their dead Bodies to the dogs.	73.
					Upon this Pestilence, Cyprian wrote his Book, De Mortalitate.	
					Gallus and Volusianus succeed by Treason next to Decius, and reign but a short time for their persecuting. Gallus letting forth Decrees for Persecution, banishing many Bishops and Pastors from their Flocks, condemning others to the Metall-mines.	
256		Lucius.			To this time I refer the banishment of Cyprian, he being then Bishop of Carthage. Who in his absence from his Flock by this Exilement, made supply by his many excellent Letters, which are yet in a great part extant.	73.
					This Lucius was also banished under these two Co-Emperors. This Lucius is said to Ordain, That two Priests, with three Deacons, should always be with a Bishop to witness his conversation; which Order may be very good and useful. But it seems not to agree to Lucius his time, wherein there was not such Greatness of Bishops to retain and maintain such Retinue; nor such freedom from Persecution, as that they durst be seen openly abroad. Other Ordinances put upon him are suspected of faining.	
		Stephanus.			This Bishop is said by many Authors to dye a Martyr. Many Decrees fattered upon him: but they are feigned.	
					These two Roman Emperors reigning covertly together, were very courteous to the Christians, by reason whereof, and the greatness of the Pestilence in the Empire, Persecution was extinguished for some two or three years, in so much that the Emperors Court was full of Christians. But after Valerian having an Egyptian a chief Ruler of the heathen Synagogue, and chief of the Inchanters, being hindered by the Christians Prayers from his feats and charms, complaining and incensing thereupon the Emperors, the said Valerian was moved by him to move the eighth persecution.	
259	Valerianus and his son Gallienus.				Cyprian adds in his fourth Book, and fourth Epistle, certain causes on the Christians part of this Persecution; viz. The sins and dissensions of the Christians.	
					Finally, That wicked Accusers caused this Persecution, by accusing the Christians of being the causes of the evils of Famine, Pestilence, &c. on the Empire.	75.
					Against all these Cyprian writes an eloquent Apology, entituled, Contra Demetrianum, as Tertullian had done before, Contra Scapulam.	
					In the time of this Persecution was Cyprian Martyred, whose name was alias Statius, whose Country was Carthage in Africa. Who was made first a Priest, then the Bishop of Carthage. He was very careful of the afflicted Brethren, a great reader of Tertullian, and a man that had many godly Visions, as of future Persecutions, &c. At last, refusing to offer to Idols, this Persecution took off his Head, and crowned him with Martyrdom. For the excellent Sentences penned by him, his Books tell the World of them sufficiently. He had his blemishes, as other Fathers were not free (though the Papists fault is to make too much of every thing.) Origen had something that the Church now holds not. Polycarp. observed Easter after the Jews custom. Ignatius makes fasting on the Sabbath as bad as killing Christ. Irenaeus held that man was not made perfect in the beginning, and seems to defend Free-will. Tertullian is noted for a Chilsaß, and a Montanian. Justin seems to incline to Chilsaßm, to the opinion of Angels falling by concupiscence of Women, and to the Doctrine of Free-will. And this Cyprian held contrary to the Church, Re-baptizing of Infants Baptized by Hereticks; whereupon fell great contention between him and Stephanus Bishop of Rome.	76. 77. 78.
					Besides this Cyprian, there was a second, who of an Idolater, and a practiser of Magick, was converted to a Christian, made a Priest and Bishop of Antioch, of which he was a native Citizen, and after was Martyred under Dioclesian. Lastly, a third Cyprian, long after both these, there was in the time of the Emperor Julius Apostata.	
					This Bishop of Rome is in this Persecution Martyred with six Christians, for being Christians.	
		Xistus the second, alias Sixtus the second.			Lawrence, in this Persecution was Martyred, between whom and Xistus the Bishop, was love and words, as between the dearest Father and Son, especially when he saw Xistus going to Martyrdom. This Lawrence was a virtuous Levite, a Minister of the Sacraments, and a Disturber of the Churches riches. Whereupon the covetous Emperor demanding where he had bestowed the same, after three days respite gotten of the Emperor for answer, he brings the poor, saying, These are the precious Treachery of the Church. The Emperor conceiving himself mocked in this Answer,	79.

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Rome.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. I. Page
					<p>swer, commands <i>Lawrence</i> to be tormented to death, by pinching him with fiery Tongues, girding him with burning Plates, laying him on the iron Grate or Grid-iron red hot, roasting, broiling, toasting and turning him. In the suffering of all which, this is all that <i>Lawrence</i> said,</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>This side is now roasted enough, turn up, O Tyrant great. And see whether roasted or raw thou think'st the better meat.</i></p> <p>By this suffering of <i>Lawrence</i>, thus patiently suffering death in so great tortments, a Roman Soldier was converted, desiring to be baptised; thereupon he was martyred.</p> <p><i>Dionysius</i> Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>, with certain brethren, was banished in this Persecution to <i>Cephro</i>, for not worshipping the Heathen Gods, and proving that there was one only true God whom they ought to worship.</p> <p>In this Persecution were Martyred, Men, old and young, Women, Wives and Maids, and young simple innocents.</p> <p><i>Eusebius</i> the Deacon, notwithstanding his many persecutions, lived, ministering to the living fettered Confessors, and burying the dead Martyrs, and after was made Bishop of <i>Laodicea</i>, and after died in peace, about the year 268.</p> <p>In <i>Cæsarea Palestine</i> suffered Martyrdom, <i>Priscus</i>, <i>Malchus</i>, and <i>Alexander</i>, who became Martyrs by seeing the Christian courage of others Martyred.</p> <p>In the City of <i>Carthage</i> at this time were martyred 300.</p> <p>In <i>Simela of Italy</i> <i>Pontius</i> was Martyred by being first hanged on the Rack, then cast to the wild Beasts, then these not hurting him, was cast too into the fire, of which, as <i>Vincentius</i> saith, being not hurt, he was last of all beheaded and cast into the flood: His tormentors were so vexed after with spirits, that they bit off their tongues and died.</p> <p><i>Bergomensis</i> is here to be reprov'd, for writing in his 8th Book in the story of this Emperor <i>Valerianus</i>, that <i>Philippus</i> was Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>, and beheaded under the same <i>Valerian</i>, which is clean contrary to approved Authors, and the course of time.</p> <p>At this time was one <i>Philippus</i> made President of <i>Alexandria</i>, who had a Daughter named <i>Eugenia</i>, of rare beauty, who to avoid Marriage with a Pagan and Heathen Persecutor, fled from her Father, going in Mans Apparel, calling her self <i>Eugenius</i>, and for her parts was made Head of a Society of Christians, where a lustful Matron being enamoured with her beauty, supposing her to be a man, laboured to draw her to uncleanness with her; but <i>Eugenia</i> not consenting, this Matron accuseth <i>Eugenia</i> to have laboured to deflower her; whereupon the matter was brought before <i>Philippus</i> the President, who according to allegations, being about to condemn her to death, <i>Eugenia</i>, seeing no other evidences would serve, discovered her self to <i>Philippus</i>, to be an innocent, a Woman, and his Daughter, and so was restored and received of <i>Philippus</i> as an innocent and a Daughter, who not long after converted her Father to Christianity, who after died also a Martyr, and after his death <i>Eugenia</i> returning to <i>Rome</i> was also martyred.</p> <p>In the 6th year of <i>Valerianus</i> and <i>Galerius</i> were <i>Victor</i> and <i>Victorinus</i>, having been imprisoned three years, martyred.</p> <p><i>Fructuosus</i> Bishop of <i>Tarracoma</i> in <i>Spain</i>, with his two Deacons, <i>Argurinus</i>, and <i>Eulogius</i> were martyred at this time in the fire, for calling Idols dumb gods of flocks, and professing his worship, and opinion of the true God. It is reported by some that a Soldier saw the Heavens opened over them as they were in the fire, receiving them, a Soldier and the persecuting Presidents Daughter beholding the same.</p> <p>This Emperor <i>Valerian</i> having thus persecuted the Church, two of the seven years that he had reigned, he was taken in War by the King of <i>Persia</i>, and made his block to take Horse to his dying day.</p> <p><i>Claudius</i> his persecuting President was so vexed with the Devil, that he bit off his tongue and died.</p> <p><i>Galerius</i> the son of <i>Valerian</i>, for his part in persecuting, had many Earthquakes, and 30 Rebellions moved in his Empire. Whereupon he mitigated Persecution, yet some were somewhat troubled. His Father reigned seven years together with him; and he reigned nine alone, somewhat more quietly.</p> <p>The Ordinances put on that <i>Dionysius</i> are feigned. Some say he was Bishop 9 years, others 6 years and 2 Months.</p> <p>This <i>Claudius</i> was also a quiet Emperor. He reigned about two years.</p> <p>This Emperor was also quiet. He continued but seventeen days.</p> <p>This <i>Aurelianus</i> begins mildly, but anon after moves the ninth Persecution. In his mild time there was a Council of Christians at <i>Antioch</i>, he seeming not to be against it or them.</p> <p>In the beginning of his Tyranny, he makes his entrance into bloud with the death of his Sisters Son.</p> <p>As he was about to seal an Edict for Persecution, he was so terrified with Thunder and Lightning, that it stopped his Tyranny. About the fifth or sixth year of his Reign he was slain.</p> <p>This Emperor <i>Tacitus</i> reigned but six Months.</p> <p>This <i>Florian</i> reigned but sixty days.</p>	
262						80
						80
						80
						82
						82
266		Dionysius.				82
272	Claudius Quintilianus, Aurelianus.					83
278	Pub. An. Tacitus, Florianus.					In

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Anno Christi	Roman Emper.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	In the first year of this <i>Probus</i> was <i>Felix</i> Bishop, who died a Martyr. This Emperor <i>Probus</i> was a quiet Prince, and an enemy to idle soldiers; keeping his soldiers to diligent labour; whereupon his soldiers slew him, having reigned about six years.	Vol. 1. Page
280	Mar. Au.	Felix				
281	<i>Probus</i> .	<i>Eutichianus</i> .				
284	<i>Carus</i> with his sons <i>Carinus</i> and <i>Numerianus</i> .				This <i>Carus</i> warring against the <i>Persians</i> was slain with lightning. <i>Numerianus</i> immoderately lamenting for his Father, by much weeping made his eyes sore, whereby he being constrained to keep within doors, was slain of <i>Aper</i> his Father-in-law, which <i>Aper</i> would answer, when any asked for <i>Numerian</i> , that he kept private because of his sore eyes. Thus was he justly slain by <i>Aper</i> , who had slain godly <i>Cyrius</i> for refusing to admit him an Idolater into the Christians Temple.	84
285	<i>Aper</i> usurps the Empire.	<i>Caius</i> who was martyred in the 10th Persecution.			These two <i>Car.</i> and <i>Num.</i> being slain in the <i>East</i> parts; <i>Carinus</i> the other Son reigned alone in <i>Italy</i> , with much wickedness. At last the Army set up <i>Dioclesian</i> to be Emperor, and the Tribune slays <i>Carinus</i> , whose Wife <i>Carinus</i> had deiled. Thus these three <i>Car.</i> <i>Num.</i> and <i>Carin.</i> reigned not above three years.	
289					Thus the Church had much peace all this while, till the 19th year of <i>Dioclesian</i> : For The Church being in peace with the Heathens, dissent within her self, and lying still, gathers corruption; anon therefore to quiet and purge her in her self, Gods just wisdom sends them more Persecution, the tenth time.	
290	<i>Dioclesian</i> he chooseth <i>Maximianus</i> fellow Emperor with him.		<i>Carausius</i> alias <i>Ceraufus</i> .		This <i>Dioclesian</i> being nominated (as we said) to be Emperor, and being told by <i>Druas</i> his Concubine, he must slay a Bore before he could be Emperor, he runs with his sword upon <i>Aper</i> , for that, as he said, he had unjustly slain <i>Numerian</i> , and so slays him, and comes fully to the Crown.	
296			<i>Alektus</i> .		As <i>Dioclesian</i> for the troublousness of the Empire had joynd to him <i>Maximian</i> ; so these two chose to them <i>Galerius</i> and <i>Constantius</i> } <i>Cesars</i> under them.	
304		<i>Marcellinus</i> who was cited up, made to appear, and condemned by the Council of <i>Simugst</i> , Martyr. <i>Marcellus</i> Martyr. <i>Eusebius</i> Martyr. <i>Miltiades</i> Martyr.	<i>Asclepiodatus</i> . <i>Ceilus</i> .		About the nineteenth year of this <i>Dioclesian</i> , doth he begin the tenth Persecution, which lasted ten years together, exceeding the rest in length and sharpness. His first act in this Tragedy (after the above said peaceable preface) was to pull down the Christian Churches to the ground, to burn the Scriptures, and displace all Magistrates that would not abjure Christianity.	85
					The second Act was to assay by all possible torments, to make Bishops and Elders to sacrifice to Idols.	
					In the third act he comes to the common Christians; but first begins in his Camp, where many of his soldiers valiantly and voluntarily died to be soldiers of Christ, under the colours of Martyrdom. An infinite number of others were martyred. Nay, the very places and torments where and wherewith they were martyred, arise to a mighty multitude.	86
					At <i>Nicomedia</i> , a Christian, a Nobleman born, seeing the Edict of the Emperor set up for Persecution, takes it down, and tears it, the two Emperors being in the City, for which he was miserably tormented.	
					<i>Dioclesian</i> tyrannizeth in the East, and <i>Maximianus</i> in the West.	
					<i>Serena</i> , the Wife of <i>Dioclesian</i> the Emperor, is martyred for Christianity. 20000 Martyrs burned together in one Church.	86
					Martyrs in <i>Phrygia</i> are burnt with the whole City.	
					Divers in this Persecution were martyred in <i>France</i> , in <i>Spain</i> , <i>Britany</i> , so that in these Countries some Rivers were coloured with the blood of Christians.	87
					<i>Eusebius</i> an eye-witness of torment-Martyrdom executed on divers in <i>Thebaid</i> , and of tormentors wearied with exercising cruelty on the invincible patience of Christians, singing Psalms in torment to the last gasp.	
					<i>Marcellinus</i> revolts, anon he repents, and dyes a Martyr.	88
					An hundred Martyrs slain at once in one day, of men, women and children.	
					17000 Martyrs in one month slain.	
					300 Martyred at one time in <i>Alexandria</i> .	
					<i>Mauritius</i> the Captain, with 6666 of his soldiers martyred.	
					<i>Victor</i> with 360 martyred.	
					Christians increase in persecution.	88
305					<i>Dioclesian</i> and <i>Maximinian</i> , tired with persecuting, give up their Empire, and lead a private life, having reigned about one and twenty years, or near upon.	
	<i>Maximinus</i> and <i>Constantius</i> .		This <i>Constantius</i> extends his Empire over England.		These two, <i>Maximinus</i> and <i>Constantius</i> before <i>Cesars</i> , now become Emperors; <i>Maximinus</i> in the East, and <i>Constantius</i> in the West.	
					<i>Maximinus</i> chooseth his Sons <i>Maximinus</i> and <i>Severus</i> <i>Cesars</i> under him.	
					<i>Constantius</i> chooseth <i>Constantinus</i> his Son <i>Cesar</i> under him.	
309	<i>Maxentius</i> set up by the soldiers.				Against this <i>Maxentius</i> thus set up by the soldiers, <i>Maximinus</i> sent his Son <i>Severus</i> , which <i>Severus</i> being slain; he chose <i>Licinius</i> <i>Cesar</i> in his room.	
					These thus set up, some to be Emperors, viz. <i>Maximinus</i> , <i>Constantius</i> , <i>Maxentius</i> , and the rest as <i>Cesars</i> , continued the decennial Persecution, after <i>Dioclesian</i> and his Partner had given over. Saving that <i>Constantius</i> , and especially his Son <i>Constantinus</i> were kind to the Christians.	

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Rome.	Bishops of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Page.
311		Silvester the First.		Constantine seeming to be willing to most advance those that at a certain appointed solemnity, would most readily offer Sacrifice, and thereby according to his desire, discovering who were Heathenish Idolaters, and who Christians, he commending the Christian refusers and deriders of that idolatry, chose them for his Court, banished the others from him, as unfit for his service, that were Traitors to God.	90
				Contrariwise, Maximinus was very wicked in idolatry and cruelty; where God struck him with a swelling and Fistula in the belly and secret parts; which putrifying, brake out with swarms of Lice, with such a stink, that his Physician could not endure the stink; wherefore he was slain of this Maximinus. But by anguish of his Disease, he slack'd Persecution, as being conscious, and accordingly making confession that his persecuting had brought this upon him; and so acknowledging his offences to God.	91
				The Infidels themselves extol the only true God of the Christians. Anon, by the wicked device of Theotecnus an Enchanter, bringing the Christians out of credit with the Emperor, and of Praefectus Castrorum, who got certain Women to say in writing, that once they were Christians, and what lascivious acts they knew the Christians did upon the Sundays; the Emperor was incensed to let up Decrees of fresh persecution, in brass, whereby many Bishops and others were martyred.	92
				Upon this followed great Famine and Pestilence on the Heathen; to whom the Christians then shewed great relief, when the Heathens forsook each other.	93
				By this some peace came again to the Church; Maximinus revoking his brazen Decrees, and punishing his Enchanters that incensed him against the Christians.	
				Maximinus pretending to ask aid of Constantinus, to depose wicked Maxentius his Son, set up by the Soldiers to be Emperor (as we said) but intending indeed to slay Constantinus (for Maximinus would have him returned the Empire) was slain by Constantine's Officers. Hang'd as some say.	
				Maxentius this while goes on his wicked tyrannical reign, at Rome, murdering Hostages to be naught with their Wives: so that one Gentlewoman, her Husband being slain, slew her self to avoid his ravishing of her.	93
				Constantine, intreated of the Romans, came against Maxentius for his wickedness, warring upon him; and upon a Bridge made of Boats over Tiber (which Maxentius made to intrap and drown Constantine) was Maxentius intrapped and drowned.	94
				Constantine sets forth Decrees of favour to the Christians.	
				Licinius feigningly joins with Constantine in that act; for at the first there was great familiarity between them, Licinius marrying Constantine's Sister. But all Licinius his love was feigned, who, as he was an enemy to learning, calling it payson; and an enemy to honesty, loving all base vices; so he was an enemy to Constantine secretly (plotting against his person) and to the Christians, because he said that they prayed for Constantine, and not for him. And so he banished some Christians from his Court, and as covertly as he could, for Constantine persecuted divers Bishops and other Christians, very sorely, for about six years.	96
				For these things, at last, Constantine and he join Battel, and after many Battels, wherein still Licinius was beaten, at last was slain.	
				Anno 324.	
				Constantine the good Emperor, the Father of Constantine died a natural death, and was buried at York.	
				Dioctlesian died (as some write) by his own poison. Others say with sorrow of Constantine's prospering.	
				About the time of this Persecution was St. Alban, who was the first that I find that suffered Martyrdom in this Kingdom.	98
				Romanus, a rare Martyr, suffered at this time, who said, that so many wounds as he had, so many mouths he had to praise God.	
				A very young Child is a Confessor of Christ's God-head, and is martyred, the Mother rejoicing in the same.	99
				Menas, a famous Martyr, in the midst of great torments, cried out, that there was nothing to be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven.	100
				Martyrs put in a cold Pond all a Winters night.	
				A Schoolmaster martyred by his Scholars. The Story is in Verse.	101
				Eulalia, a singular Martyr, in the midst of other torment praised God.	102
				A place of Plaisure confuted.	103
				Great Persecution there was in Persia, where were slain sixteen thousand Martyrs.	109
				Constantinus writes to the King of Persia in behalf of the Christians.	
				Also he sets forth Edicts in his own Kingdom, of all peace and liberty (the Persecutors being now vanquished) and sets up Schools, prescribes Prayers, establisheth Religion, &c. in his Empire; conferring many privileges upon the Clergy.	

Thus

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Anno Christi.	Emper. of Greece or Constantinople.	Bishops of Rome.	The Kings of ENGLAND.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. r. Page.
337			Ottavius. Maximianus. Gratianus. Constantine the second.		Thus the Ten PERSECUTIONS (having lasted three hundred years) end, and a general PEACE begins in the Church, in the whole Roman Empire, in Constantine's good Government.
348		Librius.		Kings of Britain. Vortigernus, also Vortigernus.	In the time of this Vortiger, the Picts and Scots spoiled this Land, that Vortiger was fain to crave aid of the Saxons; which Saxons, at last growing strong, began to subdue the Land to themselves. Whereupon the Britains complained to Vortigern against the repairing of so many Saxons. But he not hearkning to them, was after seven years reign depolled by them, and Vortimer his Son is chosen King in his room, as followeth in the Table.
447			Saxon Kings begin to invade, and prepare for the setting up in England their Saxonish Hierarchy.	Vortimerus.	This Vortimer in some good measure suppresseth the Saxons. At length he was poisoned of his stepmother, having reigned six years.
454				Vortigernus, also Vortigernus.	Then the said Vortigern, before depolled, having again obtained this Kingdom, Hengiſtus enters it with abundance of Saxons. And when he saw the Britains too strong for him, he concluded peace with them; and under that covert, works Treason, slaying the Barons at Salisbury Plain; and thereby took the King Prisoner: And so in this Kingdom of England began the Kingdoms of the Saxons, until they came to seven Kingdoms, all Saxonish. Yet so, as though the Britains were thus deceived of their Land by the Saxons, the Britains were not utterly driven out, but that a certain Kingdom remained amongst them in some part of the Land; namely, about Cornwall and the parts of Cambria, which is divided into two parts, viz. South-Wales, called Demetia; and North-Wales, called Venedoea. Yea, many time the Britains did win upon the Saxons, till the time of Carecun; at which time the Britains were utterly vanquished out of Britain to Wales by Gormundus, whom they themselves lent for out of Ireland for their help.
456			Now the Hierarchy, or seven Kingdoms of the Saxons, viz. First, Kent, then South-Sax, West-Sax, Northumberland, Mercia, East-Sax, East Angles, begin every		
462			One in this order: Kent. South Sax. West Sax. Northumberland. East Angles. East Sax. Mercia.	The Britains Kings are driven to corners, their Kingdom now extending commonly but to part of Cornwall and Cambria.	
			Kent. In Kent reigned Hengiſtus 33 years. Eda or Iſta 24. Ocha Offa Emeritus 25. Ethelbertus 26. Ethelredus 24. Ercmbertus 24. Egebertus 9. Lotharias 12. Eadricus 6. Nivedus & Wilwardus 7. Witbertus 31. Egbert 23. Ethelbert 11. Adricus 34. Padricus 2. Eadredus 18. Balredus 18.	Aurelius Ambrosius.	Of the Kings of Kent, the first Kingdom of the seven, this Hengiſtus was slain.—Ethelbert, the first Saxon that received the faith, and subdued the other Kings, all save Northumberland.—King Ercmbert first commanded Lent to be fasted in his Dominions.—Egebert killed his Uncles two Sons.—To Eadricus his time all Canterbury Archbishops were Isidians.—In the Reign of this Baldred, his Kingdom was translated to Egbert King of West Saxons, who subdued him, Anno 832. and gave the Kingdom to his younger Son Athelstan; who dying, it was given to the elder Son of Egbert, named Ethelwolf. This Kingdom lasted 342 years.
* 478			Southſax. * Over Southſaxons Reigned Eſte 31 years. Cissa Nancanſus. Forth Ethelwulfus, Redwulfus, Conſiderius, Ethelwoldus, Adelwold, Adelrich 5. Adhamus.	One Penſegon. Aricus.	Of the Kings of South-Saxons; Cissa gave being and name to Ciceſter where he reigned.—Nancanſus a Britain, the chief Maſhal of King Uter, whom Porib the Saxon ſlew.—This Porib came in at the Haven called Porib-mouth from his name.—The little mention in Authors of Ethelwulfus, makes me think him to be that Adelwold, who is also called Ethelwald, which is afterwards named.—The little mention of Authos of Condebert and Ethelred, makes me think them to be thoſe Kings of Kent, Ercmbert and Egebert reigning at the ſame time.—Adelwold was

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Anno Christi	Emper of Greece	Kings of England.				Kings of Britain.		Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. I. Page.
		Constantinople.	West-Sax.	Northumb.	Merca.	East-Sax.	West-Sax.		
* 522			* Over West-Saxons reigned Cerdic 17. Keenwig 16. Ceolricus 20. Ceolric 5. Ceolwulf 14. Kingliffus & Runcilium. 32. Kanwal-ahw 31.						
* 547			Seaburg 1. Sifricus 2. Constantin 7. Cedwalla 3. Ioc 35. Edricus 14. Cedricus 16. Sigebert 1. Kioalf 31. Brithricus 19. Eghernus.	* Over Northumb. reigned Ida 18 years. After Ida this Kingdom was divided into the two Provinces, VIZ.  Deira, where reigned Alle Adda 30. y. Alst-Ethelricus 5. fildun Edwinnus. Northumb. 17. Off-Ethelricus 18. y. Offred Northumb. Offricus Northumb. Offricus 21. Offricus 21. Mollo 11. Alfredus 10. Ethelbert 5. Alfwoldus 11. Ethelbert North. 16.					
				After this King, this Kingdom ceased for 85 years. till Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, subdued it, & he did other Saxons, to his Dominions. After which Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, succeeded in Northumb. land over which reigned both					
* 561							* Over Mercia reigned Crida 35. Wibba 30. Ceolric 10.		

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The Kings of England.		Kings of Britain.	
Northumb.	Mercia.	Eastsex.	East Angles.
Penda 30. Wulfstan 29. Adelfred 30. Kenred 5. Ceolred Ethelbal- dus, 41. Bertraed 1.	Offa 39. Egfrid 1. Kenulphus 16 or 20. Kenelm Cotwulfus 1 or 3. Bernulfus 3. Ludecanus 2. Wilafus 12. He and his Successors 712.	* Over the East Saxons reigned Eriowinnus 25. Stedda 17. Sebertus 14. Sexredus. Sigbertus 23. Sibertus Switthil- nus 14. Sigbertus Sebbi Sig- thardus 8. Offa 5. Sethredus 38. Switbert- dus who was sub- dued to Egbert K. of Wes- sex. The Me- tropol- itan See of this Elix- us was Lo- ndon, where Ethelbert King of Kent built Pauls, o- thers joy- ning.	* Over East Angles reigned Uffa 30. Tithmar 13. Ketwal- dus 12. Erpwal- dus 38. Sigbert 3. Egbertus 3. Anna 3. Adalbert 2. Adilwal- dus 9. Adalulfus 25. Elkewaldus 12. Borna 26. Ebbilredus 98. Ethelbrihtus 5. S. Edmund Martyr 15.
578	580	588	589

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Anno Christi	Bishops of Rome	Kings of England	Arch- bishops of Canter- bury.		Vol. Page.
	Emperors of Greece.	King of Britain. Ethelbert. Eadric. Eadgar. Eadmund. Eadred. Eadwig. Eadgar. Eadmund. Eadred. Eadwig. Eadgar.			
600				gins would not permit this Gregory to effect these allusions: but after, be- ing Bishop next to Pelagius, he sent over <i>Aufim</i> , with other Preachers about the number of forty. <i>Aufim</i> sends to the said Gregory, to be resolved of divers doubts about the behaviour of Bishops, Manise of Priests, &c. which Gregory answers, granting Wives to the Priests that could not contain.	131
				<i>Aufim</i> , of a Monk, by Gregory his Pall made Archbishop of Canterbury: After he had baptized a great part of <i>Kent</i> , he made two Archbishops, by the command of the said Gregory, viz. the Archbishop of London, and the Archbishop of York.	
				This <i>Aufim</i> chargeth the said Bishops to assist in preaching to the English men, and that Reformation should be made in the Scottish and British Churches, in divers things; particularly, to change their time of Easter, to the custom of Rome: But the Scots and Britains utterly refused to change their custom.	
				<i>Aufim</i> was so proud, that he would not bow to seven Bishops, and one Archbishop, coming to a Council at his command; whereupon the said Bishops and Archbishop was so perverse, that they denied to assist him to convert the Idolatrous Saxons. A great fault on both sides.	132
				<i>Aufim</i> baptized (as Authors say) 10000 in one day, viz. the Feast of Christs Nativity. Observe, Fonts were not then in use; nor were there many Trinkets used about Baptism, as now at Rome; else <i>Aufim</i> could not have baptized so many in one day.	
604			2. Lawrenti- us.	<i>Aufim</i> fate some fifteen years Archbishop. He ordained Lawrence Arch- bishop.	
				See also Page 173 of the great Volume.	
				About this time departed Gregory Bishop of Rome, of whom it is said, he was the best of all his Predecessors, and the best of all his successors.	
				About this time died David, Archbishop of Cairleon.	
				About this time was Job, Patriarch of Alexandria: who of a hard spar- ing man became bountiful in Hospitality to the poor. He would twice a Week sit all the day at his Door, to take up matres, and make unity where was any variance. He lamented much one day because none came that day to him, as having done no good. But his Deacon persuaded him rather to joy, that he had brought the City into that good order, that there needed no reconciliation.	133
610				He was a malicious detractor of Gregory and his works. He continued scarce two years.	
				See Page 173 of the great Volume.	
	Sabinia- nus.		3. Mellitus.	He did more hurt in his one year being Bishop, than Gregory could do good in many. He obtained of Phocas the wicked Emperor, that he and his successors in that See should have an universal head-ship over all the Churches in Christendom.	
	Bonifacius the third.			This Boniface the Fifth sent Letters and Presents to K. Edwin of Northumber- land, a Pagan, to win him to the faith.	134
	Boniface 5.		4. Julfus.	Julfus ordained Paulinus Archbishop of York. Of him see also Page 173 of the great Volume.	134
627				K. Edwin being wounded by Treason with a Sword, was thereupon moved to cause that his Daughter should be baptized, and twelve more of his Family, in token that he also would be christened, as he promised to Christ, if he should give him Victory in Battel over the King of the West Saxons. But when he had the Victory, he ne- glected his promise, excusing himself, that he might not clearly deny his old Law which his Forefathers had kept so long, and sud- denly be christened without authority and advice of his Council. But by preaching of Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, he left his Mahometry. At last by Paulinus his earnest prayers to God, and pressing the King with his promise, he received the faith, and was baptized with many of his Subjects with him. After this the said Paulinus baptized daily many multitudes. And great peace was throughout the Kingdom, so that a Woman laden with Gold might have gone quietly.	
				Of Honorius Archbishop, see Page 173 of the great Volume.	
634			5. Honorius.	Six years after Edwin's Baptism (who brought in the faith in the North parts) was he slain in Battel by Cedwalla the British King and by wicked Penda King of the Mercians, in the Field called Hat- field.	135
				Edwin being dead, and Cedwalla with his Britains and wicked Pen- da with his idolatrous Mercians, spoiling the Country, Paulinus, with the Queen Edelburg, was fain to fly by water into Kent, where Paulinus was Bishop of Rochester nineteen years: No Bi- shop being in Northumberland for thirty years after. But Pauli- nus had left James, a godly Deacon, who preached and baptized many, till peace and the former condition of that Country re- turned.	
				By means of Edwin, Erpwaldus King of the East-angles, was reduced to Christs Faith.	

A Chronology.

Year	Roman Emperors of the West.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. Page.
636		Honorius I.	<div> <div>King of Britons.</div> <div>King of East Angles.</div> <div>King of West Saxons.</div> <div>King of Northumbria.</div> <div>King of Mercia.</div> <div>King of Kent.</div> </div>		<p>After Edwin and his Son, slain both in Batel, <i>Oftricus</i> and <i>Enfridus</i> reigned there, the one in <i>Deira</i>, the other in <i>Bernicia</i>. These two being first Christened in <i>Scotland</i>, after being Kings returned to their Idolatry, and so the year following were both slain by <i>Cedwalla</i> and <i>Penda</i>.</p> <p>After whom succeeded <i>Ofwaldus</i>, ruling both Provinces, <i>Deira</i> and <i>Bernicia</i>; whom when <i>Cedwalla</i> and <i>Penda</i> thought to slay also, he being smaller in number, cried to God in prayer, to help him, for the salvation of his people, against those two enemies, and so in the field called <i>Denesbury</i>, he conquered <i>Cedwalla</i> and <i>Penda</i>.</p> <p>This <i>Ofwald</i> did disdain not to expound and preach the Gospel to his people.</p> <p>By this <i>Ofwald's</i> means, <i>Kimigilsus</i>, King of <i>West Saxons</i> was converted, through the preaching of <i>Berinus</i>, who was sent by Pope <i>Honorius</i> into <i>England</i> to preach; which <i>Berinus</i> was made Bishop of <i>Dorchester</i>, by whom <i>Kimigilsus</i> was baptised.</p> <p><i>Kimigilsus</i> made the same day, the same <i>Ofwaldus</i> to be both his Godfather and his Son-in-law.</p> <p><i>Ofwald</i>, having reigned nine years is slain by <i>Penda</i>.</p> <p><i>Penda</i> is slain by <i>Ofwie</i> the Brother of <i>Ofwald</i>, King after him in the Kingdom of <i>Northumberland</i>. He married his Daughter to <i>Weda</i>, Son of <i>Penda</i>, and made him King of <i>South-Mercia</i>, upon condition he should become a Christian, which when <i>Penda</i> his Father was dead, he performed.</p> <p><i>Wulfers</i> his Brother succeeded, who was christened, and is counted the first christened K. of <i>Mercia</i>.</p> <p><i>Aidanus</i> a <i>Scottish</i> Bishop, having a stately and princely Horse given him with Trappers, by K. <i>Ofwina</i> of <i>Deira</i>, to the end that he might not so much travel on foot: meeting a poor man asking alms of him as he rode, and having nothing else to give him, gave him his Horse trapped as he was. The K. rebuking him for parting with that choice Horse, when other meaner might have served the Begger; the Bishop replied, <i>Doſt thou, O King, ſet more by an Horſe, the foal of an Horſe, than by the Son of Mary, yea, the Son of God?</i> At which words the King fell at his feet, promiſing never after to gainſay any charity he ſhould ſhew.</p> <p><i>Benedict</i> or <i>Benet</i>, ſurnamed <i>B.</i> (who brought up <i>Bede</i> from ſeven years old, all his life in learning) a Nobleman, and in great favour with King <i>Ofwie</i>, left all honour and preferment to ſerve Chriſt; and ſuſtained the Kingdom with good Books fetched from <i>Rome</i>. He alſo brought in <i>Glaſſing</i> into <i>England</i>.</p>
643					135
651		Vitalianus alias Vitalianus.			
664				Aetodanus alias Deus dicitur.	
666					136
					137
					138

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. I. Page	
668			<div>King of Britain.<div><div>East Angles.</div><div>West Saxons.</div><div>Northumbria.</div><div>West Saxons.</div><div>South Saxons.</div><div>Kent.</div></div></div>	7. Theodore.	<p>ing born of the Virgin <i>Mary</i>, by the power of God, without mans seed, and at last was taken up to Heaven, but was not slain, but another in his likeness for him; with many other wicked blasphemies in his Law contained. At length this Kingdom of the <i>Saracens</i> began to be conquered of the <i>Turks</i>, and in process of time wholly subdued unto him, as we shall declare in the years following, in which those several passages were done.</p> <p>This <i>Theodore</i> was sent from <i>Italy</i> into <i>England</i>, by <i>Vitelianus</i> the Pope, to be Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i>, and divers other Monks of <i>Italy</i> to set up here in <i>England</i>, <i>Latin-service</i>, <i>Masses</i>, and such other <i>Romish</i> ware. This <i>Theodore</i> plays <i>Rex</i>, displacing <i>Ceddus</i> and <i>Wilfrid</i>, Archbishops of <i>York</i>, pretending they were not lawfully Consecrated; notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their Kings, and were placed against their wills.</p> <p>In the time of this <i>Theodore</i>, a Synod was held at <i>Thetford</i>, ordaining that <i>Easter</i> should be kept throughout the Realm upon one certain day, <i>vizc. Prima 14. Luna mensis primi</i>. That no Bishop should meddle in anothers Diocess. That Monasteries should be free from Bishops Jurisdiction. That Monks should not stray from their own Monastery to another: Nor a Clergy-man from his own Bishop to anothers Diocess. That Synods Provincial should be kept in the Realm at least once a year; with divers other Ordinances of like nature.</p> <p>In the next year after that Synod, was held the sixth General Council at <i>Canstane</i>: At which was <i>Theodore</i> under Pope <i>Agatho</i> present, where it was permitted that <i>Greek</i> Priests should have wives, and forbidden to the <i>Latin</i>.</p> <p>In the sixth year of <i>Ivo</i>, beginning to reign about this time, most valiantly warring against the <i>Kenish Saxons</i>, was one <i>Cutblake</i> a Confessor, who first was a Monk, and after an <i>Ancorite</i>. <i>Ofredus</i> succeeds his Father <i>Alfred</i> in <i>Northumberland</i>. <i>Philippicus</i> is mentioned after pag. 143.</p> <p>In the 16th year of <i>Ivo</i>, <i>Ethelred</i> King of <i>Mercia</i> having reigned 30 years, was made a Monk, and after Abbot of <i>Bardney</i>. <i>P. Coph</i> is mentioned pag. 143. *<i>Q</i></p> <p>This year being about the 18th of King <i>Ivo</i> his reign, died that learned Bishop <i>Adelmus</i>, first Abbot of <i>Malmesbury</i>, after Bishop of <i>Shirburne</i>; which See was after united to <i>Winton</i>.</p> <p><i>John</i> of <i>Beverly</i>, Bishop of <i>York</i>, dieth.</p> <p>In the time of <i>Ivo</i>, who reigned 37 years, began first the right observation of <i>Easter-day</i> by the <i>Picts</i> and <i>Britains</i>: in which observati-on three things are necessary:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The full Moon of the first Month, (1) of <i>March</i>.2. The Dominical Letter.3. The Equinoctial day, which was wont to be counted, in the East Church, and especially among the <i>Egyptians</i>, to be about the 17th of <i>March</i>. <p>So that the Full Moon, either on the Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day, being observed, the next Dominical-day following that Full Moon, is to be taken for <i>Easter-day</i>. But then two things must be noted,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. That the fulness of the Moon must be perfectly full: So that it be the beginning of the third week of the Moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the Moon.2. That the said perfect fulness of the Moon, beginning the third week, must happen either in the very evening of the Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day: For else, if it happen either on the Equinoctial day before the evening, or before the Equinoctial, it belongeth to the last month of the last year, and not to the first month of the first year, and so serveth not to be observed. <p>This rite in keeping <i>Easter</i> being received in the <i>Latin</i> Church, began now among the <i>Picts</i> and <i>Britains</i>, through the busy travel of <i>Theodorus Cantuariensis</i>, but namely of <i>Elbert</i> the holy Monk, as they term him, and of <i>Colfrid</i>, Abbot of <i>Sirwin</i>.</p> <p>This <i>Colfrid</i> wrote also to <i>Narcannus</i>, or <i>Naitonus</i> the King of the <i>Picts</i>, concerning the shaving of Priests Crowns, as necessary to the Vow of a Monk, or degree of a Priest, for restraint. And thus began this Ceremony, without any proof of Scripture.</p> <p>Pope <i>Gregory</i> the second is mentioned pag. 143. *<i>Q</i></p> <p>King <i>Ivo</i> yet reigning, being the 37th year of his reign, is importunately perswaded by his Queen <i>Ethelburga</i> to turn Monk at <i>Rome</i>; to which, when he did not at first yield, the King departing to some other place, the Queen caused all the Kings glorious Palace to be smeared and filled with Hogs, and dung, and filth, and in their lodging Chamber was put a Sow with young Pigs. Then the Queen brings the King to that Palace, saying, I pray you my Lord, behold this house, where are now all the rich hangings, and clothes of gold, &c. that were left here the other day? be not all these gone? In like manner shall we vanish away, and our bodies, now delicately fed, shall turn to the filth of the earth; wherefore remember my words, and purchase that Palace</p>	139
679		Agatho.				
680						
681						
689		Sergius I.				
705	Philippicus.			8. Brithwald or Eorwal-dus,		
707		Constantine.				
717						
724		Gregor. 2.			140	

A Chronology.

Ann. Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	that is eternal. Thus the did win the King to Rome in the habit Vol. 1. of a poor man, and become a Monk; and the her self became the Page of a Barking Nuntery, seven miles from London.
729			King of East Angles. King of East Saxons. Mertin. Northumbria. Northumbria. South Saxons. Kent.	For this Beda wrote Pope Sergius the first, requiring Celsid Abbots of Wre-Abbey, to send up the said Beda to Rome, for the fame of his learning: The Church of Rome (as appears by that Sergius his Letter) making use of Beda for discussing of many controversies in learning; all the Latin Church giving him the mastery in judgment and knowledge of the Latin Fathers. In all his explanations he omitting curiosity of skill, mainly endeavoured to inform his Reader in the love of God, and of his neighbour. Thus Beda continued to the age of sixty two years. He translated the Gospel of St. John into English. He made a comfortable and godly end.	
735	Constantin. 6.	Gregory 3. mentioned pag. 167.		9. Tatinius, or Tatuvius. 10. Nothelmus.	Of Constantine the sixth. See the first great Vol. pag. 686. Pope Zachary is mentioned in this page. See also pag. 137. of the great Volume, how he forbade all Funeral Exequies, and lamentations to be made for him.
741		Zachary.		11. Cuthbert alias, Cuthbert.	Egbert King of Northumberland erected a Noble Library in York. This Cuthbert collected this year a great Synod of Bishops and Prelates, in the month of September, at Clovesho: there decreeing that Bishops should be more diligent in admonishing the people, live in peace, visit yearly the Parishes of their Dioceses: that Priests should not be ordained till their lives were examined, being ordained, should not meddle with secular affairs: with divers other Ordinances touching Monasteries, Baptism, the Holy Supper, Prayer, &c.
747					Of Leo the Fourth, Emperor of Greece, besides this page, see p. 147. A Copy of these Ordinances Cuthbert sent to Boniface Bishop of Mentz, an English man, which Boniface died a Martyr, as Popish stories term him.
					This Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, writes to Ethelbald King of Mercia in Latin rebuking him, that whilst he contemned lawful Matrimony, he did defile the sacred Nuns.
					This Boniface being admitted Archbishop of Magunza by Pope Gregory the second, brought divers Countries of the Germans under the Pope, and set up abundance of Popish Prelates and Ceremonies, as worshipping of Reliques, &c.
					87 In the time of this Archbishop, Pope Gregory the second, Pope Gregory the third, Pope Zachary, and before these, Constantine, the first, wrought great matters against the Greek Emperors, Philippicus, and Leo, and others; for the maintaining of Images to be set up in Churches: of whom Philippicus lost both his Empire and both eyes; and Leo lost the Popes blessing, being Excommunicated by Gregory the third. This Gregory the third was he that penned the four Books of Dialogues in Greek, falsely bearing the name of Gregory the first: Which Books after Zachary his successor translated into Latin. Of Leo the fourth, see in Ann. 775.
					Also by the authority of the said Archbishop Boniface, which he had received from Pope Zachary, Childericus King of France, was deposed from the right of his Crown, and Pipinus the betrayer of his Master, was confirmed.
					From this Boniface proceeded that detestable Doctrine registered in the Popes Decrees, Dist. 40. That though the Pope were so wicked in himself, and towards others, that he led innumerable souls to Hell, yet no man ought to rebuke him, having power to judge all men.
					Kennilphus succeeds slain Sigebert, defending his Lordship strongly against his enemies, till he resorting to a Paramour he kept at Merton, was there beted and slain.
					Offa King of Mercia winning victories of the Kentishmen, took such displeasure against Canterbury, that he moved the Primacy, the Archbishops See, and Lands of Lambeth (by the agreement of Pope Adrian) to Lichfield.
		Stephan. 2.			Stephanus Predecessor, viz. Pope Zachary, gave the Kingdom of France to Pipinus, deposing Childerike; and now Pipin gratifies the See of Rome, in giving this Stephanus his time, to that See, the Exarchat or Principedom of Ravenna, the Kingdom of the Lombards, many other great possessions of Italy, with all the Cities thereto adjoining,

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. Page
757		Paulus 1.	<div>King of Briton. 12. Brigwyne, or Brigantius. 13. Lambert, alias, Jambert, alias, Lambrightus.</div>	<p>To this <i>Pippinus</i> was sent into <i>France</i> the invention of Organs out of <i>Grecia</i>, by <i>Constantine</i>, Emperor of <i>Constantinople</i>.</p> <p>This Pope <i>Paul</i> thundred out Excommunications against <i>Constantine</i> Emperor of <i>Constantinople</i>, for pulling down Images in Churches: but the said Emperor slighting the Pope, held on in his practice, destroying Idolatry to the end of his life.</p> <p>Of this Archbishop, see pag. 173. of the great Volume.</p> <p>This Pope <i>Constantine</i> was a Lay-man: for the which he was shortly deposed, his eyes thrust out, and he thrust into a Monastery.</p> <p>This Pope made a Decree that no Lay-man should be Pope. Also he condemned the seventh Council of <i>Constantinople</i>, as heretical, for condemning worshipping of Images.</p> <p>This Pope wrote a Book of the worshipping and utility of Images, calling them Lay-mens <i>Kalenders</i>, holding a Synod against them that speak against them.</p> <p>Of <i>Lamb.</i> Archbishop, see pag. 173. of the great Volume, how that Metropolitan See in his time was translated to <i>Lichfield</i>.</p> <p>Pope <i>Adrian</i> clothed the body of St. <i>Peter</i> in silver, and covered the Altar of St. <i>Paul</i> with a pall of gold.</p> <p>King <i>Celaphus</i> as his Father turned Monk, dies this year, wherein many Cities, as <i>London</i>, <i>Wint. York</i>, <i>Doncaster</i>, were burned with sudden fire, pag. 85.</p> <p>Till this time the Liturgy of St. <i>Ambrose</i> was much used in the <i>Italian</i> Churches. But now this <i>Adrian</i> confirms the Mass of St. <i>Gregory</i> above the Mass of St. <i>Ambrose</i>, by a pretended revelation and miracle, that when <i>Ambrose's</i> his Mass-book, and <i>Gregory's</i> Mass-book were put upon an Altar in a Church, the doors sealed up, the morrow the leaves of St. <i>Gregory's</i> Book were scattered abroad in the Church, and the other Book lay open upon the Altar: which <i>Adrian</i> expounded, that <i>Gregory's</i> Mass should be dispersed throughout the Church, and not that of St. <i>Ambrose</i>.</p> <p><i>Carolus</i> following his Father <i>Pippin's</i> devotion, did confirm his Fathers Donations to the See of <i>Rome</i>, adding also therunto the City and Dominion of <i>Venice</i>, <i>Hiria</i>, &c. The Pope to requite his kindness, makes him to be intitled, <i>Most Christian King</i>. This <i>Charles</i> makes the Pope Prince of <i>Italy</i> and <i>Rome</i>; and makes <i>Charles Patricium Romanum</i>, and moreover ordained him only to be taken Emperor of <i>Rome</i>.</p> <p>In this year 780, it rained blood at <i>York</i>: which is thought of some Expositors, to betoken the coming of the <i>Danes</i> into the land, who entred about seven years after, in the ninth year of <i>Brigbrius</i> King of <i>Wessexons</i>.</p> <p><i>Edelburga</i> poysoneth King <i>Brigbrius</i> her Husband, and after playing the Harlot with a Monk, ended her life in great penury and misery.</p> <p><i>Irene</i> Empress of <i>Greece</i>, takes up at <i>Constantinople</i> the body of <i>Constantine</i> Emperor of <i>Constantinople</i>, her Husbands Father, and having burnt it, casteth the ashes into the sea, for that he disannulled Images.</p> <p><i>Egbert</i> of the blood royal, is banished by <i>Brigbrius</i> now reigning over the <i>Wessexons</i> in <i>England</i>: because the said <i>Brigbrius</i> feared <i>Egbert's</i> coming to his Crown.</p> <p>The Archbishop <i>Eitelard</i>, by his Epistles to Pope <i>Leo</i>, obtained the Metropolitan See again to <i>Canterbury</i>, see pag. 173. of the great Volume.</p> <p>King <i>Offa</i> dies. After him succeeds <i>Egbert</i>, then <i>Kennilphus</i>, after him his son, who in his tender age was wickedly murdered by his siter <i>Quinreda</i>.</p> <p>Thus far of the troublesome seven Kingdoms of the <i>Saxons</i>, of whom observe these general observations.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. That they brought in the first Crofs and Altar into this Kingdom, Anno 635.2. They set up Schools at <i>Cambridge</i>, Anno 630.<div>Eleven Monasteries, besides four built by King <i>Edgar</i>.</div>3. They set up about Four Nunneries.<div>Thirteen more noted Abbeyes, besides many of less note.</div>4. That Queens and Kings daughters, amongst them in all to the number at least of eighteen, have turned Nuns.5. That at least nine of those <i>Saxon</i> Kings became Monks. <p>In this time came in the <i>Danes</i> first into the North parts of <i>England</i>, and were driven out again.</p> <p><i>Egbert,</i></p>	
764		Stephan. 2.			
775		Adrian 1.			
780					
	Emp. of France.				
	<i>Carolus Magnus</i> .				
784					
793					
795	<i>Carolus Magnus</i> being before made Emperor of <i>Rome</i> , by the means of <i>Adrian</i> the Pope, and Pope <i>Leo</i> the third, next succeeding, the Empire is translated in this year 801, fully from <i>Greece</i> to <i>France</i> .	Leo the third. See p. 177. the great Vol.			
801					
802					

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of France.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Anno Christi
807	Iudovicus Pius.	Stephanus the fourth, pas. 177, of the great Volume.	The 7 Kingdoms of the Saxons are united into a Monarchy.	Osfredus.	151
810					
814					
826					
			EGBERT.		
832					
833					
834					
				Festgeldus, alias, Theopylus. In the same year, viz. 832 was Calixtus.	
837	Leobertus.		ETHELWOLFUS.		151
840					
844					
843		Serpius the second.			
846		Leo the fourth.			
854		Joan, called Joan the eighth.			
856		Benedict 3.			
857			Ethelbald.		156
			Ethelbert, alias, Ethelbertus.		
858					
867		Nicholas the 1. or Magmus.			
870		Adrian, alias Hadrian the second. See p. 180. of the great Vol.	Ethelred.		
871				Ethelred, alias, Ethelredus.	

Egbert, of the blood Royal, being chased into France by Brightricus, as we said, for safety of his Crown from so near a blood; and Brightricus being now dead, he speeds from France into Westsax, obtaining by his wife behaviour the said Kingdom. Bernulphus King of Mercia, and other Kings deriding him with scoffs and rimes, provokes him to bid Bernulphus battle, wherein he conquered him, and possessed his Kingdom. Then made he war upon the Kentish Saxons, and conquered them. He also subdued Northumberland. Thus he brought these three Kingdoms to be tributary to him, and joynted them to his Kingdom. Also this Egbert wan from the Britains the Town of Chester. Thus these victories being gotten, he calls a Council at Winchester, and is Crowned King over this land, which before was called Britain: but he sent out command and Commiffions, that from that day forward the Saxons should be called Angles, and the land Anglia.

A General Synod is held at Aquisgrane, by the command of Ludovicus the Emperor, King of France. There Pope Gregory the Fourth decrees that Priests should have maintenance of Lands belonging to their several Churches, and not go about begging. All glorious apparel, rings, &c. forbidden Priests.

About this year the Heathenish people of the Danes (who a little before in Northumberland had murdered the Ministers, and ruined the Churches) came the second time with a great host into England. Egbert gave them battle, but had the worst.

The Danes are incouraged by their success against Egbert to enter again this year into England; and in long time and many years after could not be utterly beaten out.

Thus this Kingdom hath been
hitherto plagued with five
fundry Nations: Namely,

1. By the Romans.
2. By the Scots.
3. By the Picts.
4. By the Saxons.
5. By the Danes.

Ethelwulfus the Son of Egbert, and in former time a Deacon, and after a Bishop of Winchester (as some will) is King after his Father, by dispensation of the Pope, but still in mind devout to his Order, giving the tenth of his goods and lands in Westsaxons to the Clergy. He gave also Peter-pence to Rome, (i.e.) a penny of every fire house thorough his Kingdoms, with many more Donations to Rome.

He married Judith the Daughter of Carolus Calvus, the French King: whom he rethored to the title of Queen. For before it was a Decree of the Westsaxons, for Queen Ethelburg's poisoning of her Husband King Brightricus, that no Kings Wife should have the title of Queen.

In the later end of the reign of this Ethelwulfus the Danes brake into England, doing great spoil on the land and lives, and blood of men.

This Pope, whose name was Os Porei, for the shame thereof, was the first that brought in the altering of Popes names.

This Pope Leo was Tutor or Guardian to Alured, committed to him by Ethelwulf the Father of Alured.

This Pope ordained that no Bishop should be condemned under seventy two Witnesses. An example was practised in condemnation of Stephen Gardiner.

This Pope Joani proper name was Gilberta. She was a Dutch woman of Magunce; who going out of the Abbey of Fulda, with an English Monk in mans apparel to Athens, and becoming learned, by her wit came to sit Pope two years and six months. At last in an open procession fell into travel with her child, and so died. Ever since the Cardinals come not by that part of the street where this shame was.

This Benedict ordained Dirge for the dead.

Ethelbald the first Son succeeds Ethelwulfus his Father in the Kingdom of Westsaxons. He is infamous for lying with, and marrying of his step-mother.

Ethelbert the second Son succeeds his Father Ethelwulfus in the Kingdom of Kent.

After these two, the third son of Ethelwulfus, viz. Ethelred, succeeded; who was mightily troubled with the Danes.

This Pope Nicholas enlarged the Popes Decrees, equalling them to the writings of the Apostles. He decreed that Service should be in Latin: He began the forbidding Priests to marry: against which Hilderich Bishop of Aushurg wrote a learned Epistle to the said Pope, proving the lawfulness of Priests marriage.

After Ethelbald and Ethelbert succeeded Ethelred their Brother, the third son of their Father Ethelwulfus.

In the later days of King Ethelred, the Danes invaded this land, spoiling and murdering.

This

A Chronology.

Anno Christi;	Emper. of Fran.	Roman. Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	This John, succeeding next to Hadrian the second, and preceding next before Marinus or Martinus the second (as Mr. Fox calls him) is counted by others, as Reusner, and others, John the eighth. Of this Pope John see 108. of the great Volume.	Vol. Page
876 879	Carolus Calvus.	John the 9.	Alured, alias Alfred, brother to Ethelred.		Alured was eminent above his Predecessors, for Valor, Vertue and Learning. He was the first English King. He was much vexed with the Danes, who did win from him all the North part of England, from the River Thames. But after, they laboring to chase him out of the South part, he flying for the present, after a while beat them, and chased them from thole parts, see p. 183. of the great Volume.	157
882		Martin the 2.			Others call him Marinus, without any first or second. See Reusners Chronol. and Habicus. Of this Pope, see pag. 180. of the great Volume.	
884		Adrian, alias Hadrian 3.			By this Hadrian the third (of whom see pag. 180.) it was decreed, that no Emperor after that time, should have any thing to do in the Election of the Pope. Thus the Emperors began to decay, and the Popes to increase.	
885 889		Stephen 5.		Pielmundus alias Plegmund.	Of this Pope Stephen, see p. 180. of the great Volume.	159
891					Ethelred having thus overcome the Danes, and having made them to yield to the Conditions that he propounded, one of which was, to baptize their Prince Guthrim, he naming him Athelstan: he permitted the said King Athelstan to hold all East Angles in Fee from him. Which Athelstan, having reigned rather as a Tyrant then an under King, eleven years, dyed this year. Not long after which, the Danes landed in this Land, in four places. But they were valiantly beaten back.	
896 897		Formosus.			King Arnulphus, for refusing of Pope Formosus from his Captivity among the Romans, is Crowned by the said Pope, Emperor	
		Bonifacius 6.			This Boniface was Pope but five and twenty days.	162
		Stephen 6.			This year the Danes come again into England, but some of them were slain; some of them, and thirty Ships, were taken; and others of them were hanged.	
					This Pope Stephen, for hate of Formosus, dissolved his Decrees, took up his Body after it was buried, and cut two Fingers off his right Hand, and cast them into Tyber; and buried the Body again in a private mans Sepulcher.	
898		Romanus, Theodorus 2.			Pope Romanus continued Pope but three months. Theodor the second was Pope but twenty days.	
899					Alfred having reigned twenty nine years and six months, dyes. He is reputed for a man of a liberal Heart and a godly Life. He caused Schools of Learning to be set up, especially in the West parts. For amongst the Britains, long before, in King Arthurs time, in the Town of Chester, was taught Grammar, Philosophy, and other Arts and Sciences. After, in Egberts time (as Writers affirm) Philosophy began to flourish in England. About which time, as some think, Grancheester University by Cambridge began to be founded by Beda. Sigebert also Founded Schools in England, as Alcuinus will. And yet before these, some think that Greeklade, a Greek University; and Latinlade, a Latine University in this Land, was Founded.	
					Alfred Translated many good Books, and made one of his own, in the common Language of this Land.	
898		John the 10			That Pope John which next succeeded Pope Theodor, and preceded next before Pope Benedict the fourth, was Pope about this year; whom Mr. Fox terms John the tenth: but others, John the ninth.	
	Emp. of Germ.	Benedict. 4.			Of this Translation of the Empire, see p. 169. of the first great Volume, col. 2. lin. 34.	
903	About this time (saith M. Fox) the Empire is translated from France to Germany among the Aloumiers, where it is to this day.		EDWARD the elder.		This King Edward was inferior to his Father Alfred in Learning; but more eminent in military Affairs: Conquering this Land to himself from petty Kings, and from invading Danes.	
904		Leo the 5.			Ethelwoldus, King Edwards, Uncles son, rebels against King Edward, joining with the Danes. But first he was made to fly into France; after, he returning with more Forces of Danes, is slain.	
905		Chritophorus the 1.			This Pope Sergius beheaded Pope Formosus after his death; as Pope Stephen the sixth before had disfigured him after death.	
906		Sergius 3.			Of this Conradus, whom Mr. Fox calls Conractus, see p. 169. of the first great Volume.	
912		Anastafius 3.			King Edward assaulted of the Danes, he slays two Kings, two Earls, and many thousands of Danes.	163
913		Lando.			Of others he is counted the tenth Pope John. This Pope was smothered with a Pillow.	
915		John 11.		Athelstan.	This Adelfan was King Edwards son, by her of his three Wives that was called Egwin. Adelfan was wife and vallant.	
916					Duke Elfred conspires to put out Adelfans eyes. He is sworn at Rome upon accusation of it. He forswearing that he intended it not when as he did, fell down, and in three days dyed.	
924			Adelfan, or Ethelstan.	Wilhelmus.	Ethelstan, for peace sake with the Danes, he married to Suthericus their Kings sister. But Suthericus dying in a year, he selieth that Province into his own hands.	
927					Constantine, King of Scots, breaks Covenant with Ethelstan, and thereupon beaten by Ethelstan in War.	OF

A Chronology.

<i>Anno Christi</i>	<i>Emp. of Germ.</i>	<i>Roman Bishops.</i>	<i>Kings of England</i>	<i>Archbishops of Canterbury.</i>		<i>Vol. I. pag.</i>
932		John 12.			Of others this Pope <i>John</i> is called the eleventh. This Pope <i>John</i> was the son of <i>Marozia</i> an Harlot. He is deposted by the Clergy and People of <i>Rome</i> , not agreeing to his Election, and <i>Leo</i> the sixth is put in his room.	
933					<i>Brifanus</i> is Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> ; of whom its feigned, that to him praying for departed Souls, as he stood in <i>Winchester</i> Church-yard, many Souls answered, Amen: which if it had been so, how were those Souls in Purgatory?	
934	The translation of that Empire to Germ. is perfected in	Leo 6.			Of this <i>Orto</i> Emperor, see Vol. 1. p. 145. and p. 192. col. 2. of the great Volume.	
935	<i>Orto</i> 12.	Stephen 7.		Odo	Of others, as <i>Reusner</i> , &c. he is termed <i>Leo</i> the seventh. He is Pope seven months.	162
		John the 22 restored.			Touching this <i>Stephen</i> to be the seventh, see Vol. 1. p. 162. with p. 162. in the margin.	
940		Leo the 7. Stephen 8.	EDMUND.		This <i>Stephen</i> having been Pope two years, according to Mr. Fox, was poisoned. Pope <i>John</i> the twelfth (as Mr. Fox reckons him) is restored to the Popedom again.	
941					<i>Edmund</i> was brother to <i>Atbelstan</i> , succeeds in the Crown, <i>Atbelstan</i> dying without Issue.	
942	Martin 9. alias Marston 2. Agapetus 2.			Elisar.	Monks are put out of <i>Eufham</i> Monastery, and Canons put in their place.	
946			EDWIN.		<i>Odo</i> Arch-bishop of <i>Canterbury</i> lived to this <i>Edmunds</i> time, and called a Synod to fix up Ministers to Preach.	
955					<i>Dunstan</i> is now Abbot of <i>Glastenbury</i> , in this Kings time, before he was Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .	
					Of Pope <i>Martin</i> the third, and <i>Agapetus</i> the second, see the first great Vol. p. 189.	
					King <i>Edmund</i> is slain by <i>Pulcher</i> Church. See the first great Vol. p. 196. col. 1.	169
					<i>Edwin</i> the eldest son of King <i>Edmund</i> , succeeds in the Throne after King <i>Edmund</i> .	
					This King <i>Edwin</i> kept a strange Woman, the Wife of a man whom he had slain (as some say) to which Woman he on the first day of his Coronation, breaking from his Lords, and going into the Chamber; <i>Dunstan</i> Abbot of <i>Glastenbury</i> , follows him, brings him back by the hand, accuses him to <i>Orto</i> Archbishop; <i>Orto</i> separates him from the Woman, and suspends him out of the Church. For this <i>Dunstan</i> is made fly over the Sea, and the Monks, as well in other Monasteries as <i>Dunstan</i> of <i>Glastenbury</i> , are thrust out, and Secular Priests put in their room.	
					This was Pope <i>John</i> the Twelfth (as others reckon.) He was an Adulterer, a Whore-master, an Incestuous person, an Extortioner, a Gainer. From his wicked meritment in these Evils, came the Proverb, <i>As merry as Pope John</i> . He cuts out the Tongues, puts out the Eyes, cuts off the Noses and Fingers of his Cardinals. He himself at last is deposted, but after restored. Of him see the first great Vol. p. 205.	
959			EDGAR.		<i>Edwin</i> is hated for his misdemeanors of his Subjects, chiefly them of <i>Northumberland</i> and <i>Mercia</i> , by whom he is removed from his Kingly Honor, and <i>Edgar</i> received in his stead. So that the River <i>Thames</i> divided both their Kingdoms, <i>Edwin</i> having reigned four years alone, dies without Heir, and so <i>Edgar</i> his Brother succeeds.	
					He began his Reign this year, being fifteen years old; but was not Crowned till fourteen years after. He calls home exiled <i>Dunstan</i> , makes him Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> , then of <i>London</i> .	
				Dunstan.	<i>Orto</i> or <i>Odo</i> Archbishop dying, King <i>Edgar</i> makes <i>Dunstan</i> Arch-Bishop.	
963		Leo the 8.			This Pope <i>Leo</i> , (of whom see the first great Volume, p. 205.) was substituted Pope in the room of the former deposted Pope <i>John</i> . But the said <i>John</i> being restored, this <i>Leo</i> was deposted. Of this Pope <i>Leo</i> , see pag. 205. of the first great Volume col. 2.	
					<i>Dunstan</i> gets the King to make <i>Oswaldus</i> , Nephew of <i>Orto</i> (as it is said) Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> .	
					Not long after, the said King <i>Edgar</i> , at <i>Dunstan</i> 's intreaty, made <i>Ethelwaldus</i> first Monk of <i>Glastenbury</i> , then Abbot of <i>Abendon</i> , to be Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> . Of him is related a Vision, appearing to him, of a Tree, whose Branches covered the four Quarters of the Kingdom, and were covered with Monks Cows, and with one matter Cowl on the top, &c.	
					Whether this Dream be feigned or no, it was made good in effect, <i>Dunstan</i> , <i>Oswald</i> , and <i>Ethelwald</i> , making Monks to swarm in this <i>Edgars</i> time in <i>England</i> .	170
964		Benedict 5.			The Romans setting up this <i>Benedict</i> after Pope <i>John</i> , and not setting in and restoring again Pope <i>Leo</i> the Eighth, deposted contrary to the Emperor <i>Orto</i> his mind; the said Emperor besieged <i>Rome</i> , and puts in again <i>Leo</i> the Eighth, who gratifies the Emperor, with giving to him and his Successors in a Synod, the power of Electing a Pope.	
965		John 14.			Alias <i>John</i> the Thirteenth: of him see the first great Volume, p. 205.	
969					<i>Oswald</i> (made Arch-bishop of <i>Tork</i>) by policy makes many Priests turn Monks, or to leave their place.	
					Monks anciently were but strict Lay-men; inasmuch as they were forbidden to meddle with Ecclesiasticals.	171

A Chronology.

<p>anno Christi</p> <p>Emperors of Germ.</p> <p>Roman Bishops.</p> <p>Kings of England</p> <p>Archbishops of Canterbury.</p>	<p>171</p> <p>172</p> <p>173</p> <p>174</p> <p>175</p> <p>176</p> <p>177</p> <p>178</p> <p>179</p> <p>180</p> <p>181</p> <p>182</p> <p>183</p> <p>184</p> <p>185</p> <p>186</p> <p>187</p> <p>188</p> <p>189</p> <p>190</p> <p>191</p> <p>192</p> <p>193</p> <p>194</p> <p>195</p> <p>196</p> <p>197</p> <p>198</p> <p>199</p> <p>200</p>	<p>Otho the 1.</p> <p>Benedict 6.</p> <p>Donus the second. Boniface. 7.</p> <p>Thib Boniface the 7 and this John the 29. are both Popes at once--</p> <p>John the 15.</p> <p>EDWARD the martyr.</p> <p>Benedict 7.</p> <p>EDWARD the 2d.</p> <p>Otho the 3.</p> <p>John 16.</p> <p>John 17.</p> <p>Stichus. Sudo. Aluredus.</p>	<p>Basilus magnus, and Nazianzenus, were Monks.</p> <p>The ground of mens Founding Monasteries of later times, was, that Monks might pray for them when they were dead; or else by way of satisfaction for some murder committed by the Founders.</p> <p>King Edgar was a good Jurituary, in execution of Laws justly.</p> <p>This King made this Land one perfect Monarchy.</p> <p>This King having subdued men, drives out too the Wolves out of this Land.</p> <p>He was exceeding Watchful, and well provided for the Defence of the Seas.</p> <p>To prevent Drunkenness in his Subjects, he caused to be made Cups with pins to be set in them; adding a Law, that he that drank at a draught beyond his mark, was to pay a penny: half to the Accuser, the rest to the Ruler of the Town.</p> <p>Eight Kings called <i>Subreguli</i>, did Homage to this <i>Edgar</i>, whom in pomp he made to row him in a Boat, himself holding the Helm.</p> <p>He was given to Women, and a great Monk-maker, and a deflower of a Nun. For which <i>Dunstan</i> refused to take him by the hand, when the King offered it; and enjoyns the King Penance for seven years, of wearing no Crown for that time, of Fasting twice in the Week, of Liberality to the Poor, and building a Nunnery.</p> <p>Doting <i>Dunstan</i> was drowned in Superstition, if not a Sorcerer too. He is said to catch the Devil by the Nose with a pair of Tongs red hot.</p> <p>Pope <i>John</i> aforesaid, ordained the first Christening of Bells.</p> <p>Of Pope <i>Ben.</i> the Sixth, see the first great Volume, pag. 206, where he is cast into prison, and slain.</p> <p>Of Pope <i>Donus</i>, see the first great Vol. p. 206.</p> <p>Of Pope <i>Boniface</i> the Seventh, see the first great Volume, pag. 206.col.1.</p> <p>This <i>Boniface</i> fearing Conspiracy, flies to Constantinople; mean while Pope <i>John</i> the Fifteenth, <i>alias</i> the Fourteenth, is made Pope. Then <i>Boniface</i> returns, and so are two Popes at the same time. See the said p. 206.</p> <p>Much stir at this time about placing and displacing Monks, caused stir about the Crown, Monks aiming at such a King as would be a Monk-favorer: at last, this <i>Edward</i> by <i>Dunstan</i>: means was chosen.</p> <p>This <i>Edward</i> was not, in truth, a Martyr, as the common opinion goes; but was truly a Baptist.</p> <p>Of this <i>John</i> the Fifteenth, <i>alias</i> (as others will) <i>John</i> the Fourteenth, and <i>Boniface</i>, had their ends, for the first great Volume, pag. 206.col.1.</p> <p><i>John</i> having his eyes put out, and he himself famished in Prison, <i>Boniface</i> dyes, and after is dragged through the City, the people triumphing in it.</p> <p>An Image of the Crucifix of Rood, by <i>Dunstan</i>:s device, is made to answer to a Council met and praying to this Image, such an answer as might carry the conclusion as <i>Dunstan</i> would; in these words, <i>Abis hoc ut fiat, &c. (i.) Far be that, far be that: you have well judged, you would not do well to change.</i></p> <p><i>Dunstan</i> was a great enemy to Priests wives.</p> <p>King <i>Edward</i> his Step-mother, offering him as he sat on Horse-back a cup of Beer, whiles he was drinking, caused her Servant to stab him; whereupon he rides away towards his Company, falls down dead, and so was found; but not known who he was, nor how he dyed, his Horse having dragged him through much dirt, his Foot hanging in the Stirrup, as he fell dead off his Horse-back. Two Nunneries are Founded upon his Blood, that that murderers Queen had shed.</p> <p>This <i>Benedict</i> (whom <i>Rufin</i>, and <i>Helv.</i> put before the former Pope <i>John</i>, yea though he be taken for <i>John</i> the Fourteenth) was made Pope by consent of Otho Emperor, the second of the name.</p> <p>In the time of this <i>Benedict</i>, <i>Gilbertus</i> a Necromancer is made Archbishop of <i>Rains</i>, by <i>Hugh Capper</i> the French King.</p> <p><i>Edward</i> being murdered, the Crown comes to this <i>Eldred</i> his younger brother. This <i>Eldred</i> reigned long, viz. thirty eight years, but very unapplying. As he was Christened, being a Child, by <i>Dunstan</i>, somewhat falling crost, <i>Dunstan</i> swears by the Holy Virgin, that this will be an untoward Prince.</p> <p>He is Crowned this year by <i>Dunstan</i>, who pronounced (as they say) at his Coronation, that because he came to the Crown by the murder of his brother, the Kingdom should not be without blood-shed, till a people of a strange tongue did intrall them.</p> <p><i>John</i> the sixteenth, <i>alias John</i> the fifteenth.</p> <p>He sat Pope eight months.</p> <p>The Danes understanding of discord in this Land, and the subjects to be dissatisfied towards their Prince, invade this Kingdom, doing great spoil.</p> <p>See the first great Vol. p. 207.</p> <p><i>Alias John</i> the sixteenth.</p> <p>This year the Bishop of <i>Duresme</i> began, upon occasion of B. <i>Alldanus</i> his carrying Saint <i>Cuthbert</i>:s Body thither. See the first great Vol. p. 207.</p>	<p>Against</p>
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A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. Page.
		Gregory 5. and John 18. both Papes together.	Kings of Britain in Wales.		Against this Gregory, maliced because he was a German, was set up this John the eighteenth, alias John the seventeenth, by Crescentius Consul of Rome. Whereupon Otto the third Emperor, to whom Gregory the fifth flies, comes with an Army, apprehends John, puts out his eyes, and after puts him to death: and apprehends Crescentius, cuts off his nose and ears, and after so led through the City, having his Members cut off he hanged upon a Gibbet. Gregory is restored, reigns Pope four years. This year London is besieged of the Danes. The Danes spoiling the Land, caused the English levy of Danegilt, amounting from 10000 per annum, to 40000 per annum, paid to the Danes to buy peace of them. Now came in the Lurdane, i. the Lord Dane, who was Lord of the English mans House, Goods, and Wife too. Pope Gregory the fifth, being restored to the Popedom, calls a Council at Rome, by the advice of Otto the third, Emperor; and there to confirm the Empire in Germany his own Country, Decrees those seven should be Electors of the Emperor, which are to this day: viz. The Bishops of Mentz, Triers, Colen do Elect the Empror; are his Chancellors too. Bohemia's King elects, and bears his cup: And Saxons Duke elects, his Sword holds up. Archsewer is Elector Palatine, And Marquis Brandenburg his Chamberlain. These Verbes in Latine, see the first great Vol. p. 206.
997	The Emper established in Germany by ordaining seven Electors by the Pope.				
1000		Silvester 2. made Pope by Magic.			The years of Christ amounting to a thousand, Religion began much more to decay than in former times: Pope Sylvester the second being a Sorcerer, and a most hainous wicked Infirment. See the first great Vol. p. 215.
1003			John 19.		This year the Saxons that had driven the Britans from their Land, make way by Elreds joyning in Marriage with the Normans (taking to Wife Emma the Daughter of Rich. the first of that name, the third Duke of Normandy) for a new plague to come upon themselves. For Alred, in confidence of his affinity, gave secret and strict charge to all Towns in England, upon St. Brice his day, at a certain hour, the Danes should be all slain; which caused much trouble.
1004					Alias John the eighteenth. He brings in the Feast of All-Souls. See the first great Vol. p. 216.
1004			John 2.		For upon tydings of this at Denmark, King Swannus of Denmark comes into the Land, beats down Exeter, and so came on, spoiling the Country. At length they are beaten out by Duke Uthet. Herein Mr. Fox differs from others, who put no John between All-Souls John, and Pope Sergius the fourth.
1006				Elphinstone, or Elphinstone.	The Danes land again in this Kingdom, at Sandwich. The King at last was fain to pay them a Tribute of 30000 pounds. Many times after, in this Kings time, did the Danes invade and spoil. They stoned to death, at Greenwich, Elphinstone Archbishop of Canterbury, because he would not pay to them such Taxes as they would impose.
1012		Benedict 8.			The King is driven out of the Land to Normandy by the tyranny of the Danes, they, mean while, laying intolerable Taxes on the people of this Land, whereupon they fell to Prayer and to Fasting; so that shortly Swannus the Prince of the Danes dyed suddenly, yelling and crying. In fear whereof, Canutus his son Reigned here, with shew of much favor to the people. Of Livingus Archbishop, see the first great Vol. p. 215.
1013				Livingus, or Livingus.	Egelred returns, hearing of Swannus his death, and coming upon Canutus the son, being unprovided, caused him to fly into Denmark. But afterward Canutus came again, and took West-Saxon.
1016			Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.		After Egelreds death, much Faction being moved whom to chosse for King, Londoners being for Edmund Ironside, Egelred: eldest Son: Others, and chiefly the Clergy, being for Swannus Son, viz. Canutus; having sworn to Swannus his Father. Edmund and Canutus fight many Battels for the Kingdom; and at last a Duel between themselves: Last of all, they agreed to divide the Land between them, and so lived in love till Edmund was stabbed in the Fundament, by the Traiterous Son of Duke Edricus, as he was at the draught house. Then Duke Edricus himself, liking his Sons Fact, it should seem, carryed Edmunds two Sons to Canutus, with these words, Ave Rex solus, (i.) God save thee King alone. Canutus sends them to his Brother Swannus King of Sweedland, to be murdered: but he abhorring that Bloodiness, sent them to Salomon King of Hungary, where the one dyed a natural death: The other, named Edward, was married to Agatha, Daughter of his Brother Henry the fourth, Emperor.
1020	Conradus 2.			Egonoldus, alias Ethelnoth. See p. 215. of the first great Vol.	Alias John the nineteenth. Reun. Helv. Of him in Mr. Fox, See the first great Volume, p. 216. He was made Pope by Magic, as Mr. Fox saith in the same Page.
1023					Canutus this while, to make safe the English Crown to himself, Swears some, Banisheth others, puts to Death others; among which, was Duke Edricus. For though Canutus loved his Treason, yet durst not dare
1032		Benedict 9. He is deposed.	John the 21		

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germany.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Kings of Brittain in Wales.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. r. Page
1038						
1039	Henricus 3. called Niger.					182
1043			Edward Confessor.			182
1045		Silvest. 9. Pope re-elected.				
1046		Gregory 6. Pope.				
1049		Clement 2.				
1050		Damasus 2. Leo 9.				
1052						
1053						
1056		Vidor 2.				
1057	Henricus 4.	Stephen 9.				
1058		Benedict 10. The 8th. and 11th. both Popes. do reign at once.				
1059		Nicolaus 2.				

dare trust the Traytor that put to death *Edmund Ironside* his own natural Prince.

This Archbishop *Eadfin* is not named by *Master Fox*, as we can find; though he names him before and after him. See the first great Vol. pag. 215.

Canutus goveried this land twenty years, in all which time the *Danes* began by little and little to be Christian men.

Canutus dies. *Harold Harefoot* (so called for his swiftness) his son, reigns in *England* in his stead.

This *Henry* the fourth, Emperor, was Excommunicated by four Popes. See the first great Vol. p.245.

Hardeknutus his Brother, King of *Denmark*, was after him King of *England*.

Of *Henricus* the third, Emperor, see the first great Vol. p. 216.

About this time, wicked Earl *Godwin* played his feats.

King *Hardeknute*, the last of the *Danish* Kings of *England*, having reigned here two years, dies without issue.

The *Danes* from their first landing (in *Brigitricus* time) having vexed this Land 255 years; and having reigned as King twenty eight years; now the last of them being dead without issue, the Crown comes to *Edward*, the younger son of *Egbert*, a meet *Englishman*; returning from his banishment in *Normandy*, caused by the *Danish* Kings. He was sent for by the *Englishmen*, and Crowned this year. His disposition was much averse from war.

Pope *Benedict* the ninth, as we said, coming to be Pope by Magic, and opposing *Henricus* the third, Emperor, and putting in his room *Petrus* King of *Hungary*. After fearing *Henry* the fourth prevailing against him, fold his seat to *Gregory* the sixth for 1500 pounds. Of this *Gregory* see the first great Vol. p.216.

Contention moved between this King *Edward* and Earl *Godwin*, happened about this time; in which Earl *Godwin* and his five sons were outlawed.

Of these three Popes, see the first great Vol. p.216. where *Henricus Niger* Emperor, displaceth these three, and puts in *Clement* the second: and thereupon inacting. That no Bishop of *Rome* should be chosen without the consent of the Emperor. And the *Romans* sware their assent to this act.

William Duke of *Normandy* comes to see the King, and is welcomed; he promising him (as some write) that if he died without issue, he the said *William* Duke of *Normandy* should have this Kingdom.

The *Romans* forgetting their Oath to the Emperor, in nine months poyson this Pope. See the first great Vol. p.216.

Earl *Godwin*, that had murdered the Kings brother *Alfred*, wishing in excuse to the King, that the bread he was eating might not be swallowed safely, if he were not guiltless of his death, was presently choaked, and so died.

Of *Damasus* and *Leo*, see the first great Vol. p.216.

Of him see the first great Vol. pag.215. *Harold* (who after was King) was a means of his banishment, in the time of this King *Edward*.

Of Archbishop *Robert*, see the first great Vol. p.220.

Of this Archbishop *Stigandus*, see the first great Vol. p.215.

Of this Pope, see the first great Vol. p.217.

King *Edward* sends to *Henry* the fourth Emperor, praying him to send to the King of *Hungary*, that his Cousin *Edward*, son of *Edmund Ironside*, might come into *England*, for as much as he intended to make him King after him. This request was fulfilled, and he came into *England*, with his wife and children.

This *Henry* Emperor, began his reign, being a child. Of him see the first great Vol. p.211. and p.217.

The year following his Cousin *Edward* dies.

Of Pope *Benedict* the tenth, and *Nicolaus* the second, see the first great Vol. p.217.

Then the King thought to make that *Edwards* son *Edgar Adeling* his heir; but fearing (by the pride of *Harold* the son of *Godwin*, and the mutability of *English* hearts) he should not effect it, sent Ambassadors to *William* Duke of *Normandy* his Kinsman, assigning him to be lawful heir next to succeed him to the Crown.

Not long after (*Godwin* being dead) his son *Harold* grows so wickedly proud, that he ruled all as King, by reason that the King somewhat favoured him. At length he falling towards *Flanders*, and being driven by tempest into *Normandy*, there *William* Duke of *Normandy* makes him to swear he would marry his daughter, and that after King *Edwards* death, he should keep the land of *England* to his behoof, according to the will and mind of King *Edward*, and so to live next to him in honour and dignity, in the Realm. At his return to *England* he tells King *Edward* what he had sworn to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, with which the King was well pleased.

Pope *Nicolaus* the second having called a Council at *Sutrium*, and by the help of *Hildebrands* device having made *Benedict* the tenth to unpope himself; now he calls a Council at *Rome*, which is called the *Lateran* Council; in which he undermineth the Emperor of his jurisdiction, and conferreth the Election of the Pope upon a few Cardinals.

[d]

In

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Kings of Britain in Wales.	Vol. 1. Page
1060						
1062		Cadair. Alexander.				
1066			Harold.			186
1067				William the Conqueror.		192
1070						193
1074		Hildebrand from Gregory 7.		Laufmann.		196
1076						

In this Council *Berenarius* is made to recant his tenet against real Presence; and Transubstantiation is brought in.

King *Edward* dies.
This year *Aldredus* Bishop of *Worcester* being to be made Archbishop of *Tork*, comes with Earl *Tostius* of *Northumberland* to Pope *Nicolas* to *Rome* for his Pall, instead of which (for some pretence) was deprived of all his dignity; and as he was returning home, was spoiled of that he carried with him. At last *Tostius* with rough words to the Pope, makes the Pope give the Bishop his Pall, for all his losses.

Nicolas (as his name signifies) having by violence got into the Popedom, after three years he is poisoned. See the first great Vol. p. 217.
Of these two Popes *Cadol.* and *Alex.* and their warring swords for *Peters* Keys, see the first great Vol. p. 218.

Pope *Alexander* is knocked about the pate by *Hildebrand*, for seeking the favour of the Emperor, touching his being Pope. The first great Volume, p. 218.

Harold the second son of Earl *Godwin*, and last King of *Saxons*, (notwithstanding many Nobles went with *Edgar Adelung*, next heir after *Edmund Ironside*) forgot also his promise to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, who contemning *Edgars* youth, takes upon him to be King.

Harold Harefager, son of *Canutus* King of *Norway* and *Denmark*, comes after *Edwards* death to claim the Crown, with an army. He beats *Harold* King of *England* in the first battle; *English Harold* beats him in the second: and *Danish Harold* is also slain by the hand of *Englands Harold*. *Tostius* also the brother of *Harold* King of *England* joining with the *Danes* in this battle against his brother, is slain.

One thousand sixty six a wondrous year;
To tell our fall, a Comet doth appear.

Duke *William* of *Normandy* sends an Ambassage to King *Harold*, admonishing him of his Covenant agreed between them. But because Duke *William's* daughter was dead, King *Harold* thought himself disengaged from that agreement. He alleged also that those promises were compelled, and without consent of his Lords, which ought not to be.

Hereupon, and for two other reasons, namely, to be avenged for the blood of his Nephew *Alfred*, King *Edwards* brother, and of the *Normans*, of all whose deaths *Harold* was reputed the principal cause, and to revenge the exilment of *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whereto *Harold* was cause, Duke *William* invades this Kingdom, and conquers *Harold* in battle, wherein *Harold* was slain; and so Duke *William* (who was Cousin German to *K. Edward* by the Fathers side) gained the Kingdom and Crown. In this Conquest,

On *William's* side were slain 6013.

On *Harold's* side 6654.

William the Conqueror is Crowned K. of *England* by *Alredus* Archbishop of *Tork*, *Stigandus* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being absent, either for fear or hate of *William*.

Great Taxes are laid by *William* upon the land, changing the Laws of *K. Edward*, although at his coming he had sworn to keep them. (Of which see more p. 214. of the great Vol.)

Great famine is in *Northumberland*.

The *Scots* are subdued to *William* the Conqueror.

This land hath been conquered by $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Romans the first} \\ \text{Scots and Picts the second} \\ \text{Saxons the third} \\ \text{Danes the fourth} \\ \text{William and his Normans the fifth} \end{array} \right\} \text{time.}$

In this Conquest observe $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Gods justices severity.} \\ \text{Lack of successions casualty.} \\ \text{Foreign Marriages incommmodity.} \end{array} \right.$

This year *William* the Conqueror calls a Council. Two Cardinals and he himself are present; who by pretences depose many Bishops: (Among which was Archbishop *Stigandus*) to the intent to prefer *Normans* and aliens, as *Thomas* a *Norman* to be Archbishop of *Tork*, and *Laufmannus* a *Lombard* and *Italian* born, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

This *Hildebrand* caused the Prelates and Popes stoutness against Emperors, long before he was Pope, and now he practiseth it much more, being Pope; casting off the Emperors from Elections of Popes (as the Tragical History of all his evils may be seen in this page of the great Volume) inasmuch that Cardinal *Benno* writes against him of his wickedness.

Osmund the second Bishop of *Salurn* (*Hermannus* a *Norman*, that began the new Church and Minister, being the first) now finishing the Minister, first began the Ordinary, which was called *Secundum usum Salurni*.

Henry

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. 1. Page
			<i>Kings of Britain in Britain, Rom. last King of Britain, is slain this year 1053, by K. Rufus.</i>	<i>Henry the fourth, Emperor, attends upon this Pope, with his wife and children barefoot, at his Palace-gate, three days and three nights, before he could be admitted in; then too he is made to swear unreasonable subjection to the Pope. in all things; and when all is done, the Pope gives away his Crown to Rodolph Duke of Swabia, with these words,</i> <i>The Rock to Peter gave the Diadem, And Peter gives it unto Rodolphs Realm.</i>	
1083		<i>Clement 3.</i>		<i>Hildebrand is accused of grievous crimes in a Council called at Brivia, by Henry the fourth, Emperor, who had been wronged by Hildebrand. In this Council, called by Henry, Hildebrand is condemned to be deposed, and Clement the third is chosen Pope in his room.</i>	
1088		<i>Vital 3.</i> <i>Urban 3.</i> <i>(Clement 3. Vital 3. being Pope.)</i> <i>(Urban 3. and Urban 3. are both Popes at once, which contention lasted as Mr. Fox computes to the year 1095, divers Kingdoms falling with each of them.</i>		<i>About this time, or not much after Hildebrand the Pope, dies K. William the Conqueror.</i> <i>Of Popes see the first great Volume, pag. 239.</i> <i>Great Pestilence is in England.</i> <i>Rats swim over to a Bishops Tower, that was cruel in time of famine to the poor, and devour him.</i> <i>William Rufus is Crowned by Archbishop Lanfrancus, his elder Brother. Duke Robert in Almaine comes to fight for the Crown; whereupon William Rufus mildly quieted him, by taking the Crown from him at 3000 Marks per Annum, and agreeing that the longest liver of them two should take the Crown.</i>	204
1091			<i>W. Rufus is entire Monarch.</i>	<i>The King did not much favour the Pope, because as Matthew Parisensis writes, They follow not the steps of Peter, but hunt for reward; and had not the power of him, whose holiness they did not imitate.</i> <i>Lanfrancus Archbishop of Canterbury dies (Polydore much commends him, I see not for what.) After whom the Archbishoprick is void four years.</i>	207
1092				<i>Extream tempests in England burn a Church, break the head of a Crucifix, throw down the Lady, at Wincob, and blow down six hundred houses, as also the roof of Bow-Church at London.</i>	
1093				<i>Pope Urban calls a Council at Rome; in it he Excommunicates Lay-persons that conferred spiritual livings.</i>	208
1095				<i>Pope Urban calls a Council at Claremont, where he by an Oration, moves 30000 to go to Hierusalem, to suppress the tyrannizing Heathens that were over the Christians.</i>	
1096			<i>Anselm.</i>	<i>This being about the sixth year of King Rufus, Malcom King of Scots invades England, and is slain (himself having been a great murderer) with his son Edward, and Margaret his wife.</i> <i>This same year also, he, after he had kept Canterbury Archbishoprick four years, gave it to this Anselm, who for the Kings kindness, much crossed him in many things for a long time, all Bishops holding with the King against Anselm. Many of those that went to Hierusalem, in the way are by ambushment slain by the Bulgars, near to the Town Civotus. Yet at last when all the armies met, they went on, won some Towns, as Antioch, and slew many Saracens.</i>	
1098				<i>Corbona, Master of the Persians Chivalry, is slain by the Christians that went in the said Voyage to Hierusalem; with whom were also slain 100000 Infidels. Shortly after the Christians take Hierusalem. Robert Duke of Normandy was chosen King thereof, but he refused it, because he heard of the death of William Rufus in England; wherefore he never prospered after.</i>	209
				<i>Earl Ludovicus rebels against Henry the fourth, Emperor; against whom and which, Waltramus Bishop of Merburg writes an Epistle, exhorting him to obedience.</i>	214
1099		<i>Paschalis 2.</i>		<i>The Earl writes an answer.</i> <i>This year 1090, (as Gisburn reports) a spring boils out blood three weeks together. See the first great Volume, pag. 256.</i> <i>Of this Pope Paschalis see the first great Vol. p. 242.</i> <i>He sets up again Henry the fourth Emperor, having Excommunicated him, as did Hildebrand, his son Henry, making him Emperor, called Henry the fifth; as it follows in Anno 1105. See pag. 254, 255. of the first great Volume.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
1100			<i>Henry the 1. Blinmond Beaucherk.</i>	<i>This King Henry the first was William the Conquerors third son, who now succeeds his brother Rufus. He had his name of Beaucherk, for his knowledge in the seven Liberal Arts.</i>	216
1101				<i>Duke Robert the eldest brother of K. Henry, and first son of William the Conqueror, comes to challenge the Crown of this Henry, as he did of William Rufus. And this Henry promiseth him the three thousand Marks per Annum, as Rufus had before; and so Duke Robert returned to Normandy satisfied. After Duke Robert and K. Henry fall out, and Duke Robert was taken in war a prisoner, brought to England, and kept in prison while he lived. And Normandy was subdued to King Henry the first.</i> <i>This King Invested Bishops without the Pope.</i> <i>About this year 1101, the Bishop of Fluence began to preach of Antichrist to be there born and manifested. Pope Paschalis hereupon calls a Council, silenceth the Bishop, and condemns his Book. See the first great Volume, p. 254.</i>	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of German.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Great variance between Anselm and the King. Of this Henry the fifth, Emperor, see before in Pope Paschalis the second, and his time and story; and in the next year here following, Henry and Christian two famous Archbishops of Mentz, right virtuous men, were about this time cruelly and tyrannically handled by the Bishop of Rome. This same year Anselm getting leave of the King to call a Council, in it by his Decrees cuts off the authority of any Lay-persons investing spiritual persons, the freedom of Bishops to bear office in secular mens businesses, and the power of Priests to marry. See the first Volume, p. 251. The Emperor Henry the fourth being conquered in battel of his rebellious son Henry the fifth, set against him by Pope Paschalis the second, is so poor, that he intreated the Bishop of Spire (to whom he had been kind) to have a Prebend there; having some skill to serve in the Ladies Quire: but the Bishop swearing by the Lady a flat denial; the Emperor forlorn of Son, Kingdom, Bishop, and all, goes to Leodinum and there dies (having reigned fifty years) whose body buried, Paschalis takes up again, and causeth it to be kept unburied five years. Henry the fifth coming to be Crowned at Rome, could not obtain it, till he ratified it, that no Emperor should have to do in the Election of the Roman Bishop. Afore he yielded to it; and about other things, there was such opposition between this Henry the fifth and the Pope, that unless he had defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain. Anselm Archbishop died. The See is void five years. The Bishoprick of Ely first founded. Henry the Bishop. Trent river dried up about Nottingham, from morning till three in the afternoon, that men might go over dry-shod. Gisburn. Thames this year, from the Tower to the Bridge, from midnight to next evening, scarce knee deep: innumerable people and children wading over; the Tyde falling short of its custom ten miles. This year Worcester is burnt. This Pope Gelasius was set up by the Cardinals, without the Emperor. Thurfinus choien Archbishop of York; will not make his procession of obedience to the See of Canterbury, where he was consecrated, for which the King deprives him. Hence rose great ado between the Archbishop Thurfinus and the King. This Pope Gregory is set up by the Emperor. Pope Gelasius is driven into France. This Pope Calixtus is set up by a few Cardinals. He first excommunicates the Emperor Henry the fifth, then drives P. Gregory out of Rome. The Emperor is again forced to ratifie his consent, of passing away his right of choosing the Bishop of Rome; and moreover to ratifie this Pope Calix. to be Pope, though the Emperor, P. Gregory was yet alive. Pope Calixtus in the business about Thurfin Interdicts the Church of Canterbury and York, and all the Parishes within the same; unless Thurfin without exacting subjection to Canterbury be admitted to the See of York; and that the King (with the Pope in his Epistle to England) should be excommunicated, except he consented to the same. Thurfin is received to his See, and reconciled to the King. The King calls a Council at London, where he gets the Clergy to give him the punishment of married Priests; which granted, for money the King lets them have their wives. The Order of the Knights of the Rhodes, called the Johannites, and of the Templars, rose up at this time. The Priory of Norton founded. The King is troubled with three Visions, the first of multitudes of Husbandmen flying on him with their Mattocks; requiring the debt he owed unto them. The second of Soldiers, falling upon him. The third of Bishops, threatening him with their Episcopal staves. To prevent the coming to pass of these, he vowed three things: first, repentance; secondly, alms, and thirdly amendment of life. The King is in a great tempest at Sea in this year 1131. He releaseth to the Commons Danegilt: he gave to the Churchmen much, and looked to execution of justice, as after his deliverance from the tempest, to fulfill his three Vows. King Henry dies, being in Normandy. Notwithstanding the Oath of Stephen and of the Nobility to Maud formerly, before her Father, they set not up her, or young Henry the son: but this Stephen, sisters son to King Henry, takes upon him the Crown, and him the Nobility Crown on St. Stephens day. The King takes the Bishop of Sarum, and the Bishop of Lincoln, and puts ropes about their necks, and led them to Castles held against him, threatening to put to death the Bishops, unless the rebels would yield. This Conradus Emperor, is the only man, among many Emperors, that did not receive his Crown from the Pope. Maud the Empress comes with a great army into England, being aided by the Earls of Gloucester and Chester, and was on King Stephen, and takes him prisoner. Then the Kentishmen and Londoners war against Maud.	Vol. I. Page
1103	Henry 5.					217
1105						221
1106						222
1107						
1109						223
1110						
1113						
1114						
1115						
1118						
			Rodrigens.			
		Gelasius 2. and Gregory 8. both Papes together.				
		Gregory 9. and Calixtus 2. (Gelasius being gone) are both Papes together.				
1119						
1122						
1125	Latharine Seno.	Henricus 2.				
1128						
1130						
		Innocent 3. and Anacletus 3. both Papes together.				
1131						
1135						
1136						
			Stephen			
1138	Conradus 3.					
				Theobald.		
1140						

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Anno Christi	Emper. German.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.					V.l.t. Pag.
1143									
1144		Celestine 2. Lucius 2. Eugenius 3.							

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Anno Christi	Emper. German.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbi- shops of Canter- bury.		Vol. I. Pag.
					perors at this a-bey, that for to be Crowned they were fain to yield to any thing. But the Pope himself in stirring in the execution of this Plot, was so be- sieged by <i>William</i> the Duke, that before intreated peace of the Pope, which would not yield it upon any terms, that they were forced to intreat the Duke for peace; which was granted, with profitable conditions to the Duke. The Emperor this while sitting quietly at home, and considering how the Pope had wrested his power in Election of Popes, investing of Prelates, &c. how he had pill'd and polled all Nations by the Le- gates, and sown discord in his Empire: Hereupon he requires Ho- mage and Oath of Allegiance of all his Bishops; and forbids the Popes Legates to enter into the Empire, without his sending for, and all Appeals to <i>Rome</i> . Finally, In his Letters he prefixed his name before the Emperor. Hereupon the Pope writes a rebuking Letter to the Emperor. The Em- peror writes back, in defence of his doings, an Apologetical Epistle. The Pope replies with a Bull of Excommunication. The Emperor makes answer to that with accusatory Letters against the vileness, pride, &c. of the See of <i>Rome</i> . Then the Pope writes to the <i>German</i> Bishops to work against the Emperor. The Bishops they write their exclaiming of the Emperor.	229
					This Pope towards the end of his life (who dyed amidst those broils, be- ing choaked with a Fly as he was walking abroad) was wont to say, That there was no more miserable kind of Life in the Earth, than to be a Pope.	230
1159		Alexander the third, and Victor the fourth, both Popes to- gether.			This Pope, being set up by the Pope Faction. This <i>Victor</i> was set up by the Emperor and nine Cardinals.	The two Popes made great Schism and Tumult.
					The Emperor to quiet them, sent for them to appear before him. <i>Alex- ander</i> (scorns the motion; <i>Victor</i> doth appear: him therefore the Emperor aids to the City, and settles him to be Pope. <i>Alexander</i> then flying to <i>France</i> , to <i>Sevil</i> and <i>Venice</i> , works by money and cunning; gets the City of <i>Rome</i> on his side to set up such Consuls as were for his turn. Also of the <i>French</i> , and <i>Venetians</i> , and <i>Apulians</i> , he got force of Ships and Arms on his side: against which the Empe- ror sends his Son <i>Orto</i> with Ships and Men well appointed, against the <i>Venetians</i> and the Pope; charging him to do nothing till he should come to him. But he not tarrying for his Father, was beaten and taken: for the delivery of whom, the Emperor was fain to sub- mit himself to the Pope; who putting his Foot upon the Emperors Neck, spake these Words; <i>Thou shalt walk upon the Adders and Basilisks, and shalt tread down the Lyon and Dragon</i> . Mean while the Emperor speaking to the Pope from under his Foot, <i>Not to thee, but to Peter</i> : The Pope answers, <i>Both to me and to Peter</i> . Thus the Emperor having subjected himself, promising to take <i>Alexander</i> for the true Pope, and to restore all he had taken away from <i>Rome</i> , de- parted.	231
1160					Pope <i>Alexander</i> the third, sitting Pope one and twenty years, calling di- vers Councils at <i>Turo</i> , ratified the wicked acts of <i>Hildebrand</i> . This year many chief Men of <i>Lyon</i> walking together, one whereof fall- ing down dead, to the amazement of them all, one <i>Waldus</i> a rich man, was above all the rest, by Gods Spirit working together with the exam- ple, stricken with a sound inward repentance, a new life following there- upon, with great study of the Word of God, wherewith he much in- structed his Family, others also resorting to him to be taught; and so he became the original of the <i>Waldenses</i> .	232
1161				Tho. Becket	This <i>Becket</i> lived in the time of this Pope <i>Alexander</i> . He did not (as some affirm) dye a Martyr, but a stubborn man against his King; who had pre- ferred him from an Arch-deacon, to be Lord Chancellor of <i>England</i> , and after to be Arch-bishop of <i>Canterbury</i> . The Pope, viz. <i>Alexander</i> the third, holds with <i>Becket</i> in his obstinacy against the King and his Laws. The Bishops generally counselling <i>Becket</i> to submission to the King, are sharply rated by him. This year a child was Crucified by the Jews.	233 234 235 236 237 238
1167					This year a Collection of two pence in every pound, was gathered thro- out all <i>England</i> and <i>France</i> , for the succor of the East Christians a- gainst the <i>Turks</i> .	239
1169					This year, being about the fifteenth year of King <i>Henry</i> the second, so feared, lest the Arch-bishop would proceed to Excommunication of his own Person, that he appealed to the Pope, intreating him to send down two Legates to <i>England</i> , to take up the matter between him and his Arch-bishop.	240
1170					This year the Doctrine of the <i>Waldenses</i> (coming of that <i>Waldus</i> an able and learned man in the Scriptures and true Godliness, as hath been seen	241

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					seen in old Parchments, and Records of things of his penning) sprang up more and more in the time of this wicked Pope Alexander, who with his Faction much set against these Christians, whose tenents are ordinarily to be seen to be very Orthodox and sound.	
					This year William King of Scots, with David his Brother, do Homage to England.	
					This year Babylon was destroyed (and never built again) by Almaricus King of Jerusalem.	
					Becket this year bare another grudge against the King, because King Henry the second, by Authority of the Parliament, Crowning his Son King, by the hands of the Arch-bishop of York, and other Bishops, not sending for him. Also he makes the Pope to suspend the Bishops.	252
					This same year also Ludovike the French King, came with a great Army against the King to Normandy, for not Crowning Margaret his Daughter, with her Husband.	
1171					Becket is slain by four Souldiers. Many Authors alleaged that condemned Becket's carriage towards the King.	253
					Abundance of strange lies are reported touching Becket's miracles: Of him was made this blasphemous Anthem:	255
					For the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend, Grant us Christ to climb Where Thomas did ascend.	256
					The Pope is angry, and more incited by Ludovike the French King, for the death of Becket.	
					The Pope injoins the four Knights that killed Becket such hard penance of going to Jerusalem barefoot in linen Breeches, with much Fasting and Prayer, that in few years after they are laid to dye.	
			Richard.		The King subdued Ireland, and four of the five Kings thereof: the King of Tonacla in that Land, denying to be subdued; keeping in Woods and Marishes.	
1172					The Legates from the Pope, being come into Normandy, touching the death of Becket, the King repairs to them, swears he neither assented to, nor assisted in Becket's death; but only spake rigorously against his Knights which did not avenge him of Becket. For which the Legates injoin the King great penance, of fighting against the Turk, and obliging himself to the Pope.	
1173					All England almost diseased with a Cough.	
					William King of Scots, is Imprisoned in England, being taken in War. See the first great Vol. p. 302.	
1174					This year Canterbury City is almost all burnt.	256
1175					A Convocation of Bishops is held this year about the subjection of Bishoppicks to the Arch-bishop of York, and of York to Canterbury.	
					This year King Henry the second divides the Kingdom into six parts, appoints for every part three Justices of Assise.	
1176					The ancient Custom of exempting Priests from the temporal Sword, in case of Murder, inflicting on them only Excommunication: this year, in this King Henries time, began to be altered, by the procurement of Richard Arch-bishop of Canterbury.	
					Ireland this year is subdued to the King of England.	
1177					Hovenden in this year brings in Letters of Pope Alexander to Roger Arch-bishop of York, and the Bishop of Durem.	
					Contention between the Arch-bishop of York and Canterbury re- vives.	
1178					The Popes Commissioners persecute sorely some in Tholouse, holding against Transubstantiation.	
1179					Pope Alexander, in some of those many Councils held at Laterane, where- of was one this year, and in France, &c. Decreed, That no Arch-bishop should receive the Pall, unless he would first swear. The form of giving the Pall and taking the Oath, see the first great Volume, p. 298.	
					Under the Reign of this Henry the second, the Dominions and Crown of England extended further than ever before in England.	258
					<div> <div>Scotland.</div> <div>Ireland.</div> <div>England.</div> <div>Normandy.</div> <div>Aquitan.</div> <div>Gant, &c.</div> </div> To the Mountain of Pirenei, which be the uttermost parts of the great Ocean in the British Sea.	
1180					Pisanus Burgundo, a very Learned man in Greek and Latine, presents to Pope Alexanders Council, Chrysostoms Homily on the Gospel of John, translated out of Greek into Latine.	
1181					He is Protector of France; Philip the French King yielding himself and his Realm wholly to his Governance.	
					He	

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<i>Anna Christi</i>	<i>Emper. of Germ.</i>	<i>Popes of Rome.</i>	<i>Kings of England</i>	<i>Archbishops of Canterbury.</i>		<i>Vol. i. Pag.</i>
					He was offered to be King of <i>Jerusalem</i> , but he refused it, fearing the rebellion of his sons in his absence. Princes from most parts of Christendom came to this King, for his wisdom to be advised, and have questions determined. He maintained great Wars much of his thirty five years he reigned; yet never put he any Tax upon the Laity, or First-fruits or Appropriations upon the Clergy; and yet dyed worth 90000 pounds, besides Jewels, precious stones, and household Furniture. This many-ways-happy King, was unhappy in his Sons, who stood in armor against him, taking part with the <i>French</i> King against him; causing him with extreme grief to fall sick, and in four days to dye. The King being dead, bled afresh at the coming near one of his Sons; whereby the Beholders concluded, that he was the Author of his Fathers death. His Sons (their Kingly Father being dead) unsuccessful in their Designs, as what else could be expected of such Sons? lost all their Fathers Dominions beyond Sea. Great contention was between this <i>Baldwinus</i> and the Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> , See the first great Vol. p. 309. Pope <i>Urban</i> writes to Arch-bishop <i>Baldwin</i> , sharply rebuking him, and upholding the Monks. In few days after he dyes. This year King <i>Henry</i> pays to <i>Rome</i> 40000 marks of Silver, and five thousand of Gold, for the death of <i>Becket</i> . Arch-bishop <i>Baldwin</i> begins the building of the new House at <i>Lambeth</i> , with the Church. Pope <i>Gregory</i> dyes with sorrow for the loss of the Holy Cross. This Pope <i>Clement</i> forbids Arch-bishop <i>Baldwin</i> to proceed. And also sharply writes (as did Pope <i>Urban</i>) to rebuke him as an oppressor of the Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> . This Pope <i>Clement</i> sends another more sharp Letter to this Arch-bishop, by his Legate <i>Rodulphus</i> , to the same effect. This year Pope <i>Clement</i> writes a third Letter to Arch-bishop <i>Baldwin</i> . This King forbidding any <i>Jews</i> to approach his Palace at his Coronation, the <i>Jews</i> notwithstanding pressing on, were by the Gate-keepers smitten, and at last many, on boldship of the Kings command of keeping them out of the Palace, slew many of them; on which was raised a report, that all the <i>Jews</i> must be destroyed; inso much, that the <i>Londoners</i> fired divers houses of the <i>Jews</i> , and the Inhabitants in them. The King strongly took part with the Arch-bishop against the Monks. The King forrowing for his rebellion against his Father, for satisfaction agrees with King <i>Philip</i> of <i>France</i> to go to the Holy Land, to recover Christ his Patrimony, as they called it. In which Voyage, as he had much contention with the unthankful hearted <i>French</i> King, so he had divers Victories against the enemy; as against <i>Isakus</i> King of <i>Cyprus</i> , and against <i>Achon</i> and others. See following, Anno 1192, &c. The manner of the Popes Crowning this Emperor, see in the next year. In this year was a great Northern brawl, on Twelfth-Even, between the Arch-bishop elect of the Church of <i>Norh</i> , and his Company on the one side, and <i>Henry</i> Dean of that Church, and his Chanter and Singing-men on the other side; because the Dean and his Quiresters presumed to begin their Service before the Bishop came: whom they conceived to stay too long in attiring himself, or some such occasion. The Arch-bishop bids them stay their over-forward Service, now half done at the Bishops coming in: The Dean and Chanter bids them proceed on. At last, the Arch-bishop silenced the Service, and makes them begin again the first part, which he had not yet heard: The others, seeing the Bishops Authority to make the Service begin again, put out the Lights; whereby these Popish Devotions, which cannot be done without Candle-light, were for the present extinguished. King <i>Richard</i> lends over his Gallies to <i>Naples</i> , there to meet his Mother <i>Eleanor</i> , and <i>Borengaria</i> the Daughter of <i>Sanctus</i> King of <i>Navar</i> , whom he purposed to Marry, who shortly after meet together. <i>Henry</i> Emperor is Crowned (upon condition of restoring many things to <i>St. Peter</i> , pretended by the Pope to have been taken away) the Pope holding the Crown between his Feet, and so the Emperor stoops with his Head to take it on: the Pope effoons with his Foot striking it off (intimating his Power to Depose him as well as to Crown him) the Cardinals taking up the Crown thus kicked off, and putting it on again. In this absence of the King of <i>England</i> , by reason of his Voyage to the Holy-land, the King had appointed the Government of the Realm to <i>Hugo</i> Bishop of <i>Durham</i> , and <i>William</i> Bishop of <i>Ely</i> . To <i>Hugo</i> of <i>Durham</i> was committed <i>Wind/or</i> Castle: to <i>William</i> of <i>Ely</i> the Tower of <i>London</i> . To these two Bishops were adjoynd four chief Justices: <i>Hugh Bauldf</i> , <i>Williams Marshall</i> , <i>Geffery Peterson</i> , and <i>William Bruer</i> , to have the hearing and oversight over all Causes. But above all these, the Bishop of <i>Ely</i> (being Chancellor, and by his Money got to be the Popes Legate) took upon him mightily, taking away <i>Wind/or</i> Castle from the other Bishop. It is incredible to think how intemperately this Bishop and Chancellor misused themselves after the Kings departure into	258
1184		<i>Urban 3.</i>		<i>Baldwinus.</i>		267
1185						
1187						
1188		<i>Gregory 2.</i> <i>Clement 3.</i>				
1189						
				<i>Richard the first, surnamed Coeur de Lion.</i>		
1190	<i>Henricus 6. son of Fredericus Bar. 9.</i>					
1191		<i>Celest. 3.</i>				275
						276
						278

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	into Syria, in excess of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppressive of the Kings Subjects.	Vol. 1. Page
1192					A great contention arose between <i>John</i> Earl of <i>Morton</i> , the Kings Brother, with other states of the Realm, and the said <i>William</i> Bishop of <i>Ely</i> , through his pride usurping all the government of the Kingdom to himself. In short, he was at variance with many of the great persons of the Kingdom, till by Earl <i>John</i> 's means and others, he was for his ill behaviour fain to disguise himself in Womans apparel, make to the Sea side, and to fall out of the Kingdom, complaining to Pope <i>Celestine</i> , and sending Letters to the King, complaining to him likewise.	
1193					The King gets Victories against the <i>Saladins</i> , got <i>Sclavonia</i> from the <i>Saracens</i> .	
				<i>Hubertus</i>	The <i>French</i> King not agreeing with King <i>Richard</i> , returns home, invades <i>Normandy</i> , persuades <i>John</i> the Kings Brother to take upon him the Crown of <i>England</i> in the Kings absence; whereby he made League with the <i>French</i> King, and did him Homage.	
					King <i>Richard</i> hearing this, makes peace with the <i>Turk</i> for three years, and returns homeward; who, as he was coming, by Tempest was driven to <i>Hispria</i> , to a Town called <i>Synacai</i> , and taken by <i>Lympold</i> Duke of that Country, and by him sold to the Emperor for sixty thousand Marks; which Emperor writes his triumph therein to the said <i>French</i> King.	
					The King is thus a Captive a year and three months.	
1195					This while the <i>French</i> King was upon <i>Normandy</i> , and makes Earl <i>John</i> , King <i>Richard</i> 's Brother to invade <i>England</i> . But by the Barons he was made fly into <i>France</i> . At last for 100000 pounds to the Emperor, the King was released; that money being made up of Chalices, Crofies and other Church-plate.	281
1196					This year the Pope granted that Priests might administer with Latin and tin Chalices (the Silver and Gold being gone to redeem the King) and so it continued long after.	
1197					<i>Lympold</i> Duke of <i>Auftrige</i> fell in displeasure with the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> , and died excommunicate.	
					<i>Philip</i> King of <i>France</i> breaks his Truce made with <i>Richard</i> King of <i>England</i> , so that King <i>Richard</i> was fain to fall over into <i>Normandy</i> to withstand him.	
					<i>Fulco</i> , alias <i>Goalter</i> , Archbishop of <i>Rome</i> , rebukes the King for his three Daughters. The King in a rage calling him mad man; and saying, <i>I have no Daughter</i> . <i>Fulco</i> replies, telling him that his three Daughters were <i>Pride Covetousness and Luxury</i> ; and that unless the King did marry them away they would undo him and his Kingdom. To which the King calling the Nobles, reciting <i>Fulco</i> 's Parable, and confessing his fatherhood of such Children, makes this answer, <i>Here before you all I give my Daughter Pride to Wife unto the proud Templars; my Daughter Avarice to the covetous order of the Cistercian Monks; and my Daughter Luxury to the riotous Prelates</i> .	281
1198		<i>Innocent the third.</i>			King <i>Richard</i> the first, viewing a Castle, is hit with an Arrow in the Arm, with the setting of the iron whereof he dies.	
1199	<i>Otto the fourth.</i>				This King <i>John</i> was the Brother of King <i>Richard</i> , and Earl of <i>Morton</i> ; being crowned and sworn with a strict charge of the Archbishop to keep the Laws, he falls over into <i>Normandy</i> , and makes truce with the <i>French</i> King for a time.	
			<i>John.</i>		King <i>John</i> being divorced from his Wife, Daughter of the Earl of <i>Glocester</i> , being in the third degree of kindred; by the counsel of the <i>French</i> King, he marries <i>Isabel</i> , Daughter of the Earl of <i>Anguilla</i> ; and then <i>Arthur</i> of <i>Brittain</i> did Homage to King <i>John</i> for <i>Brittain</i> and other places.	282
1200					About this time arose divers contentions between King <i>John</i> and the Archbishop for sundry things.	
1202					<i>Philip</i> the <i>French</i> King in a communication between him and King <i>John</i> , requies King <i>John</i> to part with all his Lands in <i>Normandy</i> , and <i>Picavaria</i> , which he had beyond the Sea, unto <i>Arthur</i> his Nephew, the Son of King <i>John</i> 's elder Brother, and that presently or else he would war against him; King <i>John</i> denying it, the <i>French</i> King warring, and <i>Arthur</i> assisting, King <i>John</i> takes <i>Arthur</i> Prisoner, and scarce leaves any of the <i>French</i> to carry back tidings.	
1203					This year King <i>John</i> for lack of rescue lost all his Holds, (as Writers affirm) and Possessions in <i>Normandy</i> , through the force of the <i>French</i> King.	
1205					<i>Hubert</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> deceaseth. The younger sort of Monks at midnight choole their superiour <i>Reignold</i> , and without the Kings licence, privately placeth him in the Metropolitcal Seat, singing <i>Te Deum</i> , and after putt him away to the Pope.	
1206					The next year the contention between the Suffragans and Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> about the said Election, is brought before the Pope, who passed sentence on the Monks side, charging the Suffragans and Bishops of <i>Canterbury</i> henceforth to meddle no more with that Election, but to let the Monks alone.	
1207				<i>Stephen Langton.</i>	The Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> now having the said Elect of an Archbishop in their own hands, fall at odds between themselves, the younger against the elder; the younger standing for <i>Reignold</i> , the elder choole another. They	283

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Ann. Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Arch- bishops of Canter- bury.	They bringing their cause, their Elections and Allegations before Pope In- nocent the third; he condemning both their Elections, commanded them to choose Stephen Langhton, then Cardinal of Saint Chrysogen, for their Archbishop, which done, though with secret muttering of many the Monks, they sing Te Deum.	Vol. I. Page
1212	Fredrick 2.				The King was content to let this Election thus to pass, so as he might have his Sovereignty entire. But this Archbishop Langhton was so proud and stubborn against the King, that the King sent abroad into all parts of the Kingdom Letters Certificatory of the same. Whereupon the Pope mightily set himself against King John, interdicting and cursing King John. and all that should eat, drink, talk &c. with him; inasmuch that at last the King was fain to pass over his Crown to the Pope.	285
1215					The French King makes an attempt in hope to get the Crown of England, but the English take 300 of the French Kings Ships, and so defeated his project.	287
					Pope Innocent the third calls a Synod at Rome, called the Council of Late- ran, upon this occasion. Princes now beginning to resent the Pope, where- by many Princes were excommunicated, as Otto the Emperor, John King of England, Peter King of Aragon, Raimund the Earl of Tholouse, Aquitania, Salasani, &c. The Pope now to prevent any future increase of opposition, inacts in this Synod, that the Pope henceforth should have the correction of all Christian Princes.	288
1216		Honorius 3.			In this Council also was first invented Transubstantiation, and forbidding Priests Marriage was confirmed.	
					To this Council were those great men in England summoned to appear, who would not consent to the expulsion and tyrannical depouing of their King. But the other side and faction of the Nobility opposed their King lustily, desiring Philip the French King to send his eldest Son Ludo- wick with a great power, and they would choose him for their King, and so he came and was chosen; howbeit against the Popes consent, who charged the French King rather to help King John against his rebellious Subjects, for that (saith the Pope) King John is my feudary Tenant. But this hindred not.	290
					Simon Langhton is chosen Archbishop of York. But that choice was anon dissolved, information being given to the Pope, that he was Brother to that Stephen Langhton that had made that tumult in England.	
					This year K. John was poisoned by one Simon a Monk, who being absolved of his Abbot afore-hand for doing this fact, he finds a Toad in the Gar- den, pricks him with a Pen-knife, until he had made him vomit up all his poison, which he having conveyed into a Cup of Wine, began to the King with a smiling countenance, speaking these words, If it shall please your Princely Majesty, here is such a Cup of Wine, as you never drank a better, I trust this Wessel shall make all England glad. The King having drunk, and anon being ill, inquired for Simon the Monk, to whom scarce answering that he was departed this life (for his Guts gushed out of his Belly) the King replies, Then God have mercy on my soul; and so he di- ed, much repenting of his former life.	290
1217			Henry 3.		In this Kings time was the Bridge of London, being of Wood, built of Stone and the power of choosing a Mayor in London was first granted.	
					Henry the third being King John's eldest Son, began his Reign in the ninth year of his age. Against him, some that hated the Father, stood for Lewis the K. of France his Son. But W. Earl Marshal crating to the Nobles, that the French Kings Son was the shame of their servitude, and that hatred of the Child for the Father, was unjust persecution of the innocent Child; Hereupon they all gave consent to choose this young Henry for their King; who is crowned at Gloucester, because the French held West- minster.	292
1218					Upon the choice of the Son of King John to be King, Lewis the French Kings Son makes War upon England; Earl Marshal and others gives him Battel, and win the Field of him. Then Lewis takes London for his safety, shutting the Gates till great aid from France was sent him in 100 ships, but they were encountered with upon the Sea, most of them taken, and Eustace the chief of them, and his Head was smitten off; so that the French Kings Son Lewis agreed for 1000 pound of Silver he would de- part out of the Kingdom never to return he nor his.	
1219					A Parliament is held in England (now Lewis and his French are gone out of the Land) in which King Henry the third confirmeth all the privileges that had been granted by John his Father.	
1220					The Kingdom on the other side grant to the King two shillings of every Plow-Land.	
					Thomas Becket is shined.	
					This year Order was proclaimed, that all Aliens should depart out of the Realm, except Merchandizers, going in and out under the Popes safe con- duct. It was conceived that the device was to make divers great Men strangers, that held Castles and Holds of the King against his will, to go out of the Kingdom.	
					About this time the young King was crowned again at Westminster.	
					This year the Pope of Rome thus up Ludovike the French King to lay Siege against the City of Tholouse to extinguishe the Albigenes. Vol. 1. Page 302.	

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Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page
1221					The Lord keeps the <i>Albigenſes</i> that the French King and his Host could not touch them; but strikes them with a sore Pestilence and Famine, forcing them to retire home again to France, Vol. I. p.	
					This year the King went to Oxford, where he had something to do with William Earl de Albemarle.	303
					The Gray or Minorite Friars enter first into England.	
1222					The House of the Carthusian Monks is founded.	
					In England are such violent Tempests, that many Trees, Towers, Churches, are thrown down, and some persons slain in an Houſe.	
1223					Philip the French King dies, his Son Ludovick ſucceeding him.	
1224					The Order of Friars Minorites is confirmed by Pope Honorius the third.	
1226		Gregory the 9th.			Pope Honorius the third, a great adversary to Frederick Emperor, dies, after whom ſucceeds Gregory the ninth, more grievous than his Predeceſſor.	
					Franciſcus Patron of the Friar Minorites dies.	
					Ela foundeth the Houſe of the Nuns at Lacock.	
					W. Biſhop of London gave over his Biſhoprick.	
					The Pope works Reimundus the good Earl of Tholouſe great trouble.	304
1227					This year the King of England makes the Londoners to pay the ſum of 1000 Marks to him, becauſe they had given or lent the like ſum to Lewis the French King his adversary, at his departure out of England. With theſe and other Taxes, proviſion is made to recover Normandy.	307
1228					The King grants to the City of London to be Toll-free.	
					Great contention ariſeth between the Prior and Covent of Durham, and this K. Henry the third, becauſe they would not chooſe him to their Biſhop whom the King did deſire.	
1229				Richardus magnus.	The choice of this Archbiſhop, coſt the Realm the tenths of all moveables, ſee Vol. I.	
					The new Church of Coventry is finiſhed by Alexander the Biſhop of that City.	309
					The French provide again to War againſt the foreſaid Reimundus Earl of Tholouſe, and to expulſe him out of his poſſeſſions. The Earl gives them a great overthrow, and diſcomits the French three times that ſummer.	
1230					As the Biſhop and his Deacon, and many people were in Saint Paul's Church in London at Maſs, there aroſe ſuch a dark Tempeſt with Thunder, &c. that the people ran out, fell down amazed, conceiving that Doomeſday was come; the Biſhop and Deacon mean while take ſaſt hold of the Altar.	
1231					The Archbiſhop now confirmed in his See, complains againſt Hubert Lord Chief Juſtice, as one that withheld ſome Lands due to Canterbury.	
					The Archbiſhop goes to the Pope, and complains againſt the King for committing ſo much truſt of the affairs of the Kingdom to Hubert.	
					Richard dies in his return from complaining to the Pope, in whoſe room the Monks chooſe Ralph Nevell, alias Radulphus de nova Villa, who was the Kings Chancellor, the King well liking the choice; he is commended in ſtories to be a very good man. But being depraved and traduced to the Pope by Simon Langhton Archbiſhop of York, the Pope fruſtrates the choice.	310
					Then the Monks chooſe John their Prior to be Archbiſhop, who going to the Pope (and therefore not inſufficient by age to govern, who could take ſuch a Voyage) to receive his Pall, and being examined three days, was rejected for being too old by the Pope, perhaps older than was he.	
1232					A great Conſtitutory of Abbots, Priors, and of the Nobility, is held at S. Albans between the Counteſs of Eſſex and her Husband.	311
					Roman and Italian Parſons in England are robbed.	
					The Biſhops labour to bring Hubert out of the Kings favour, and prevail, to the incenſing of the King againſt him, and making him to queſtion Hubert for many things unreaſonably, to imprifon him, and bereave him of all his treaſure.	312
1233					Hubert is conveyed out of Priſon into a Church; but without reſpect to that as a Sanctuary, he being found by the Keepers is dragged to Priſon again, to the great offence of the Biſhop, for ſo diſreſpecting the ſacreduels of that place.	314
					John Blund is choſen Archbiſhop. But he is the third of thoſe that are unchoſen by the Pope one after another, before any election would take with the Pope.	
1234				Edmund of Abendon.	This Archbiſhop Edmund was choſen by the Popes command.	
					Archbiſhop Edmund with his Biſhops in Council at Weſtmiſter (the King now being at variance with the Nobles) declared to the King plainly that the Council he followed was not good, but dangerous to him and the ſtate (meaning the council of Peter Wincheſter, and Peter of Rival, &c.) ſhewing it in their turning the Kings heart from his own natural Subjects, and in eleven particulars more.	
					The King takes pity of Juſtice Hubert's Wife.	
					Richard Earl Marſhal is fraudulently circumvented and ſlain in Ireland.	
					The King laments it.	
					Many of the Carſini and the Albigenſes are ſlain by the Popes command.	317
					Peace is concluded between the King and the Nobles.	
					Juſtice Hubert is reſtored again to the Kings favour.	
					The King calling a Council, calls the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Peter Rival, Stephen Segrave, &c. to account for abuſing his Seal, &c.	

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterb.	Great variance ariseth between the Romans and Pope Gregory the ninth, because the Pope contended contrary to the custom (as the Romans pleaded) that he might excommunicate a Citizen of Rome, and interdict the City.	Vol. I. Page
1237					Schism ariseth between the Greek and the Roman Church, because that an elected Grecian Archbishop, could not be confirmed when he was come to Rome, unless he would give a great sum of money, which Simony the Archbishop and the Grecians with one consent did abominate, and separated from Rome.	318
1238					This separation of the Greek Church from Pope Gregory the ninth, and the Church of Rome, causeth that Germanus Archbishop and Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to Pope Gregory the ninth, to reform matters, and study means of Unity in the seamless Coat of Christ.	321
1240					The Pope imposeth so many exactions upon England, beginning at this 1237 year, and so forward (as he had many years before to the said year) as make up large Tables.	322
1241					Orbo the Popes Legat hath authority to stay longer and gather more money in England.	
					Not long after in this year, Pope Gregory sends a new Precept to Legat Orbo, that all benefited men in England and France should pay to the Pope the fifth part of their revenues. Who notwithstanding their four material excuses, were fain to pay it.	
					Preachers are stirred up by the Lord to preach that the Pope was an Heretic, and condemned for their pains; viz. Arnoldus, Johannes Semeca the glo's Writer of the Popes Decrees, an opposer of the Pope, Gualterius De sancto amore, giving many signs of false Teachers, Galus and Grosthead.	323
					Petrus Supino gets 1500 Marks out of Ireland for the Pope; and Petrus Rupert in England gets of the Abbots and Priors, shewing to them the Popes Bills and Bulls, a mighty quantity of Silver and Gold.	
					The Pope demands of the House of Peterborough, that they should grant him some Benefice lying in their donation, whose fruits were worth an 100 pound, so that they should be as Farmers, and the Pope to receive the profits. But the King forbade them any such grant.	
1243		Innocent the 4th.			From Pope Innocent the fourth comes M. Marinus, a new Merchant of the Pope, with power to suspend all Prelats in England from giving Benefices, till the Popes Kinsmen were preferred.	
1245					The King writes a Letter to Pope Innocent to forbear his intolerable oppression of the Kingdom of England.	326
					Martinus being an instrument of the Popes oppression of England, is warned by the Nobility (and he had little less comfort of the King) to be gone out of England, upon pain of being cut in pieces; who taking his leave of the King, the King (as Matthew Paris saith) bids him farewell in the Devils name.	
1246					The Nobles and Commons of England write a supplication to Pope Innocent the fourth in the General Council at Lyons, against his injurious Taxes imposed upon England.	327
1247					Pope Innocent in a meeting at Cluniae persuades the French King (who was addressing himself for his Voyage to Jerusalem) to war against Regulum istum, that is, the feeble King of England (for his not condescending to the Pope in all things) either to drive him out of his Dominions, or to make him accommodate the Pope in every thing.	329
1248					The Clergy and Commonalty of England write another Letter to Pope Innocent the fourth against his exactions in England.	
					The Abbot of Abingdon commanded to give a Benefice by the Pope to one, and by the King to another, rather obeys the King than the Pope. For which he is cited to appear before the Pope, and condemned in fifty Marks.	331
					The French K. bent and bound for the Holy-land, is persuaded by his friends and Mother to lay down the obligatory Crois for his journey, as having (say they) taken it up in the weakness of his senses in his sickness. The K. hereupon tearing off his Badge and resigning it to the Bishop (all the persuaders joyning therein) by and by takes it up again, saying, If formerly in my weakness of body and senses I took up the Crois to go to the Holy-Land to fight against the Heathens, now I take it up again in the full strength of both.	
					The Pope being at odds with the Emperor Frederick the second, will not at any hand be reconciled, though the King of France strongly interceded, and the Emperor himself clears himself of all imputation, offers full satisfaction for all pretended wrongs, will go out of his Empire (if the Pope could not endure him there) to the Holy Land, never to return into Europe again, so as his Son Henry Nephew to King Henry of England might succeed him, with offer of other most reasonable conditions. These oppositions of the Pope against Christian Emperors and Kings, gave the Turks great advantage of prevailing.	332
1250					The French K. in his Voyage to Jerusalem takes in Damietta.	
					This year the Saracens to day are beaten of the French before Damietta; on the morrow the French are beaten by the Saracens ten times more. See more Vol. I. p. 334. c. 1.	
					The Templaries fighting for the holy Temple against the Saracens near to Antioch are vanquished, and their Standard-bearer slain.	

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A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	The grand cause of Gods not prospering the Christians in their Wars in the Holy-Land, was the Christians adhering to their Masses, and other superstitions.	Vol. 1. Page.
1253					Men that can dispense fifteen pound land <i>per annum</i> , must make the King a soldier, Vol. 1. p. 369. c. 2.	332
1254				<i>boniface.</i>	This year Pope <i>Innocent</i> would needs have the bones of <i>Robert Grossthead</i> Bishop of <i>Lincoln</i> , contrary to the minds of the Cardinals, to be taken up and cast out of the Church, for his open plain rebuking the Pope in his life time, to the putting of him into a great terror of Conscience, so that the Pope seemed to see a Bishop in a Vision to say unto him, <i>Arise wretch, and come to judgment.</i>	368
1255		<i>Alexander the 4th.</i>			The Kings great expences in his Voyage to <i>Vascon</i> makes him put many Taxes upon his Subjects, chiefly on the Church-men, who being wont to receive Tithes from, are now made to give Tithes to the Laity. Vol. 1. p. 369. c. 2.	368
1257					Pope <i>Innocent</i> dies. Great dissention ariseth between <i>Boniface</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> , and the Canons of <i>Lincoln</i> about the right of giving Prebendships. The <i>Jews</i> crucify a Child nine years old with great torment. The King of <i>England</i> exacts of the <i>Jews</i> 8000 Marks in pain of hanging.	
1259					<i>Walter Gray</i> Archbishop of <i>Tork</i> with superstitious excessive fasting, killed himself. A <i>Jew</i> falling into a Privy at <i>Tewkesbury</i> upon <i>Saturday</i> being the <i>Jews</i> Sabbath would not for reverence thereof be lifted out; and on the morrow being the Christians Sabbath <i>Richard</i> Earl of <i>Glocester</i> would not suffer him to be taken out, and so he died in the Dung. The King entering into <i>France</i> , required the restitution of such Lands in <i>Normandy</i> and <i>Anjou</i> , as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withheld from him, and made the <i>French</i> King to agree to him. Vol. 1. p. 369. c. 2.	
1260					A great contention is at <i>Oxford</i> between the Scholars. To this year continueth the History of <i>Matthew Paris</i> , leaving at the story of the death of <i>Fulco</i> Bishop of <i>London</i> .	369
1261					The King gives Licence to plant an Univeristy at <i>Northampton</i> , and writes to the Magistrates of that Town courteously to intreat the Scholars when they came.	371
1262					The King gets from the Pope a release of his Oath wherein he had sworn to some Statutes at <i>Oxford</i> .	372
1263					The King renues his release from his Oath, by this Pope <i>Urban</i> . The Barons continue to maintain the Statutes of <i>Oxford</i> . An agreement is made between the King and the Nobles.	
1264					The King besiegeth and invades the Barons at <i>Northampton</i> . The Scholars there also are stubborn against the King, shooting with slings, long-bows and cross-bows, doing much hurt, but at length are beaten, slain, and made to fly.	373
1265					A Battel fought at <i>Leura</i> between King <i>Henry 3.</i> the Barons win the field, and do take <i>Richard</i> King of <i>Almon</i> , <i>K. Henry's</i> Brother, and his Son, who assisted the Kings Prisoners.	375
1266		<i>Clement the 4th.</i>			This Pope was at first a married man and had children. Then he was the <i>French</i> Kings Chancellor. After his Wives death he was made Bishop called <i>Podiensis</i> . After that Archbishop of <i>Narbon</i> . After Cardinal, and last of all Pope.	377
1267					<i>Thomas Aquinas</i> flourisheth about this time, and <i>Bonaventure</i> . A form of peace is drawn between the King and his Barons, wherein the King promitteth much reformation of things in Church and Commonwealth.	379
1268					<i>K. Henry</i> the third writes to <i>Oxford</i> Sheriff against an Assembly or Meeting of men, who termed themselves Harlots. It is probable that this was some pretended Order of Religion; and that from it came the reproachful name of Harlot.	
1269					Dissention ariseth between Earl <i>Simon</i> and the Earl of <i>Glocester</i> , they fight a Battel, and <i>Simon</i> and many of his side are slain.	380
1270					The King being in the custody of the Barons is now restored to his Regality. <i>Keneilworth</i> decree confirmed, that they that had lost their Lands by Attainder, (although not yet attained) should have them at the Kings pleasure, and take them of the King again.	381
1271					The King besiegeth the Castle of <i>Keneilworth</i> , whither repairs <i>Othobonus</i> the Popes Legat, and by his persuasions <i>Henry Hastings</i> that had valiantly kept it against the King, yields it to the King, pardon being granted to him, of Life, Lands, Goods, &c.	
1272					The Barons fortifie the Isle of <i>Ely</i> , and after that <i>London</i> against the King. Peace concluded between the King and the Nobles. Prince <i>Edward</i> the Kings Son, and many Princes of other Kingdoms take upon them the Cross to make an expedition to <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Boniface</i> Archbishop being dead, the Monks of <i>Canterbury</i> agree upon the Prior of their House <i>Adam Chelenden</i> .	382
1273					The King and his Son <i>Edward</i> intreated the Monks to choose <i>Robert Burnel</i> , Prior <i>Chelenden</i> elect, and not admitted by the K. goes up to <i>Rome</i> , there continues 2 years, and at last resigns up his Election to Pope <i>Gregory</i> , who gave it to <i>R. Kilwarby</i> .	

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury. Rob. Kilwardy.	The great Concordance came forth about this time by an English Friar called John Dornington.	Vol. 1. Page
1272					Whereas the other Princes that went to the Holy Land, especially the French, did take many of the Infidels, instead of giving them blows, Prince Edward refused this money, (who was for his integrity sake, when many of the others with their monys were drowned with Tempest) and also prospered his designs.	
1273					Pope Gregory the Tenth calls a Council at Lions about the controversie between the Greek Church and the Latin Church.	385
1274			Edward the 1st.		K. Henry the third dies having reigned 56 years. Edward the eldest Son of Henry the first being in Vasconia, when his Father died, returns home, and is crowned this year. At which crowning, he putting off his Crown, said, he would not put it on again till he had gathered together all the Lands that belonged unto it.	386
					This K. had much ado with Wales, but at length cuts down their Woods, subdued the Country and their King Leweline, and made his Son Prince of Wales.	
					The said Leweline rebelling (as we said) asked counsel of the Conjurers what should be the event; to whom it was answered, that he should go forward boldly, for he should ride through Cheap with a Crown on his head, which was thus fulfilled He being slain his head was carried through Cheap with a Crown of Silver to London Bridge.	
1278				J. Peckham.	This Archbishop Peckham, refuted the King in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the Crown, touching Patronages, &c. See Vol. 1. p. 399. c. 1. He ordained that one Minister should have but one Benefice. Vol. 1. p. 399. c. 1.	
1279					Jews for money-clipping are executed.	
1284		Nicholas the 4th.			The great Conduit in Cheap began to be built.	
1288					After this Pope Nicholas, the See of Rome was void two years and three months, through the dissention of the Cardinals, before another Pope was chosen. Vol. 1. p. 389. c. 2.	
1291					The King of England being proved by many ancient Records, to be chief Sovereign of Scotland, took full possession of the same; appointing the Crown to John Baliol under him.	386
				R. Winchelsey.	This Archbishop Winchelsey much troubled the King, accusing him to the Pope.	
1294					The Scots rebel against England.	
1298		Celestine the 5th. Boniface the 8th.			Of Pope Boniface the eighth, and Pope Celestine, Vol. 1. p. 387. c. 1. How he was thought to be the eighth Nero, and how with a Reed he speaks through a Wall in the night to Pope Nicholas (because he was a man laborious to reform the Church) as if it had been a voice from Heaven to give over his Bishoprick; and so at last gat him out, the same year he was Pope.	
1299					The K. of England and the Scots have a great fight; but K. Edward hath the Victory.	
					The Scots rebelling again, again are suppressed by the King, and made to swear to the Kings Allegiance.	
					This Pope Boniface the 8th challengeth of King Edward the Kingdom of Scotland.	
1301					The King witheth the Pope to send his grounds of challenging the Kingdom of Scotland; calls a Parliament, writes to the Pope abundance of passages and pretexts from Anno 900 to 1230. that the Kingdom of Scots was the Kings of England.	387
1303					Pope Boniface the 8th being offended with Philip the French King, excites King Edward of England to war against him; but King Edward well knowing the Pope, put him off with delays, and the French King tearing K. Edward, restored unto him Vascone, which he wrongfully had detained.	389
					The Scots rebel again against K. Edward the first, under W. Wallace.	
					Great difference ariseth between Philip K. of France, and Pope Boniface the 8th. The Pope thundring out his curse of Excommunication against the K. because the King commanded his Legat and a Bishop (whom the Legat got released, being imprisoned for a Conspiracy against the K.) to depart out of his Realm. The King on the other side calls a Parliament, and makes a declaration against the Popes intolerable wickedness, and an appeal from the Pope to a General Council.	389
1304					This year Captain Schairra with Soldiers, besiege, apprehend and raffle the Pope, and set him on a Colt with his face towards the Tail, causing the unbroken Colt to course up and down with him, till the Pope was out of breath.	390
					This Pope, what by fear, and what by sorrow, dies, and Pope Benedict the 11th succeeds.	396
1305		Benedict the 11th.			To this Pope Clement, K. Edward wrote divers Letters against R. Winch. Archbishop, with whom he was much pestered.	397
1306		Clement the 5th.			This Pope Clement having provided strongly to keep the Emperor of Germany under his feet, that no Emperor could be crowned without his leave: next he intermeddles with the Empire of Constantinople, excommunicating Andronicus Paleologus Emperor of Constantinople, as an Heretic, because he would not suffer the Greek Church to appeal to Rome.	

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		Vol. 1. Page.
1307					A Parliament is held by the <i>Kat Carle</i> , wherein many great complaints are made against the Pops exactions.	401
					A Parliament is held in <i>France</i> , wherein Popish and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is thoroughly discussed, and Regal Supremacy justly advanced against the vain reasons of the <i>Papists</i> .	
					K. <i>Edward</i> the first marching towards <i>Scotland</i> , falls sick of a flux; swears the Nobles to make his Son <i>Edward</i> K. after him; & chargeth his Son not to call home wicked <i>Gaveston</i> , whom he had banished; & to go in War to the Holy Land, carrying his heart with him, which had vowed to go that Voyage himself, but <i>Scottish</i> Was hindred him, and so he dies.	415 416
1308			Edward the 2d.		This <i>Edward</i> in this 1307, enters into the Throne, being of a graceful body, but not so gracious in his soul.	
1310					This year and not afore, is K. <i>Edward</i> crowned.	
					The King is much led aside by the evil counsel of one <i>Gaveston</i> , and the two <i>Spencers</i> .	
					A Parliament is called, wherein are exhibited divers Articles touching things his Father had given him in charge, namely, to remove from him and his Court all Aliens and perverse Counsellors, and to let matters of State be debated by the Council of the Kingdom, and touching sundry other matters. The King perceiving that this did hit at his <i>Gaveston</i> , did when there was no remedy, yield to let <i>Gaveston</i> be banished into <i>Ireland</i> , and so the Parliament ended, the other Articles not sped.	417
1311					The first <i>Ottoman</i> having conquered the other three Families of the <i>Turks</i> , Anno 1300. now goes on conquering the Christians. Vol. 1. p. 837. c. 1.	
					R. <i>Winchelsey</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> , whom <i>Edward</i> the first had banished, is now released, and returns from <i>Rome</i> home.	
					The Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> excommunicates the Bishop of <i>Coventry</i> for holding with <i>Peter Gaveston</i> , which <i>Gaveston</i> , though banished upon forfeiture of life, goods, &c. Presumes upon the Kings favour, returns again.	418
1312					<i>Peter Gaveston</i> is apprehended by <i>Guido</i> , alias <i>Guy</i> Earl of <i>Warwick</i> , and beheaded by the Nobles.	
					The King hath a young Son born, the joy whereof made him begin to forget his sorrow for <i>Gaveston</i> ; but that <i>Frenchmen</i> make-bates, cause contention between the K. and Nobles to arise again.	419
1313					The <i>Scots</i> take occasion by this discord, to rebel against the King, under one <i>Robert Bruce</i> , whom King <i>Edward</i> the first had chased out of <i>Scotland</i> , was now returned thither, getting himself to be made King, who when the King of <i>England</i> and his Lords and Armies encountred him and his Host, did discomfort them, and slew many of the <i>English</i> Lords.	419
1314	<i>Ludovicus</i> the 2da.				Pope <i>Clement</i> dies, after whom the Papacy continues void two years.	
1316	<i>Barbarius</i> the 5th. Anti-Pope.				This Emperor <i>Ludovicus</i> was a worthy man was crowned without the Pops consent, and was much vexed by this wicked Pope <i>John</i> , Vol. 1. p. 424.	
1317		John 22.			The King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth <i>Barwick</i> in <i>Scotland</i> : The mean while the <i>Scots</i> by another way invaded the Merchants of <i>Yorkshire</i> , robbing the Country, and slaying much people, and of an Army gathered by the Archbishop of <i>York</i> , of divers Abbots, Priors, Clerks and Husbandmen to resist them, they slay many, and that of the Clergy, called therefore the <i>White Batel</i> ; inasmuch that the King was fain to retire from <i>Barwick</i> , and rescue <i>Yorkshire</i> .	
					At this time the two <i>Spencers</i> , <i>Hugh</i> the Father, and <i>Hugh</i> the Son, were so impious and yet so potent in the Kingdom, that no Lord durst controul them, so that they were much hated of the Nobles.	420
1321					A Prohibition is set forth against <i>Peter-pence</i> .	
					The <i>Spencers</i> banished by Act of Parliament for their wickedness, are restored and advanced by the King. The Nobles to redress this evil, assemble their power; but being scattered by the Kings forces before they could come together, were pursued and taken, and two and twenty of the chief Earls and Lords were hanged, drawn and quartered, saving that the Earl of <i>Lancaster</i> was beheaded. This cruelty to his natural Subjects wrought his utter ruine at last.	421
1322					Now the King begins with the <i>Spencers</i> to triumph in his Victory of putting the Nobles to death.	
1323					The King advanceth <i>Hugh Spencer</i> to be an Earl, and ill reported, and reputed Sir <i>John Baldeob</i> to be Chancellor of <i>England</i> : Also the King raiseth an Army against the <i>Scots</i> ; but the good leaders being put to death, and unskilful ones leading this Army one hundred thousand of this Army perished by Famine.	
1324		<i>Benedict</i> 12.			Of <i>Benedict</i> 12. see Vol. 1. p. 424.	
					The King cited by the <i>French</i> to do homage to him for the Dukedom of <i>Aquitain</i> , which the King held of <i>France</i> ; about this was great contention between the two Kings. Prince <i>Edward</i> with the Queen is sent over to quiet matters; who would not return again till they had fitted matters for the ruine of the King and his wicked favourites.	422
1325					The <i>French</i> King by reason of the great ado the King of <i>England</i> made by Proclamations, for the Queen and her Son to return, and by threatening of the <i>French</i> K. himself. The <i>French</i> K. removed the Queen and her Son from him, who are both joyfully received in the Court and Country of the Earl of <i>Henauwe</i> ; where a Marriage was concluded between <i>Edward</i> her Son, being of the age of 14, and <i>Philip</i> the said Earls Daughter.	

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Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	By this Marriage-Match was knit a combination of War, whereby the Queen and the young Prince should invade England; who being furnished out of Henawde, and with some Lords that came out of England at the hearing of the Marriage, with 2757 Soldiers. With these she and her Son lands; very many of the greatest of the Nobility (the Archbishop also, as they say, sending relief of money and provision) resort to the Queen, so that daily her power increased; and on the other side, scarce any would be hired to fight on the Kings side.	Vol. 1. Page
1326					Then the K. flies to <i>Briflow</i> , appointing <i>Spencer</i> the Father to keep <i>Briflow</i> Castle. The Queen follows, takes the Castle, apprehends the said <i>Spencer</i> , whom being torn, at last they hanged him at the said City in chains of Iron. The K. flies to <i>Wales</i> ; the Queen follows, proclaiming that if the King would come in and appear, he should receive his Kingdom again if he would be conformable to his liege people. Who not appearing, Prince <i>Edward</i> is proclaimed High-keeper of the Realm. The Queen, sends Lords to pursue after the King; the King is taken and put in <i>Keneleworth</i> Castle. Divers Lords and great Persons are apprehended, of whom <i>Spencer</i> the Son is drawn and hanged on a Gallows fifty foot high; and beheading him, and quartering him, they send his Limbs into several Quarters of the Kingdom. Sir <i>John Arundel</i> also was beheaded.	423
					A Parliament is called at <i>London</i> , from which a Message is sent to the King, that if he would resign his Crown, his Son should have it after him, if not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. The King being not able otherwise to choose, yields up his Crown, is kept in Prison, deposed by the Parliament, the Son set up as King, the old King living in Prison, at last is slain (as Authors affirm) with a hot Spit thrust up into his body by <i>Roger Mortimer's</i> means, for which he was drawn and quartered afterward.	
1327			Edward the 3d.	3. Stephen.	This King built <i>Oriel</i> College, and <i>St. Mary</i> Hall in <i>Oxford</i> . This year 1326 great fury and outrage arose between the Townsmen and the Abby of <i>Bury</i> , the Town killing the Monastery and imprisoning the Monks, and some slaughter was between them. Of this Archbishop <i>Simon</i> , see Vol. 1. Page 424. As also Page 451. of the same Volume.	426
					This being the life and death of K. <i>Edward</i> the second, the Father as we have heard; <i>Edward</i> the third, the Son is crowned at the age of 15 years. A man temperate, warlike and prosperous.	
					<i>Orchanes</i> the 2d <i>Ottoman</i> . Vol. 1. p. 837. c. a.	
					The King with the Queen is at <i>York</i> with an Army of 60000 men, ready to encounter with the <i>Scots</i> . The <i>Scots</i> steal away, so that no Battle is fought.	
					K. <i>Edward</i> the 3d, is now married to the Earl of <i>Henawits</i> Daughter above said.	
					A release by the means of <i>Roger Mortimer</i> and the old Queen, is granted by the King, under age, to the <i>Scots</i> of all their homage and fealty to the Crown of <i>England</i> , which they were tied unto by Seal and Indenture, called the <i>Ragman-Role</i> . The Black-Cross also won from <i>Scotland</i> by valour of the former King <i>Edward</i> is given back to the <i>Scots</i> , with other things very prejudicial to <i>England</i> .	428
					The Nobles desiring to redress these matters in a legal way, are falsely accused of Conspiracy against the King, and the Earl of <i>Kent</i> , being guiltless, is put to death, being the Kings Uncle, and never brought to answer for himself.	
1332				7. Stratford.	The King conquers <i>France</i> .	
1333					Of this Archbishop, see Vol. 1. p. 451.	
1340					The King challengeth <i>France</i> as his own. Vol. 1. p. 429.	
1341					The Pope sends to the King of <i>England</i> for three year truce with the King of <i>France</i> . Vol. 1. p. 435.	
1342					The Emperor <i>Ludovicus</i> <i>Bavar</i> , that before was for the King of <i>England</i> , against the K. of <i>France</i> , now is against the K. of <i>England</i> .	
					<i>Benedict</i> the 12th dies, whose infancy lives in <i>Latine</i> Epitaph, thus Englished:	
					Here's Nero laid; in life, a death to lay; To Clergy-men a Viper. And they say, His heart a wand'rer was from truth divine, His Head a Cup fill'd up with strongest Wine.	
					See the later Verse. Vol. 1. p. 425. c. 1.	
1345					<i>Windfor</i> Castle repaired, the round Table made.	
1348					<i>Henry</i> Earl of <i>Lancaster</i> with 600 Archers, and as many men at Arms, won many Towns and Conquests from the <i>French</i> in <i>Gascoin</i> .	
				Two. Braidwarden.	The King wins <i>Calis</i> , translated the Staple thither, takes the <i>French</i> King Prisoner (who had stirred up the King of <i>Scots</i> against the K. of <i>England</i>) and is the first that conjoined the <i>French</i> Arms with the <i>English</i> Arms, Vol. 1. p. 426.	441
1349				Simon I. slip	The raging Plague going from <i>London</i> into the North parts, this year swageth.	
1350					<i>Amaratus</i> the 3d <i>Ottoman</i> . Vol. 1. p. 838.	
					<i>Calis</i> almost won from the <i>English</i> by the <i>French</i> .	
					<i>Philip</i> the <i>French</i> King dies.	

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Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome, denotat the 6th.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterb.	Text	Vol. Page
1351					Earl Ewe, Constable of France, upon false pretence is beheaded.	
1352					In this Pope Innocent the sixths time, was <i>Johannes de Rupefissa</i> . Vol. 1. p. 454.	
1354					The Marshal of France with his great Army, is put to flight by Sir Roger Benetele, a Captain in Britain, having but only 600 soldiers with him. Of Pope Innocent 6. See Vol. 1. p. 445.	
1355					The King of France and England had made peace, but that the Popes partiality inclining to the French, hindered the same. <i>Rechtayladus</i> and a Frier scourged and burned, for preaching that Rome was the Whore of Babylon, and contemning the Popes Bull. Vol. 1. p. 445.	
1356					The King of England hearing of the death of King Philip of France, and the succession of his Son, who had given the Dukedom of Aquitania to Charles his eldest Son, and Dauphin of Vienna; sends over Prince Edward with Earls and common Soldiers, who subdued the said Dukedom.	
1360					Prince Edward being in Gascoine, wins great Victories of the French. The King hath trouble with the Pope.	
1362					Having passed over the time of losing Satan, and his darkening of the Church with ignorance and affliction, now we come to the time wherein the Church began to be reformed somewhat, by a great Catalogue of excellent men. { <i>Guliel. de sancto amore,</i> } Having made way for Reformation, of whom we spake before. { <i>Marfilus Patavinus,</i> } { <i>Ockam, Grosthead;</i> } { <i>Petrus de Cugneris,</i> } { <i>Conradus Hager,</i> } Go on with Reformation. { <i>Cesinas</i> and others, } as shall follow in their years	453
1364					About this time was the Author, and Penning of that excellent Treatise against Popery, called the Prayer and Complaint of the Flowman.	453
					About this time was that rare man <i>Armachanus</i> , Primate of Ireland, who disputed and preached against Heresies; in particular against the order of Begging Friars, and against <i>Papish</i> confessions, &c.	464
					With this <i>Armachanus</i> in this <i>Henricus de Gandavo</i> . Disputation and time of Reformation, were <i>Gulielmus de Landino</i> . <i>Johannes Monachus</i> , Cardinal.	467
					This being the second year of Pope Urban the 5th. <i>Nicholas Orem</i> preached a Sermon before the Pope and his Cardinals; wherein he worthily rebukes the Prelates of his time, declaring their destruction not to be far off by certain signs. All the sayings of the Prophets spoken against the wicked Jewish Priests, are aptly applied against the Romish Clergy, comparing the Church at this time with the Strumpet spoken of <i>Ezek. 16</i> . Concluding that the Clergy now were worse than the Jewish Synagogue.	473
1366					<i>Miltirinus</i> a Bohemian, preacheth that Antichrist was come already. Vol. 1. p. 477. c. 1.	
1367					In this year, being the fifth of Pope Urban, began first the Order of <i>Jesuites</i> .	
1368					This year the offices of Chanceryship of England, of the Privy Seal, and of the Treasurership, which were wont to be in the hands of Clergymen, by a motion in Parliament, were removed from the Clergy, into the hands of the Lords Temporal.	477
					This Pope reduceth the Papacy from France, where it had been 70 years, to Rome again.	
1371					This year lived St. Bridget, as the <i>Papists</i> canonize her, who notwithstanding was a great enemy to the unholiness of the Pope, calling him a spiller of Christs Flock, a murderer of souls, &c.	
1373					<i>Matthias Parisiensis</i> a Bohemian, writes against Antichrist, proving him already to be come. Vol. 1. p. 478. c. 2.	
1374					About this time was Wickliff, Professor of Divinity in Oxford.	
1375					<i>Henricus Hassia</i> writes <i>De erroribus Christianorum</i> . <i>Henricus de Iota</i> now flourisheth.	
1377					This being the third year of Pope Gregory the 11th, King Edward holds a Parliament, and complains of the Popes reservation of Benefices in England.	477
					About this year began <i>Bajazetes</i> the 4th Ottoman to reign over the Turks; with the murder of his Brother.	
					The King and the Pope concludes that the Pope should not reserve Benefices, and that the King should not give Benefices upon the Writ <i>Quare Impedit</i> .	
1378					This King Richard Son of Edward the 3d. is but eleven years of age when he began his Reign, who like his Father, was in his Reign, no great disfavoured of Wickliff's Doctrine.	
					Pope Gregory sends a Bull, sharply rebuking Oxford University for their permitting Wickliff. Vol. 1. p. 491. c. 1.	

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Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	In Pope Urban's time began a Schism in the See of Rome that lasted 39 years.	Vol. Page
1379					Vol. 1. p. 495. c. 1.	
					<i>Katharina Senensis</i> , an holy Virgin, lived at this time, spake much against the wickedness of the Prelats of Rome, and prophesied of the great schism that should be among them, which after came to pass.	
1380					The Vicechancellor of Oxford, viz. <i>W. Barton</i> annexeth the University seal to Edicts against the favours of <i>Wickliff's</i> Doctrine.	
1381					Of this Archbishop, see Vol. 1. p. 580. c. 1.	
1382					A Convocation is held at London, summoning <i>Wickliff</i> to appear, Vol. 1. p. 514.	514
1383					The Examination and troubles of <i>Nich. Hereford</i> , <i>Phil. Reppington</i> , and <i>J. Aston</i> , Vol. 1. p. 498. c. 2.	
1384					Pope Urban was against <i>Clement</i> Antipope, Vol. 1. p. 508.	
					<i>Johannes Mounzinger</i> Rector of the University of Ulme, propounded openly in the Schools in an Oration that the Body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God, with <i>Latreia</i> , meaning that the Sacrament was not to be adored; which after he also defended by writing.	479
					Of Pope Boniface the ninth. His Bull against the <i>Lollards</i> , Vol. 1. p. 574. c. 1.	
					The story of that famous Christians troubles, <i>W. Swinderby</i> , Vol. 1. p. 530. c. 2.	574
1389					Also of <i>Walter Brute</i> his companion, Vol. 1. p. 542. c. 1.	
1390					<i>R. Wimbler</i> preacheth an excellent Sermon at <i>Paul's Cross</i> , Vol. 1. p. 622. c. 2.	
					<i>Jacobus Misquensis</i> writes of the coming of Antichrist.	
					At <i>Bruga</i> are burned 36 Citizens of <i>Moguntia</i> , for the Doctrine of the <i>Waldenses</i> , affirming the Pope to be Antichrist.	479
					140 in the Province of <i>Narbon</i> rather endured any Persecution by fire, than to receive the Decretals of the <i>Romish</i> Church, contrary to the truth of the Scriptures.	
1394					Of <i>Benedict</i> 13, see Vol. 1. p. 620.	
1395					A Parliament is held at <i>Westminster</i> . In this Parliament twelve Articles are put up by the Gospellers, and also fastened at <i>Paul's Doors</i> , &c. touching Reformation, Vol. 1. p. 578. c. 2.	
					This Archbishop was Brother to Earl of <i>Arundel</i> . Of him, see Vol. 1. p. 580.	
1396					He made many Constitutions against Religion, Vol. 1. p. 597. c. 1.	
1397					<i>Bajazetes</i> 4th <i>Ottoman</i> , is captivated to <i>Tamerlan</i> the <i>Parthian</i> , in an iron Cage and golden Fetters, Vol. 1. p. 838. c. 2.	
1399					<i>Bajazetes</i> dies in his Captivity, Vol. 1. p. 839. c. 1.	
					<i>Calepinus</i> the 5th <i>Ottoman</i> succeeds. He vexed the Christians by means of their discords, Vol. 1. p. 839. c. 1.	
					King <i>Rich. 2.</i> takes his Voyage to <i>Ireland</i> ; mean while the Earl of <i>Darby</i> and Duke of <i>Hereford</i> , and with him Archbishop <i>Arundel</i> (which before were both exiled) return out of <i>France</i> into <i>England</i> , challenging the Dukedom of <i>Lancaster</i> after the death of his Father; at the knowledge whereof, multitudes of people gathered to them, with many of the greatest Noblemen in the Land; whereby the King flying to <i>Wales</i> , was so distressed, that he was fain to resign his Crown to <i>Henry</i> the fourth.	
					<i>W. Sautre</i> Martyr, his troubles, Vol. 1. p. 586. c. 2.	
					Articles put on the Church door against <i>Henry</i> the fourth, Vol. 1. p. 591. c. 1.	
1400					<i>Calepinus</i> the 5th <i>Ottoman</i> dies.	
1401					<i>Orchanes</i> and <i>Moses</i> his Uncle, Vol. 1. p. 839.	
1404					the 6th <i>Ottoman</i> .	
1406					Of <i>Gregory</i> the 12th, and King <i>Henry</i> the 4th's Letter to him, see Vol. 1. p. 630.	
1407					<i>Moses</i> the Uncle, having slain <i>Orchanes</i> the Nephew, reigns but two years, and is now slain by <i>Mabumetes</i> , <i>Orchanes</i> his Brother; who now succeeds, and is the 7th <i>Ottoman</i> , Vol. 1. p. 839.	
					<i>Will. Thorp's</i> Examination and troubles. Vol. 1. p. 609. <i>Purvey's</i> troubles. Vol. 1. p. 618.	
1408					The Archbishop of <i>Tork</i> , with the Lord <i>Mowbray</i> and others, executed, Vol. 1. p. 593.	
1409					<i>John Badby</i> Artificer, Martyr. Vol. 1. p. 593.	
1411					Of <i>Sigismund</i> the Emperor. See Vol. 1. p. 733. 734.	
1412					<i>John Hus</i> , in defence of <i>Wickliff</i> , delivers his determination upon the fourteenth Article of <i>Wickliff</i> touching preaching and hearing of the Word, Vol. 1. p. 514.	
					<i>Hus</i> his defence of the 15 Articles of <i>Wickliff</i> , viz. that its lawful for a Priest or Deacon to preach without the authority of the Apostolick See, Vol. 1. p. 517.	
					Disputation at <i>Prague</i> University upon <i>Wickliff's</i> 7th Article, proving by 24 Arguments, that Princes and Lords, Temporal have lawful authority over the Spirituality.	
					<i>Henry</i> the fourth is sick in a Chamber at <i>Westminster</i> , called <i>Jerusalem</i> , is persuaded he should die (and so did) because it was prophesied he should die at <i>Jerusalem</i> . His Son <i>Henry</i> the 5th succeeds.	635
1413					This year a Synod is called at <i>London</i> by Archbishop <i>Arundel</i> , to persecute that worthy Lord <i>Cobham</i> , who for Religion suffers great trouble at this time.	668

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Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Many Lollards are martyred this year.	Vol. I. Page.
1414				Archbishop of <i>Arundel</i> dies.	This Archbishop <i>Chicheley</i> was an adversary as his Predecessors to the favourers of the truth. Vol. I. p. 669.	
1415				<i>Chicheley</i> .	The troubles and martyrdom of <i>John Hus</i> and the <i>Bohemians</i> . The Pope holds a Council at <i>Constance</i> , the proceedings thereof. An Owl would needs be in the Council. <i>Jerome of Prague</i> is condemned and burnt. Vol. I. p. 722.	670 675 718
1416		<i>John the 23d.</i>			Pope <i>John</i> the 23d is deposed. Vol. I. p. 733. <i>John Claidon</i> and <i>Rich. Turning</i> are persecuted. Vol. I. p. 728. Archbishop <i>Chicheley</i> makes a Constitution against the <i>Lollards</i> . The execution thereof is the persecution of many good men. Lord <i>Cobham</i> is put to death with the burning death of Martyrdom, not with the hanging death of a Traytor, about the year 1418, or later end of 1417.	731 732
1419					Pope <i>Martin</i> upon <i>S. Martin's</i> day is chosen Pope by the Council of <i>Constance</i> , the Emperor killing his feet. This <i>Martin</i> vexeth the <i>Bohemians</i> that adhere to the Doctrine of <i>J. Hus</i> and <i>Jerome of Prague</i> . <i>Amurath</i> the second of that name, the <i>8th Ottoman</i> . Vol. I. p. 839. c. 2. He becomes a <i>Turkish</i> Monk. Vol. I. p. 841. c. 1. He is slain to come forth again to War, he is conquered, dies with fury and madness. Vol. I. p. 841.	733
1420					The valour of <i>Scanderbeint</i> , <i>Castricus</i> , <i>Humades</i> , against the <i>Turks</i> . Vol. I. p. 840, 841. <i>Zisca</i> a Nobleman raising 40000 soldiers, becomes their Captain, and beating back the Emperor <i>Sigismund</i> , ruins the <i>Papish</i> Persons, Towns, Monasteries and Religion, in revenge of <i>John Hus</i> and <i>Jerome of Prague's</i> death. <i>Henry Grunfelder</i> Priest of <i>Germany</i> , martyred. Vol. I. p. 759. Pope <i>Martin</i> sends forth a bloody Bull against the followers of <i>Wickliff</i> of <i>England</i> , and of <i>John Hus</i> and <i>Jerome of Prague</i> , of <i>Boheme</i> . To countermand the Bull of Pope <i>Martin</i> , an exhortation is put forth to Kings and Princes against the pestiferous See of <i>Rome</i> , under the name of <i>Procopius Conradar</i> , and other Captains of the <i>Bohemians</i> . By the valour of <i>Procopius Magnus</i> and the <i>Bohemian</i> Soldiers, <i>Sigismund</i> Emperor was fain to entreat for his Kingdom, who before would not be intreated for <i>John Hus</i> and <i>Jerome of Prague</i> , whom he helped forward into the fire. The <i>Papish</i> Army with the Nobles and Cardinal of <i>Wincchester</i> fly before the Christian <i>Bohemians</i> . <i>Sigismund</i> Emperor, and Pope <i>Martin</i> , gather new forces against the <i>Bohemians</i> . The Popes Army again with Cardinal <i>Julian</i> , flies for fear. <i>Henry</i> the fifth (of whose Wars in <i>France</i> it is not for our Ecclesiastical story to relate) now dies; his Son <i>Henry</i> the Sixth but one year old, succeeding. <i>W. Taylor</i> a Priest under <i>Henry Chicheley</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> is valiant to be burned for Christs truth, notwithstanding that under Archbishop <i>Arundel</i> , he through fear did abjure. <i>Henry Raigebert</i> Priest of <i>Germany</i> , martyred. Vol. I. p. 759. c. 2. <i>John Florence</i> , for denying the Popes supreme-law-making-authority, and his ceremonial observance of days, fastings, &c. is disciplined. <i>John Draendorf</i> of noble birth, a Priest, was burned at <i>Worms</i> . Vol. I. p. 759. <i>Richard Belward</i> is troubled for the truth. <i>John Godelsch</i> persecuted for Christs sake. <i>Peter Thorax</i> burned at <i>Spire</i> . Vol. I. p. 759. c. 2. <i>Leaden-Hall</i> in <i>London</i> is founded. Vol. I. p. 809. c. 1. <i>Matthew Hager</i> suffered at <i>Berlin</i> in <i>Germany</i> not long after. Vol. I. p. 759. A Widow murdered in <i>London</i> . The Author going into banishment is slain by Women. Vol. I. p. 809. c. 1. King <i>Henry</i> the sixth sends down most cruel Letters for the apprehension of <i>William White</i> , Priest, and other <i>Lollards</i> , as they call them; whereupon well near an hundred are vexed and troubled for Religion in <i>Sussex</i> and <i>Norfolk</i> . <i>W. White</i> Priest, is burned for the truth. <i>Tho. Pye</i> and <i>John Mendam</i> disciplined for the truth. <i>John Beverly</i> , alias <i>Batild</i> , is whipped, alive lustrigated for the truth. <i>John Skille</i> made to do penance for the truth. The troubles of <i>Margery Backster</i> . King <i>Henry</i> the sixth is this year, and not afore, crowned with his Regal Diadem. The same year he crowns <i>Rich. Hoveden</i> with Martyrdom and many others, with the crowns of thorns of Persecution. Of Pope <i>Eugenius</i> the 4th. see Vol. I. p. 760. <i>Nicholas Canon</i> persecuted for true Religion. <i>Tho. Bagley</i> Priest, persecuted for Religion. <i>Paul Crow</i> a <i>Bohemian</i> delivered up to be burnt for holding opinions, contrary to the Church of <i>Rome</i> . The Council of <i>Basil</i> is called, lasting about 11 years.	733 737 742 745 747 748 749 750 752 753 754 755 757
1421						
1422						
1423						
1424						
1425						
1426						
1427						
1428						
1430			<i>Henry the 6th.</i>			
1431		<i>Ruguius the 4th.</i>				

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<i>Anno Christi</i>	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.		<i>Vol. 1. Page</i>
1436					<i>Tho. Rheden alias Rhedenensis</i> a French man, and a <i>Carmelite</i> Frier burnt in <i>Italy</i> for the truth.	758
1438	<i>Albertus</i> the 2d. Duke of <i>Austria</i> .	<i>Pelix 4.</i>			Of this Emperor <i>Alba 2.</i> see Vol. 1. p. 784. and more 817.	759
1439					The business of the <i>Bohemians</i> at the Council of <i>Basil</i> . Vol. 1. p. 785. They put up petitions to the Council. Vol. 1. p. 789.	783
					Pope <i>Eugenius</i> is depoled by the Council of <i>Basil</i> , and Pope <i>Felix</i> chosen in his room.	
					These two former years the Pope imposeth infinite Exactions upon <i>France</i> and <i>Germany</i> , whereof complaint is made. Vol. 1. p. 821, 822.	796
					<i>Richard Wick</i> persecuted for Religion.	
1440	<i>Frederick</i> the 3d. Duke of <i>Austria</i> .				This year a Council is called by <i>Henry</i> Archbishop, to consult about <i>Premunire facias</i> , to remove that law, by which the Prelats were cut short in many things they would have done.	
					Of this <i>Frederick</i> Emperor, see more. Vol. 1. p. 817.	
					Cardinal of <i>Winchester</i> unjustly hates good Duke <i>Humfry</i> . The Duke justly Articles against the Cardinal. Vol. 1. p. 799.	797
					<i>Eleanor Cobham</i> , Dutches of <i>Glocester</i> , and Sir <i>Roger Onley</i> Priest, are condemned about this time, or the next year following, the one to death, the other to perpetual Prison.	
1443				<i>J. Stafford</i>	<i>Paul's</i> Steeple burnt with Lightning. Vol. 1. p. 800.	800
1445		<i>Nicho. 5.</i>			Archbishop <i>Chicheley</i> dies, whom in his life built <i>Alsolne</i> Colledge, and <i>Bernard</i> Colledge in <i>Oxford</i> .	
1447					Of Pope <i>Nich. 5.</i> see Vol. 1. p. 806.	
1448					The death of that good Duke <i>Humfry</i> , Duke of <i>Glocester</i> .	802
					Cardinal of <i>Winchester</i> , the wicked enemy of Duke <i>Humfry</i> , not being able to intreat or bribe death, though he speaks of both, dies.	
					<i>Mat. Palmerius</i> a <i>Florentine</i> , Martyr. Vol. 1. p. 806.	
					<i>W. Wanster</i> succeeds the Cardinal at <i>Winchester</i> .	
					<i>Magdalen</i> Colledge is built at <i>Oxford</i> .	
1449					The <i>Marques</i> (after Duke) of <i>Suffolk</i> , another enemy of Duke <i>Humfry</i> , now is beheaded.	
1450					The commended Art of Printing is invented.	803
1452				<i>J. Kemp.</i>	<i>Mahumetes</i> the second of that name, is now the ninth <i>Ottoman</i> . What he won from the Christians, see V. 1. p. 842.	
1453					Duke <i>Humfry</i> K. <i>Henry</i> the 6th his Uncle, being dead; the K. loseth the hearts of his Subjects, and enemies to the King rise against him, as <i>Jack Cade</i> ; after, the Duke of <i>York</i> , as it follows in its time and year.	804
					The lamentable losing of <i>Constantinople</i> to the <i>Turk</i> .	
					The Duke of <i>York</i> with 3 Earls, set upon K. <i>Henry</i> 6. near <i>S. Albans</i> , and take him Prisoner. A Parliament is called, the said Duke is proclaimed Protector. V. 1. p. 808.	
1454				<i>Th. Bourchier.</i>	After this was long War between the House of <i>Lancaster</i> and <i>York</i> . <i>Ibid.</i>	
1455		<i>Calistus</i> the 3d.			<i>Raynold Pecock</i> Bishop of <i>Chichester</i> is imprisoned and persecuted for the Gospel.	
1458		<i>Pius 2.</i>	<i>Edward</i> the 4th.		Many good sentences of <i>Pius</i> the Pope.	807
1459					The Duke of <i>York</i> is slain in Battel by the Queen.	
					Prince <i>Edward</i> the Son and Heir of the said Duke of <i>York</i> , raiseth a great Army, and by conquest in Battel, possesseth himself of the Crown, and makes K. <i>Henry</i> the 6th, to fly to <i>Scotland</i> .	808
1461					Q. <i>Margaret</i> flieth the Land.	
					K. <i>Edward</i> himself sitteth on his own Bench, in the cause of a certain Widow for Rape.	
1463					King <i>Henry</i> 6. comes with a sufficient power of <i>Scots</i> and <i>French</i> , to recover his Crown, he is beaten and flies.	
1464		<i>Paulus 2.</i>			Of this Pope <i>Paulus</i> , see V. 1. p. 807.	
1465					K. <i>Henry</i> 6. is found in a Wood, taken and imprisoned.	
					The Earl of <i>Warwick</i> , who before was much for K. <i>Edward</i> the 4th, being displeased, for that K. <i>Edward</i> the 4th would not march according to his desire, moves great War against him.	809
1471		<i>Sixtus 4.</i>			Of this Popes great wickedness, see V. 1. p. 807, 824.	
					Great fights between <i>Edward</i> the 4th, and many Nobles that rose up against him. Q. <i>Margaret</i> being taken in Battel, and Prince <i>Edward</i> Son of K. <i>Henry</i> the 6th, brought before the King.	
1473					<i>John Goss</i> (an English Heretic, <i>Hus</i> signifies a Goose in the <i>Bohemian</i> tongue) is unjustly burnt at <i>Tower-Hill</i> in <i>London</i> .	
1474					The Pope curseth and excommunicateth <i>Pogibracius</i> . The <i>Bohemians</i> notwithstanding stick to their King, <i>Matthias</i> takes from him <i>Moravia</i> , and much of <i>Silesia</i> . V. 1. p. 820.	
					Wars and Peace between <i>Charles</i> Duke of <i>Burgain</i> , and <i>Frederick</i> Emperor, V. 1. p. 821.	
1475					<i>John</i> a <i>Netherland</i> of <i>Francia</i> martyred.	
1476					This year <i>John de Wessalia</i> is persecuted.	
1479					<i>Bayanetes</i> the second of that name, is the 10th <i>Ottoman</i> , what he won from the Christians. V. 1. p. 845.	
1481				<i>Edward</i> the 5th.	A Merchant in <i>Chenepide</i> , for jesting, he would make his Son Heir to the Crown (meaning his own Sign, being the Crown) is by K. <i>Edward</i> the fourths command, within less than four hours, hanged, drawn and quartered. V. 1. p. 825.	
					K. <i>Edward</i> the 4th. dies. V. 1. p. 825.	
1483					K. <i>Edward</i> the 5th, in three Months is deprived of his Crown and Life by his Uncle <i>Richard</i> Duke of <i>Glocester</i> . Vol. 1. p. 825, 826.	

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A Chronology.

Anna Christi	German Emperors.	Roman Popes.	Kings of England.	A. B. Cant.	The Lord Hastings a murderer, is murdered, Vol. 1. p. 825. Pope Sixtus dies, a Monk rather than a Prelate. The great tyranny of Richard Lord Protector, Vol. 1. p. 825. He aspires to, and usurps the Crown, Vol. 1. p. 826. Of this Pope, see Vol. 1. p. 808. George King of Boheme is condemned of Heresie, Vol. 1. p. 808. He condemned eight men, and six women, for denying Bishops that came after Peter, to be Christs Vicars, <i>ibid.</i> By the device of this Morton Bishop of Ely, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, the two Houses of York and Lancaster are united, by King Richards tyranny, confining them to call home banished Earl Richmond and to set him up as King, Vol. 1. p. 826. Of Maximilian Emperor, see Vol. 1. p. 821. King of the Romans divers years before he was Emperor. King Richard the third is slain by Henry Earl of Richmond, is carried like a dead Calf all dirted, overthwart an horse to be buried, Vol. 1. p. 827. The said Henry Earl of Richmond is Crowned King, called Henry the seventh, Vol. 1. 828. Great persecution is moved in Coventry and Litchfield Dioceses this year, Vol. 1. p. 882. This year Fredericus Emperor waxed aged, and the hearts of the Germans towards the Emperor seeming doubtful to him, doth now in his life time associate his son Maximilian to be joynd Emperor with him, with whom he reigns seven years. Maximilian taken captive in the lower Countries of Flanders, is rescued by Frederick his Father. Of this Archbishop Morton, see Vol. 1. p. 883. The learnedness of the Emperor Maximilian, caused that in this facility of dispersing learning by the late Invention of Printing, many men became very learned, among which was Weselus, who was not long after, nor unknown to D. de Wessalia. This Weselus died this year. The Germans put up ten Grievances against the Pope to the Emperor, with an advertisement, Vol. 1. p. 831. Fredericus Emperor dies, leaving his son sole Emperor. Of Pope Alexander, see Vol. 1. p. 833. Joan Boughton a very old woman, mother to the Lady Young, is martyred in the fire, for holding Wickliff's opinions. Tho. Langton was elected Archbishop, but died before he was confirmed, Vol. 1. p. 883. Rich. Mulderale, James Sturdy, Hugh Glover, } bear faggots before the Procession at Pauls, by way of penance for the truth. A Priest being perswaded by the King to revoke, is presently burned also. Edward Plantagenet being beheaded, the Queen moves to Calis. Brabram martyr, is burned in Norfolk. Hieronymus Savonarola, with two Friars, all martyred, are burned. Divers taken in Kent, are made to do penance for the truth, Vol. 1. p. 877. An old man is burnt in Smithfield, Vol. 1. p. 877. Of this Archbishop, see Vol. 1. p. 883. Besides in this Pope of this Vol. 1. see Vol. 2. p. 2. of these two Popes, and their sending to King Hen. 7. Alfo of Pope Julius, see Vol. 2. p. 4. Perkin Werbeck moves Icdition, Vol. 2. p. 4. W. Tisworth is burnt at Amergham, his only daughter being constrained to set fire to her dear father, Vol. 1. p. 878. and twenty one do penance for the truth, Vol. 1. p. 878. Father Roberts is burnt at Buckingham, Vol. 1. p. 878. A great sedition and tumult is raised in Blackheath-field by the Blacksmith, Vol. 2. p. 6. Tho. Chafe of Amergham is in this year 1506, most wickedly strangled and martyred in prison at Woolburn. Tho. Norrice is burned at Norwich for the truth. Elizabeth Sampson is persecuted for speaking against Popery. About this time Laurence Gheft was burned. James Morden and Tho. Bernard burnt at Amergham, Vol. 1. p. 878. A faithful woman of Cheaping-Sadbury is burnt, the persecutor Dr. Whiting, then and there being slain by a Bull. King Henry the seventh dies. Prince Arthur being fifteen years of age, marrying in his Fathers time Lady Katharine daughter of Ferdinand, and dying within five months after, the Crown fell next to Henry 8. being of the age of 18 years, entering his reign this year, marrying shortly after his brother Arthurs wife, that the Dowry might not depart out of the land. Empson and Dudley, the one a Knight, the other an Elquire, having been strict executors of penal Statutes in Henry 7. time, purchasing thereby great hate; about this time, by this King are beheaded. Great contention between the Dominick and Franciscan Friars, touching the Conception of the Virgin Mary without sin, and other of her privileges. The Friars upon this contention, make an Image of the Virgin Mary, with artificial motions, to stir, sigh, groan, and weep, &c. to bring the people into a greater conceit of the Image than of an Image, for which they are burned. Pope Julius questioned in Turme Council in France: of this see also Vol. 1. p. 834. This year is great persecution in London Diocess, whereof 40 names are found recorded, Ann. 1527. John Brown martyred, Vol. 2. p. 550. Many are martyred in Canterbury Diocess under W. Warham, Vol. 2. p. 531. W. Sweeting, } burned in Smithfield for the truth, Vol. 2. p. 7. John Brewster. The renewing of W. Sweetings troubles; for the truth, Vol. 2. p. 22. James Brewster burnt with Sweeting, Vol. 2. lb. Zelymus the eleventh Ottoman reigneth over the Turks. He conquers part of Christendom, Vol. 1. pag. 846. Pope Julius not standing to the judgment of a Council, is conquered in war by Ludovick the French King. <td>Vol. 1. Page 825</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> 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A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emperors of Germany	Roman Bishops	Kings of England	A. B. Cantuarij.	Pope Julius throwing away his Keys into the River, and being unable to conquer by his sword dies.	Vol. 2. Page
					<p>Great changes happens in the Church in the times of these living together.</p> <p>Pope Leo the tenth, Emperor. Francis K. of France. Hen. 8. K. of England. James K. of Scotland.</p> <p>Although they began to reign at times a little different, as may be seen in the several Columns.</p>	
1514			Leo the 10th.		James is King of Scots.	
1515					John Hunne persecuted and murdered in the Lollards Tower, described, V. 2. p. 8.	
1516					Francis is King of France.	
1517					Great war is this year between Frederick Duke of Austria, and Ludovick Duke of Bavaria. Campion, Ruler of the Egyptians, is slain, V. 1. p. 847.	7
					John Brown is burned for the truth.	
					Elizabeth Stamford, John Household, &c. persecuted for the truth, V. 2. p. 17.	
1518					Tomoubeus Ruler of the Egyptians is tormented to death by the Turk, V. 1. p. 847.	
					The Popes Proclamation of Pardons, makes Luther write against them, V. 2. p. 46, 47.	
					The troubles and burning of John Stelman, Martyr, V. 2. p. 18.	
					The Martyrdom of Tho. Man, V. 2. p. 18, 19.	
1519					Christopher Shoemaker is burned for Religion, V. 2. p. 23.	
					Of Carolus Emperor, see V. 1. p. 850. and V. 2. p. 4.	
					Solyman 12th Ottoman begins to reign. He wins from the Christians, V. 1. p. 847, 848.	
					Famous Dr. Colet dies, of whose life, see V. 2. p. 41. Not long before whose death flourished famous Grocius an Englishman, Reader of Divinity Lecture in Pauls in London.	
					Persecution in England of sundry good men this year is moved in Coventry, where seven are burned together, V. 2. p. 181.	
1420					A Proclamation against the Doctrine of Luther, and the followers of it in England, is set forth this year, V. 2. p. 236. He forbids thirteen good Books, V. 2. p. 237.	
					John Southwike persecuted, V. 2. p. 17.	
					The Clergy of England taken in a Premunire; they pay a mass of money for it, V. 2. p. 421.	
					Pope Leo the tenth sends forth his Bull against Luther, which Luther well baits in his answer, Vol. 2. p. 541.	
1521					This year was terrible trouble and persecution of hundreds of good people for the truth; in the Diocess of Lincoln under Longland their Bishop, to find whose names if thou wilt not take the pains to begin at this 24 page, of this second Volume: to write the eleven leaves of Catalogues of them, thou maist in the Table at the later end find them more readily.	24
					This year reformation in the Church by Luther, of whom went Prophecies before.	42
					His acts and doings before the Emperor.	52
					King Henry the eighth writes against Luther (as it is commonly reported and reputed) in which work others are supposed to have the chief hand; and the King the name, for which he is by the Pope tiled, Defender of the Christian Faith.	57
					Pope Leo the tenth wars and wins from the French King; rides in triumph in the same, and dies.	
					The Christian Princes at discord incourageth Solymanus the twelfth Ottoman to war against Christendom, to take Belgrade, V. 1. p. 848.	
					Zuinglius this year is questioned for teaching against the abuses in the Church: His life and acts, V. 2. p. 71.	
1522					This Pope was sometimes Schoolmaster to Emperor Charles the Fifth; he is a German born, yet a great enemy to Luther, plotting and acting sundry devices: Luther and the Nobles of Germany countermanning: He by reasoning, they by putting up their complaints against the Pope, touching forbidding times of Marriage, commanding too many times for holy days, selling remission of sins for money, abusing Excommunication, and many more particulars.	64
					Solyman the Turk wins the Island Rhodes, Vol. 1. p. 848.	
					The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk of Melden in France, Vol. 2. p. 85.	
					Pope Clement the seventh, his Bull against Henry the eighth, in behalf of Queen Katharine. A Marriage to him who was his Brother Arthurs wife, Vol. 2. p. 536.	
					Of Pope Clement the seventh, how in the sacking of Rome he is taken: see V. 2. p. 245.	
1523					This year met Zuinglius and Johannes Faber, and others to dispute; Zuinglius for the rest against the truth. But none willing to dispute with Zuinglius touching his fixty seventh Article of the truth, the Senate of Zurich proclaims throughout their Dominions that the traditions of men should be put down, and Christs Gospel should be set up, and so reformation begins in those parts.	72
					Henry Voos and John Esch Friers Angustines are burnt at Brussels for the Gospel, Vol. 2. p. 80.	
					Persecution begins this year in Germany of hundreds of Martyrs continuing for many years, V. 2. p. 94.	
					Likewise in France this year Persecution begins, martyring multitudes, not ceasing in many years, V. 2. 104. Whose names thou maist either find in reading over the Catalogues: or if it be too much pains, thou maist have them readily in the Table in the end of the Book.	
1524					Henry Sutphen is burned about the City of Diethmar, Vol. 2. p. 81.	
					Divers Martyrs secretly drowned in Germany, V. 2. p. 84.	
					George Hala of Saxony a Preacher, martyred, Vol. 2. ib.	
					The Tigurines write in defence of true Religion upon occasion of the Cantons apprehending the Preacher Johannes Oxlinus.	
1525					Persecution of many in Lincoln and Oxfordshire Diocess, V. 2. p. 195, 196.	
					This year the Senate of Zurich depose the Mass with all its appurtenances.	
					Wolfangus is martyred, great judgments befall his condemners, V. 2. p. 91.	
					Dr. John Castellane martyred in Germany, V. 2. p. 85, 86.	
					The story of a good Pastor murdered this year, penned by Ocolampadius, V. 2. p. 88.	
					Another story of Master Peter Spenser, Minister, drowned this year; penned by Ocolampadius, V. 2. ibid.	74
					Cardinal Wolsey setting the Lord Cromwell at work to pull down some Religious houses for the Cardinals ends, teacheth and forebodeh ominously the ruin of the great Abbeyes, which after fell by that Lord Cromwell, V. 2. p. 420.	

AChronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Popes of Rome	A. B. Cantuariensis Kings of England		Vol. 2. Page
1526				About this time the Rusticks in Germany make a tumult; which being allaid, the Papists falsely accuse the Gospellers to have an hand in it, and so condemn them, V.2. p.90. About this time a Disputation is held at <i>Baden</i> in Germany, touching the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, the <i>Mas</i> , &c. <i>Eckius</i> defends the Popes tenet. <i>Oecolampadius</i> is against <i>Eckius</i> . <i>Zuinglius</i> could not be there, for which he excuseth himself. <i>John Huglein</i> martyred, Vol.2. p.92. <i>Leonard Keyser</i> of <i>Bavaria</i> burned for the Gospel, V.2. p.93. A prohibition of the New Testament in English, and of seventeen other good Books, is set forth, Vol.2. p.48. The many wicked practises of Cardinal <i>Wolsey</i> , making men do penance for eating of flesh, abjures men for speaking against the Pope, V.2. p.208. <i>Solyman</i> the Turk conquers <i>Ludovike</i> the French Kings Army, the King himself falling off his horse, and dying in a Marish place, Vol.1. p.847. The Senate and people of <i>Berne</i> in <i>Helvetia</i> appoint another Disputation, between the Protestants and <i>Zuinglius</i> on the one side, and the Papists on the other. The Bishops round about: as the Bishops of <i>Basil</i> , <i>Constance</i> , &c. are enjoined to present and bring Divines with them, on pain of forfeiture of all their possessions within the bounds of their precinct. At this Disputation were present <i>Zuinglius</i> , <i>Oecolampadius</i> , <i>Bucerus</i> , <i>Capito</i> , &c. On the contrary side, the chief was <i>Comradus Tregerus</i> . Thus by this means reformation began at <i>Berne</i> , <i>Constance</i> , <i>Geneva</i> , &c. the <i>Mas</i> , Images, &c. are put down. The <i>Bernates</i> in the year of their reformation from Popery to true Religion, did engrave the same in a pillar of brass with golden letters. <i>George Carpenter</i> martyred at <i>Munche</i> in <i>Bavaria</i> , V.2. p.92. The widow <i>Wendelmata</i> is martyred in <i>Holland</i> , V.2. p.93. <i>Patrick Hamleton</i> a Scot at <i>St. Andrews</i> in <i>Scotland</i> martyred, V.2. p.182: His excellent Treatises, V.2. p.184.	75
1527				A Christian Jew martyred by the Turk, V.2. p.179. <i>Lome</i> , <i>Nicolson</i> , and <i>Raimund</i> , are made to abjure in <i>London</i> Diocels, V.2. p.260. They of <i>Strausburgh</i> calling a Council, after long controversy about Religion, depose the <i>Mas</i> , till the Patrons of it could prove the lawfulness of it by the Scripture; and so set reformation on foot in <i>Strausburgh</i> also.	76
1529				<i>Simon Fish</i> his Book called <i>The Supplication of Beggars</i> , comes to the Kings hand, V.2. p.228. Cardinal <i>Wolsey</i> is cast out of the Kings favour, and so begins to fall, for his delaying in matters touching the Kings Marriage, v.2. p.206, 207, 208. <i>Ferdinand</i> , the Brother of <i>Carolus</i> the fifth Emperor, and Deputy in Germany, labours against the Protestants and Reformation. <i>John Tewkesbury</i> of <i>London</i> martyred, v.2. 242. Now began the name of Protestants, from their protesting in Germany against the evil Decree of <i>Spire</i> , which was also this year. The Turk besiegeth <i>Vienna</i> , vol.1. p.849. Reformation is wrought in <i>Basil</i> also. <i>Paul Luther</i> an Englishman, also <i>Whapold</i> , <i>Goderidge</i> , <i>Wesf</i> , <i>White</i> , <i>Kitchen</i> , <i>Wegen</i> , <i>Hale</i> , are made to abjure this year in <i>London</i> Diocels, vol.2. p.260, 270. Near an hundred good Books are forbidden in <i>England</i> , vol.2. p.285. <i>Ferdinandus</i> wins from the Turk places which he had taken, and also expulseth his other enemy <i>Vaivoda</i> , vol.1. p.849.	77
1530				The Turk takes <i>Guzza</i> in <i>Hungary</i> , vol.1. p.852. A Council is held at <i>Ausburge</i> : the Confession of the Protestants there. <i>Thomas Histon</i> martyred at <i>Maidstone</i> , vol.2. p.210. <i>John Tindal</i> , <i>Worsley</i> , <i>Stacy</i> , <i>Maxwell</i> , <i>Curson</i> , <i>Cornewell</i> , and <i>Philip</i> , are made to abjure in <i>London</i> Diocels, vol.2. p.261. Wars begin between the Protestants and the five Popish Towns of <i>Switzerland</i> , where <i>Zuinglius</i> is slain.	78
1531				Peace is concluded between them. <i>Oecolampadius</i> being sick in body, and now worse by sorrow of mind, hearing of <i>Zuinglius</i> his death, dies. The troubles of <i>Thomas Bilney</i> , vol.2. p.211. His learning to burn, by putting his finger in the candle. His death, vol.2. p.227, 228. <i>Thomas Aribur</i> : troubles, vol.2. p.212. The troubles of <i>John Frith</i> , vol.2. p.250. His Martyrdom, see Anno 1533. <i>Thomas Bennet</i> is martyred in the fire, vol.2. p.260.	79
1532				This year <i>Periman</i> , <i>Goldstone</i> , <i>Staple</i> , <i>Tomson</i> , <i>Wetzel</i> , <i>Man</i> , <i>Feldon</i> , <i>Cooper</i> , <i>Roe</i> , <i>Wallom</i> , <i>Palmer</i> , <i>Brasfar</i> , <i>Fairsted</i> , <i>Bull</i> , <i>Haymond</i> , <i>Lamb</i> , <i>Hewet</i> , the two <i>Patmoores</i> , the two <i>Smiths</i> , <i>Ross</i> , <i>Christopher</i> , <i>Nelson</i> , <i>Eve</i> , <i>Hudson</i> , <i>Hewet</i> , <i>Kyrr</i> , <i>Lobley</i> , <i>Lincoln</i> , <i>Mell</i> , <i>Medwell</i> , <i>Fulman</i> , <i>Bougar</i> , <i>Tiler</i> , <i>Lancaster</i> , the two <i>Topleys</i> , <i>Gardener</i> , <i>Johnson</i> , are made to abjure, with divers other at <i>Burnsfeed</i> , vol.2. p.263, to 267.	238
1533				Men and women of <i>Essex</i> troubled for the Gospel, vol.2. p.268. <i>Solyman</i> the Turk murders his own son <i>Musapha</i> , vol.1. p.857. The troubles and burning of the Martyr <i>Richard Bayfield</i> . <i>James Bainham</i> is brought into trouble, vol.2. p.246. His penance, p.247. His burning, ib. Three men are hanged for the burning of the Rood of <i>Dover-Court</i> , vol.2. p.249. Master <i>Tracy</i> being dead, is taken up and burned, vol.2. p.262. Of the death of Archbishop <i>Warham</i> , and <i>Crammers</i> succeeding in the Archbishoppock of <i>Cantebury</i> , a little after his being Ambassador to the Pope, to dispute of King <i>Henry</i> the eighth his Marriage with his Brothers wife, that it was unlawful, see vol.2. p.355. <i>John Frith</i> , Martyr, vol.2. p.250, to 253. And <i>Andrew Hewet</i> , Martyr, vol.2. p.255. <i>Tbo. Harding</i> of <i>Chebbam</i> in <i>Buckinghamshire</i> is martyred, v.2. p.193.	

The

A Chronology.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germany	Roman Bishops	Kings of England	A. B. Canterbury		Vol. 1. Page
1534					<p>The King is divorced from Lady <i>Katherine</i> Dowager, and marries Lady <i>Anne Bullen</i>, Vol. 2. p. 270. Compare p. 270, 271.</p> <p>Queen <i>Anne</i> is Crowned. Of her Queen <i>Elizabeth</i> is born, Vol. 2. p. 276.</p> <p>The <i>Turk</i> sends his Admiral into <i>Africa</i> against the King of <i>Tunis</i>, who dispossesseth the King, and deprives him of his Kingdom, V. 1. p. 852.</p> <p>The Friars of <i>Orleanse</i> counterfeit the walking of a womans Ghost, V. 2. p. 550.</p> <p>The King calls a Parliament, wherein the Commons complain of the cruelty of the Prelates, for calling them before them, <i>ex Officio</i>.</p> <p>An Act of Succession of the Crown is concluded, Vol. 2. p. 278.</p>	
					<p>The Popes authority is cast out of <i>England</i>.</p> <p>The Kings subjects are sworn to his Supremacy.</p> <p>The Bishops and Universities write against the Popes Supremacy.</p>	Volume 2. p. 278.
1535					<p><i>Charles</i> the Fifth Emperor restores the King of <i>Tunis</i> to his Kingdom, and restoreth 20000 Captives out of servitude, Vol. 1. p. 852.</p> <p>Pope <i>Paul</i> the third calling a Council, calleth our King unto the Council, the Kings answer, vol. 2. p. 310.</p>	
					<p>Sir <i>Thomas Moor</i>, and <i>Fisher</i> Bishop of <i>Rocheſter</i> (who had written against <i>Luther</i> and <i>Oecolampadius</i>) denying to be sworn to the Kings Supremacy, are executed this year.</p>	294
1536					<p>The King having made all safe at home with his subjects for his own Supremacy against the Popes, now he endeavours to make safe to him the favour and peace of other Princes, that the Pope might not let them against him.</p>	295
					<p>The troubles of <i>William Tindal</i>.</p> <p>His Martyrdom.</p>	301
					<p>This year also died Lady <i>Katherine</i>, Princess Dowager, and Queen <i>Anne</i> is beheaded.</p>	305
					<p>In three days after, the King marries Lady <i>Jane Seimer</i>.</p>	309
1537					<p>By the means of a Monk a Rebellion is raised against the King in <i>Lincolnshire</i>, upon the chief of which execution was done.</p>	313
					<p>Prince <i>Edward</i> is born of the Lady <i>Jane Seymour</i>, the Queen dies in Childbed.</p>	315
1538					<p><i>Solyman</i> the twelfth <i>Ottoman</i> takes and waits <i>Corcyra</i>, the Island of the <i>Venetians</i>, v. 1. p. 852.</p>	
					<p>Whiles the Pope and the Emperor, and the <i>Venetians</i> are at odds, <i>Solyman</i> the <i>Turk</i> invades and waits <i>Apulia</i>, v. 1. p. 852.</p>	318
					<p>D. <i>Bonner</i>, now but Archdeacon, is sent by the King Ambassador into <i>France</i>, to succeed <i>Stephen Gardiner</i> in Ambassie; <i>Bonnors</i> Letters to the Lord <i>Cromwell</i>, and his description to the said Lord of the evil behaviour of <i>Gardiner</i>.</p>	315
					<p>A poor woman persecuted for eating of a Pig in <i>Lent</i>, which she longed for, being with child, v. 2. p. 426, 427.</p>	318
					<p>Articles devised by the Kings Highness to establish Christian quietness, and unity among the people, with certain injunctions.</p>	322
					<p><i>John Longland</i> Bishop of <i>Lincoln</i> (before a great persecutor of Christians) preacheth for the Kings Supremacy against the Pope, before the King at <i>Greenwich</i>.</p>	325
					<p>Many Idols, Images and Pilgrimages are depoyed by means of the said injunctions of the King this year. Among those Idols, that called <i>Darwell Gatharen</i>, is burned, with the which Idol <i>Frier Foreſt</i> for denying the Kings Supremacy was burned, being hanged in chains over the fire; and so was fulfilled the Prophecie, that that Idol should set a whole <i>Foreſt</i> on fire.</p>	326
					<p>This same year after the fall of Images, followed the ruin of the Abbies.</p>	330
					<p>After the fall of Abbies, the living Temple of Christ <i>John Lambert</i>, falls into trouble, and the martyring fire, by the device of <i>Gardiner</i>.</p>	331
					<p><i>Collins</i> distracted, is with his dog burned this year, for holding up that dog in imitation of the Priests Mals.</p>	ibid.
					<p><i>Cowbridge</i> distracted, burnt for articles, who knew not what he said himself.</p>	366
					<p><i>Will. Laison</i> burned for speaking against an Idol.</p>	ibid.
					<p><i>Pattedew</i> is burned for saying jestingly, that when the Priest himself had drunk up all the Wine, he did bless the people with the empty Chalice.</p>	
					<p><i>Poke</i> is burned, forty days pardon is proclaimed for them that will cast sticks into his fire. A Knight and Gentleman for this reward cut boughs with their swords, and throw them in.</p>	
					<p>The King is desired by the Emperor to come or send to the Popes Council at <i>Vincence</i>. The King excuseth himself and his Kingdom for absence, and discovereth the defects of the Popes Councils.</p>	
					<p>The great deliverance of <i>Grinews</i> from danger, vol. 3. p. 777.</p>	
1539					<p>This King <i>Henry</i> the eighth sets forth Injunctions against <i>English</i> Books, Sacramentary persons, Sects of Religions, by the device of <i>Gardiner</i>.</p>	369
1540					<p>A description how Religion now begins to go backward.</p>	
					<p>The <i>Turks</i> passing by <i>Dalmatia</i>, take there a Town called <i>Castellum Novum</i>, <i>New Castell</i>, away from the <i>Spaniards</i>, who kept it, v. 1. p. 853.</p>	
					<p>This year persecution was in <i>Spain</i>, martyring very many Christians, not giving over in many years, v. 2. p. 139. If the Catalogues be too tedious in this page for thee to read and find their names: see the Table at the end.</p>	
					<p>A Parliament is called; { 1. For Transubstantiation, } and in it the Act of { 2. Against giving the Cup } the six Articles, viz. { 3. Against Priests Marriage, } is concluded, notwithstanding many alle- { 4. For vows of Chastity, } gations against the Act and Articles. { 5. For Masses, } { 6. For Auricular Confession, }</p>	371
					<p>The great Bible in <i>English</i> printed by the Lord <i>Cromwells</i> means, v. 2. p. 434.</p>	
					<p>Persecution moved in <i>Scotland</i>, where Sir <i>John Brothwicke</i> hath great troubles, v. 2. p. 511.</p>	433
					<p>The good Lord <i>Cromwell</i> is beheaded.</p>	

A Chronology.

Anna Corbett 1541	Emper. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Queens of England.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	<p>The <i>L. Cromwel</i> being made away by <i>Gardiners</i> device, <i>Crichts</i> Sheep are slain, space, as <i>R. Barts</i>, <i>Tho. Garret</i>, <i>W. Hiereme</i> Divines. Three <i>Papists</i> executed the same time with them, for denying the Kings Supremacy.</p> <p><i>Makins</i> a youth of 15 years old, brought to the fire by <i>Bonner</i>, sitting in <i>Guildhal</i> in Commiſſion for the 6 Articles, for speaking, upon hearing of others talk, againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.</p> <p><i>Spencer</i>, <i>Ranſley</i> and <i>Hewer</i> ſuffer at <i>Solebury</i>.</p> <p>Great trouble and perfecution in <i>London</i> of near an hundred perſons for the fix Articles.</p> <p><i>Alexander Seton</i> perſecuted.</p> <p><i>John Porter</i> cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in <i>Pauls</i> Church in <i>London</i>.</p> <p>Perfecution is moved in <i>Lincoln</i> Dioceſs by the fix Articles.</p> <p><i>Barber</i> recants in <i>St. Marys</i> at <i>Oxford</i>, at which a fear, left the Church were on fire.</p> <p><i>K. Henry</i> is divorced from <i>Ann of Cleve</i>, and marries <i>Katharine Howard</i>.</p> <p>This year <i>Lady Howard</i> being accuſed to the King of incontinent living, both before her Marriage, with <i>Francis Dereham</i>, and ſince with <i>Thomas Culpeper</i>; theſe two men, as alſo <i>Queen Katharine</i>, with the <i>Lady Rochford</i>, are put to death.</p> <p>The Town in <i>Hungary</i> called <i>Quinque-Eccleſie</i>, that is, Five-Churches, is taken by the <i>Turks</i>. After it they take in the ſame Country <i>Scioſcia</i>. V. 1. p. 854. c. 1.</p> <p>The Cardinal of <i>Scotland</i> moves perfecution at <i>Perith</i>. V. 2. p. 520.</p> <p>A piece of a Child in the Siege of <i>Alba</i>, is found in a Soldiers Satchel, the other part being eaten. V. 1. p. 856. c. 2.</p> <p>Perfecution of above twenty in <i>Callis</i>; where <i>George Bucker</i>, alias <i>Adam Dampnick</i> is martyred. V. 2. p. 469. 477.</p> <p>The Perfecution of 4 <i>Windſor</i> men, viz. <i>Taftwood</i>, <i>Filmer</i>, <i>Perſon</i> and <i>Marbeck</i>. The <i>Turks</i> take <i>Wexigadam</i>.</p> <p>The Act of the fix Articles is ſomewhat qualified in Parliament.</p> <p>It is yet qualified more in another Parliament.</p> <p><i>Taftwoods</i> Recantation of denying the fix Articles.</p> <p>The <i>Scots</i> are ſubdued. <i>Bullen</i> in <i>France</i> is won. V. 2. p. 481.</p> <p>The troubles of <i>Mrs Ann Aſhew</i> begin. V. 2. p. 483.</p> <p><i>Martin Luther</i> dies godlyly and quietly. V. 2. p. 69.</p> <p><i>John Daxius</i> a <i>Spaniard</i> is martyred, his own Brother killing him at <i>Neuberge</i> in <i>Germany</i>. V. 2. p. 87.</p> <p><i>Kerby</i> and <i>Clerk</i> of <i>Suffolk</i> martyred. <i>George Wiſhearts</i> martyred in <i>Scotland</i>. V. 2. p. 521, 522.</p> <p><i>Ann Aſhew</i> is burned, and with her <i>Nicolaus Beleanian</i>. 483.</p> <p>The troubles and dangers of <i>Queen Katharine Parr</i>, by <i>Gardiners</i> Plots. 491.</p> <p>Great Perfecution is in <i>Italy</i> for many years. V. 2. p. 139. Read the Catalogue in this Page, or ſee the Table and the end.</p> <p>The Cardinal of <i>Scotland</i>, a wicked Perfecutor, is murdered and buried in a Dunghill. V. 2. p. 526.</p> <p>King <i>Henry</i> the Eighth dies.</p> <p>A Preface containing a learned Diſcourſe touching the wicked Maſs, for which ſo many bled and burned, in this 3d Volume is preſented to the enſuing ſtories.</p> <p><i>Queen Jane</i> by <i>K. Edwards</i> will, the wiſdoms of moſt of the greateſt Nobles, and by their aſſiſtance and Proclamations, is proclaimed Q. of <i>England</i> throughout the Kingdom.</p> <p><i>Lady Mary</i> claims the Crown of <i>England</i> by Letters to the Council. Their anſwer, denying her demand. <i>Lady Mary</i> by feigned promiſes (which the cruelly after brake) made to the <i>Suffolk</i> men, (who were always ready to promote the Goſpel) gets their aſſiſtance by War, to ſettle her in the Crown, againſt the <i>Lady Jane</i>.</p> <p>By theſe <i>Suffolk</i> Forces, <i>Queen Mary</i> overthrows the forces that were for <i>Queen Jane</i>; ſo that <i>Lady Mary</i> is proclaimed Queen, and the Lords begin to fall off from the <i>Lady Jane</i>.</p> <p>The Duke of <i>Northumberland</i>, the Father-in-law of <i>Lady Jane</i>, is impriſoned by <i>Q. Mary</i> in the Tower, with Lord <i>Gilford</i> his Son, and <i>Q. Jane</i> his Wife. The Duke made in hope of life to revoke his Religion, is beheaded, with Sir <i>J. Gater</i>, and Sir <i>T. Palmer</i>, confeſſing their faith.</p> <p>Good Biſhops are diſplaced, preaching, and printing and Plays, and the terms <i>Papiſt</i> and Heretick is prohibited by Proclamation.</p> <p>Biſhop <i>Bonner</i> is releaſed out of Priſon, cauſt in there by <i>Edward</i> the 6th. He ſet up <i>Burns</i> a Canon of <i>Pauls</i>, to preach at the Croſs, and to clear him upon the ſame Text, for which, as <i>Burns</i> ſaid 4 years afore, the ſaid <i>Bonner</i> was cauſt into the <i>Marſhallſy</i>. A Dagger is thrown at <i>Burns</i> for his pains. In <i>Auguſt</i>, this year, many are clapt up in Priſon for dilike of <i>Papery</i> and its abettors, In <i>September</i> the ſame year, many are troubled by Religion.</p> <p>In <i>October</i> the ſame year, <i>Q. Mary</i> is crowned. A Parliament is called. <i>Papery</i> as Maſs, &c. ſet up. Judge <i>Hales</i> that had been for <i>Q. Mary</i> in Title to the Crown, is now by her troubled, for ſtanding for the Law. A Diſputation concerning Religion, as real Preſence, &c. is held in a Convocation between the <i>Proteſtants</i> and <i>Papiſt</i> Divines this year, <i>Octob.</i> 18. The Convocation is diſſolved. V. 2. p. 24. Many great Lords, &c. and Biſhops put in Priſon, and <i>Gardiner</i> among the reſt, for the Supremacy, &c. matters are now related by the Queen, and advanced.</p> <p>The Queen ſhuts up many this year in Priſon for Religion. V. 3. p. 25. The Queensingrout touching Religion, and her likelihood to marry <i>Philip</i>, cauſe a Rebellion of Sir <i>Tho. Wyatt</i>, &c. in <i>Kent</i>, and of the D. of <i>Suffolk</i>, <i>Lady Jane</i> own Father, in <i>Warwick</i> and <i>Leiceſterſhire</i>. They are taken. The Queens Oration to <i>Guild-hall</i> againſt <i>Wyat</i>, and touching her Marriage. V. 3. p. 25. Conference between <i>Lady Jane</i> and <i>Pecknam</i> about points of Religion. V. 3. p. 25. <i>Lady Janes</i> Letter to her own Father in Priſon. V. 3. p. 26. <i>Lady Janes</i> Letter to Mr. <i>Harding</i> her Fathers Chaplain, now revolted to <i>Papery</i>, notably terrifying him out with places of the Scripture for the ſame. V. 3. p. 27. <i>Lady Janes</i> Letter to her Siſter <i>Katharine</i>. V. 3. p. 28. The admirable ſweet carriage and death of the <i>Lady Jane</i>. V. 3. p. 29.</p> <p><i>Bonner</i> ſearching after them that would not come in <i>Lent</i> to confeſſion.</p> <p>The Queens Letter and Articles to the Biſhop of <i>London</i>, againſt Religion and Religious perſons. ib.</p> <p>A liſt Preſcript with Articles, the Queen ſends to the Lord Mayor of <i>London</i>. Vol. 3. p. 31.</p> <p>The Queen by Proclamation expulſeth all ſtrangers and foreigners out of the Land, whereby <i>Peter Martyr</i> and others avoid the Realm. V. 3. p. 32. <i>Lady Elizabeth</i> is ſuſpected of, and impriſoned for confeſſing to <i>Wyats</i> Rebellion, by whom ſhe is cleared; but <i>Gardiner</i> and <i>Wyſton</i> labour her ruine by tales in the Star-Chamber, &c.</p>	Vol. 1. Page 433 435 445 ib. 447 452 ib. 453 455 ib. 457 478 479 511 Vol. 3. Page 1 2, 3, 4 5, 6, 10 12, 13. 13. 15. 15. 16. 24.
1544			Queen Jane.	Queen Mary.		

A Chronology.

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German Emperors.

Roman Popes.

Kings of England.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

1555

Marcellus 2. Pontif. 4.

Cardinal Poles.

The Queen holds a Parliament, wherein the laboured, but in vain, to restore the Popes Supremacy. Bu^t in her own writing to the Bishop of London, &c. she left out the usual clause of Henry 8. and Edward 6. *Ecclesiae Anglicanae & Hiberniae Caput*. V.3.p.33.

Bonner in Convocation with hyperbolical blasphemy, extols Priests Dignity to be above Kings and Princes, and Angels; equal with the Virgin Mary, maker of his Creator.

Doctor Ridley his Conference in Prison touching the Sacrament, &c. with Secretary Bourn. V.3. p.34.

Cranmer Archbishop, Ridley Bishop, are, April 10. sent down to Oxford to dispute touching Religion. Cranmer disputes. V.3.p.36. Disputation at Oxford between Dr. Smith, and Ridley Bishop of London touching Religion. April 17. p.50. Disputation at Oxford, April 18. between Mr. Smith, and Mr. Latimer at Oxford. V.3.p.65. Harpsfield's Disputation at Oxford for his Degree, April 19. Cranmer disputeth. V.3.p.70. Bishop Ridley's report of Oxford's misordered Disputation with him and his fellow Prisoners. V.3.p.74. Bishop Ridley writes Letters to the Prolocutor, for his breach of promises to him touching the order of Disputation. V.3.p.75. The Archbishop Cranmer writes Letters by Doctor Weston to the Council for all lawful favour, which he refused to deliver. Bishop Ridley writes an unanimous conciliatory Letter to the Archbishop, touching their consent in the substance of Religion. V.3. p.76. Mr. Bradford and others are committed to the Tower, August 16. Cranmer Archbishop clears himself of scandal put upon him. V.3.p.78. Queen Mary is crowned, Latimer and Cranmer are put in the Tower. ib. The Queen by Proclamation at her Coronation, pardons other Prisoners, but not those in the Tower and the Fleet, and 62 persons more. The Archbishop of York is committed to the Tower. The Queen rides in pomp to Parliament, October 5. Mr. Lawrence Saunders, October the 10th, preacheth in London against the Abomination of the Mass. Dr. Weston upon the 10th of October, makes a Popish Sermon at Pauls Cross. Cambridge University defend the Queens proceedings, before any Law be enacted to the same purpose. K. Edward's Acts are Repealed, December 15. V.3.p.78.

A Priest of Canterbury saying Mass, the morrow repenting, preaches against it. Justice Hales and Mr. Rogers are imprisoned, January 26. Strange fights are seen at nine in the morning in the Heavens, Feb. 15, before the coming in of K. Philip, and the going out of true Religion. This Month of February, Winchester in his Sermon before the Queen flurs her up to use no mercy towards the *Kenish* men, but severe execution upon them, for their rising in Rebellion. The Duke of Suffolk is beheaded, Feb. 23. V.3.p.79. Mr. Mantel in this Month of Feb. is executed in Kent, among other Gentlemen; who at his first falling under the Gallows, the Rope brake; whereupon for Recantation of his Religion, pardon was offered, which he refused, and chose rather to die. His Apology clearing himself of aspersions of Recantation. All London are commanded, March 17. to prepare themselves for thrust. V.3.p.81. March 18, Lady Elizabeth is put in the Tower. Near twenty Gallowses are let up about London, upon occasion of Wyatts Rebellion, to terrifie others; upon one of which, in Cheapside, a Cat was hanged with a flaven Crown, and a Paper between her feet like a Priest at Mass with his Wafer. The Priest of Pancras in Cheap on Easter day, according to the Popish manner, feeling in the Sepulcher for the Pix and Crucifix, and saying, *He is not here, but is risen*; it proved that they were not there indeed; for some body or other had stoln them away, about which much search was made. The Lord Gray is hanged and quartered for a Conspiracy against the Queens life as it was alleged.

Bradford, Saunders, &c. Narration touching their Disputation and Religion. V.3.p.82. The imprisonment of Lady Elizabeth in Woodstock. p.83. Queen Mary is married to Philip, a form drawn for their mutual fille. Winchester preacheth at Pauls Cross extream blasphemy against the truth, and flattery of K. Philip. p.85. John Street troubled for coming under the Priests Canopy. p.86.

Bonner's frantick behaviour in his Visitation, striking, flogging, &c. A Rood in Lancashire is made so ugly, that (as they there concluded) it was fitter to make a Devil. p.87. Bonner lends forth a Mandat to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted on the Church-Walls. ib. Queen Marys Persecution make 24 Fellows places void in Cambridge at once in one Colledge. The business the Council, the Bishops and the Parliament made about Queen Marys conceiving with Child as they conceived. p.88. Cardinal Poles entertainment, Oration and Actions at the Parliament before the Queen. p.91. Gardiner's dreaming Sermon at the Cross on the words, *It is high time to awake*, &c. pleading for Popery. p.92. Thirty Christian Martyrs, and a Minister apprehended in Bow-Church-yard, for the Gospel, and imprisoned. The Act of the Popes Supremacy is passed in Parliament. A great tumult at Westminster between the Spanijh and English. This year begins the Persecution of the *Waldenses* or *Waldos* in the Vally of *Angrogne-lu-ferne*, St. Martin, *Perouse*, &c. in the Country of *Piedmont*, continuing to Anno 1561. V.2.p.160. Mr. Hooper writes comfort to the Martyrs apprehended in Bow-Church-yard. V.3.p.95. The persecuted Preachers make Supplication to the King and Queen. Vol.3. p.97.

Vol.3.p.98. Of this Cardinal pranks more will follow in order of years. John Rogers his troubles and Martyrdom. p.98. Mr. Lawrence Saunders; his troubles and Martyrdom. p.108. John Hooper Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester burned for the truth. ib. Doctor Rowland Taylor; suffering for the truth. p.127. The Queen solicited by the King of Denmark in the behalf of Mr. Coverdale, now in danger of his life for Religion, writes her answer to the said King. p.150. 151. 152. Judge Hales is rebuked by Winchester; he drowns himself. p.153. Thomas Thompkins hand is first burned, then his body by Bonner for the truth. p.155. William Hunter martyred. p.157. Master Higbed and Causton Gentlemen, burnt in Essex for the truth. p.161. William Pigeon, Stephen Knight, and John Lawrence persecuted and martyred. p.164. Dr. Ferrar Bishop of St. Davids, persecuted and martyred. p.166. Rawlins White burned at Cardiff in Wales for the Gospel. p.180. Queen Marys words to her Council touching restitution of Abby Lands. p.185. Winchester's Letter to Bonner, touching the solemnizing of the Popes Funeral. p.183. George Marsh martyred. p.180. William Branch, alias Flower, persecuted and martyred. p.203. John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, and John Wern burned together for the Gospel in Smithfield. p.200. John Simpson and John Audley, dwelling in Essex, persecuted by Bonner. p.209. Bonners ridiculous proceedings against John Tooty, martyred after his death. p.210. Thomas Hawke a Gentleman, a worthy Martyr of Christ, martyred. p.220. Thomas Wats is persecuted unto fire for the Gospel. p.224. Proclamation against good Books that are against the Pope his Doctrine and Church: (the Wardens of each Company being to search them out) and the putting forth of evil Books, as our Ladies Psalter, &c. p.227. The troubles and Martyrdom of Thomas Osmond, Chamberlain, and William Bamford. p.231. The Letters and Martyrdom of that famous Man, Master Bradford. p.254. The Martyrdom of John Blund Preacher, and at the same time of John Franke, Humphry Middleton, Nicholas Saterdag. p.309. The Martyrdom of Margere Polley. p.316. The Martyrdom of Christopher Waide. p.317. The Martyrdom of Dirick Carver and John Launder. p.320. The Marquels of Winchester helps forward perfection. p.317.

Thomas

A Chronology.

Anno
Christi

German Emperors.

Roman Popes.

Kings of England.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

1556

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Master Robert Glover and Cornelius Bonney, are burned at Coventry. p.357. The Bishop of Cheshers Letter against the Burial of William Glover's body. p.358. William Wolsey and Robert Pigot martyred. ib. The Acts, Letters, Troubles and Martyrdom of Ridley, and Latimer Bishops. p.360. to 446. The uncomfortable death following Gardiner's wicked life. p.447. Web, Roper, Park, burned at Canterbury for Religion. 458. William Wiseman imprisoned for the Gospel's there dying, is cast out into the Fields, (by others whole burials in the fields are here described) as *invenia vivas*, as Carrion for Dogs, with command that no man should bury them. p.459. A notable Letter of a Woman to Bonner for his cruelty. p.512. The Examination, Condemnation, Letters and Martyrdom of John Philpot Archdeacon. p.460, to 512. Whittle, Green, Tudson, Went, Brown, Isabel, Foller, Joan Warr, martyred together at London. 513. 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		Gregory the 13th.	Thus have we with all the method and pithiness we could use in these present labours, <i>Chronologically</i> annuated all remarkable in these three Volumes; seating and placing them according to their age, each particular in his own year. If any man should wish to have had here a larger universe of particulars, though of less consequence; and a preciser punctualness of times, even to months and days; such a man shall be able fully to satisfy himself with these considerations:
1572			First, That keeping close to the nature of the most and best Chronologies, with a studied conciseness, we intended to compose of things material, not trivial, <i>Annals</i> not <i>Kalendar</i> s, and <i>Ephemerides</i> ; that is, to date years, not months and days.
			Secondly, That seeing largeness is to be bound fast to the abbreviature, the second and third Volume, and so they go together abroad into the World: Its but turning over leaves, and when that hath been too tediously prolix in its ample narrations, this will tell the same after that, without wearying eyes or ears. And when this with its <i>Laconical</i> shortness, leaves the Reader hungry, to have seen and heard somewhat more, that will be ready to fill that appetite.
			Thirdly, That although the first Volume makes dispatch in its relations, and so fills up its vastness with variety of stories, till it brings us beyond the 1500 year: yet the second and third Volumes consist of few stories, swollen to that hugeness by the massiness and voluminousness of each story; so that they both begin and end within the compass of about 50 and odd years, as this our Chronicle it self shews in the Time, Page and Columns; so that of themselves, unless we would turn <i>Chronologizing</i> into <i>Epitomizing</i> , would wind up themselves into a narrow compass. Besides the first and second Volume in above forty years are woven together; as may be seen in the Quotations of the large Column of matter of both these Volumes.
			Fourthly, That of all the Martyrs which indeed are the main bulk of the second and third Volume, Mr. Fox hath pen'd and placed at the beginning a most punctual and methodical <i>Kalendar</i> Chronicle of years, months and days of their troubles and sufferings; yet to make our project a compleatness and perfection, we took into our other passages of estate, all special and dated stories of Martyrs; though in thus doing in regard of Mr. Fox his <i>Kalendar</i> , we <i>Assumimus</i> , & post <i>Homerum</i> <i>Teximus</i> <i>Biades</i> , do that which needed not.

FINIS.

A T A B L E O F

All the principal Persons and Things contained in the Three Volumes, and the Continuation of the last Edition of the Book of Martyrs, set forth 1632. Made by N. Holmer, D D. and corrected and enlarged by the Author:

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THAT in case there fall out any Mistake in the Penner, or Printer, or in the Reader, that he looks not aright under each Head (for we are all but Men): Then,

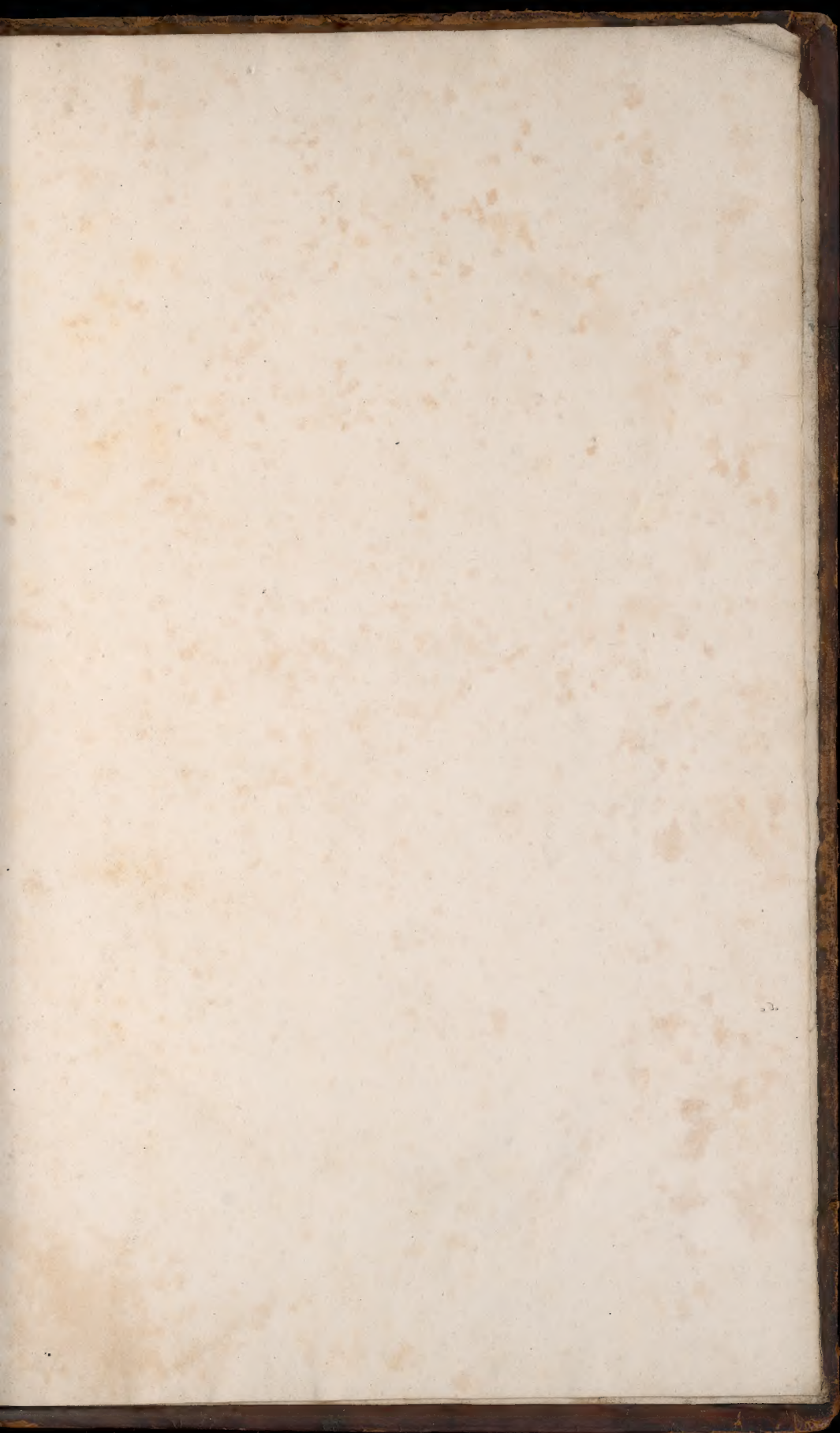
I. To look the thing under as many several Heads, or Alphabetical Words, as in all Probability the thing may be expressed in or by.

II. To have Recourse to the Chronology, where he may readily find each Emperor, Pope, King, a Bishop, and the chief Occurrences in their Times, with the page in the last Column, to find it in the large Volume.

III. To have regard to the time when things were done since Christ: which remembered, the Chronology will in that Year touch the thing.

IV. To mind how much each Volume contains: and being confident in what Volume the thing is, the Contents of that Volume at the top, or in the Title of each Page will discover the thing.

F I N I S.



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